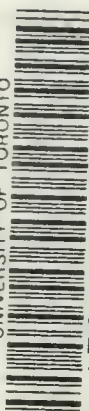
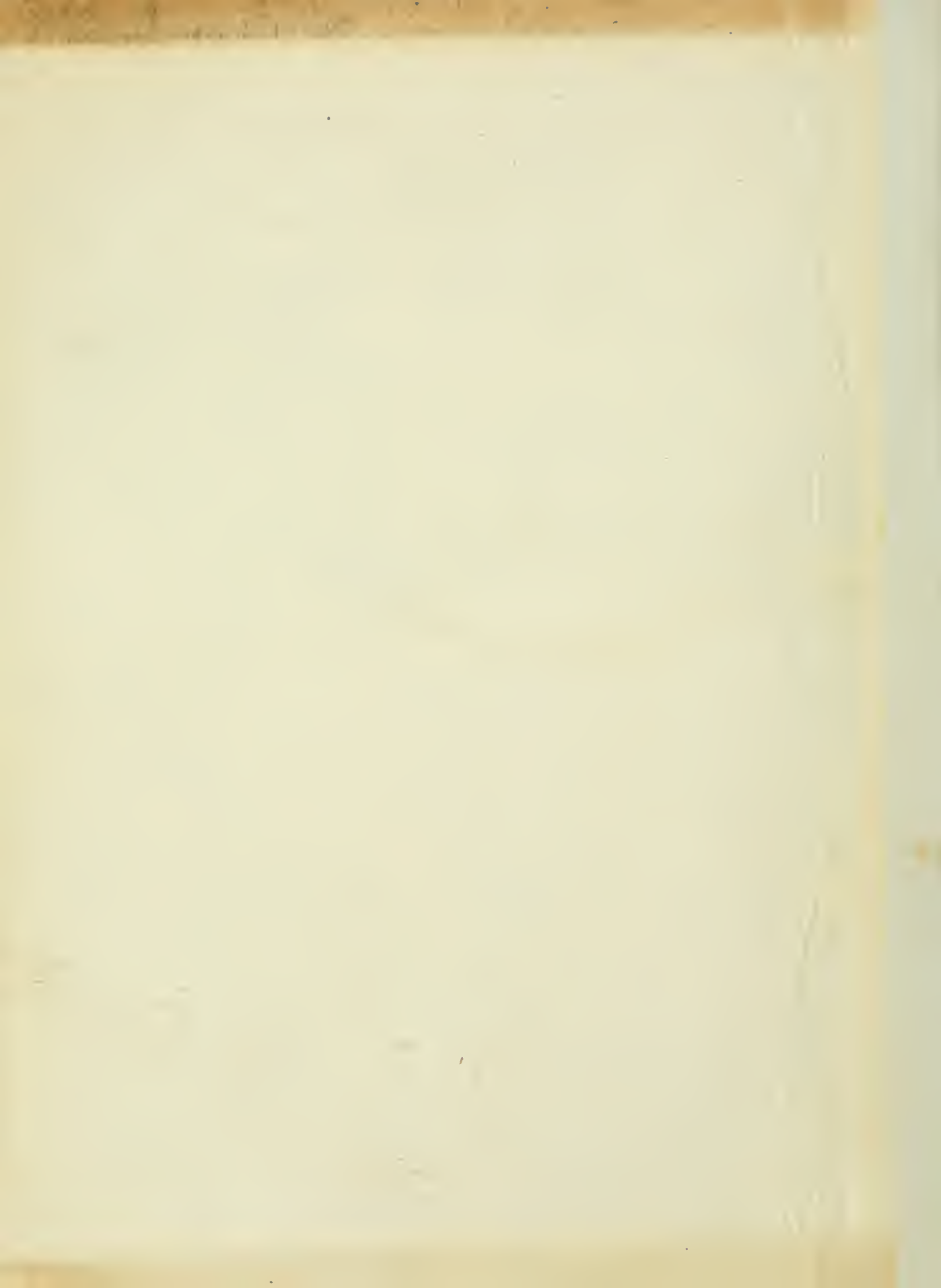


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English Reprints.

GEORGE PUTTENHAM.

The Arte of English Poesie.

[June ?] 1589.

51837
1901

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

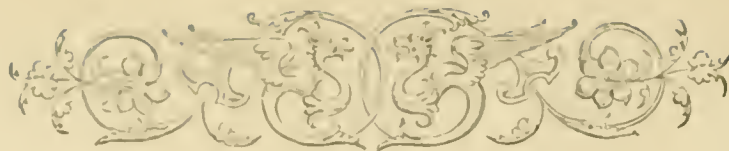
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1 Dec. 1869.

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The Arte of English Poesie.

INTRODUCTION.



T must ever be remembered that this Ladies' book was first published anonymously; that the printer was or feigned to be in ignorance of its Author; that similarly Sir John Harington, in 1591, only refers to him as 'that vnknowne Godfather, that this last yeare saue on, viz. 1589, fet forth a booke called the Arte of English Poetrie,' and again as that 'same *Ignoto*;' and lastly, that the authorship of the work was never openly claimed by any of Elizabeth's contemporaries.

The treatise appears to have been written between June 1584, and November 1588 when it was first entered at Stationers' Hall. This is proved not only by the general tenour of contemporary allusion, as by the following particulars, among other.

1. John Soowthern's '*Pandora. The Musyque of the beautie of his mistresse Diana*,' has on its title page the date 20. June 1584. Mr. J. P. Collier—in *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 367, ed. 1865—gives the result of his examination—while it was in the possession of the late Mr. Heber—of the only perfect copy of this intrinsically worthless work. He quotes passages to show that Puttenham meant, though he does not name, Soowthern in his description, at *p.* 259, of 'our minion' with his vice of Mingle-Mangle. That being the case; the present work was written after June 1584.

2. There is at *p.* 206 of some of the copies of the original edition, a remarkable substitution of one passage for another, respecting the Netherlands. We have reprinted both passages at *pp.* 252-3. This substitution tells this tale. The work was composed at a time when the Netherlands were in bad odour: when indecision marked the Queen's counsel, as to whether the long peace should be broken and they should be assisted in the war against Spain. The first passage is, therefore, strongly anti-Dutch. This would accord with the history of 1585.

But the work came to the press about March-April 1589. Meanwhile, the Armada had been defeated—the Dutch had proved themselves worthy confederates, and had helped much in the victory. So a more friendly though somewhat patronizing passage is substituted for the former one—but not before some

sheets had been printed. Thus, we obtain from this diversity, evidence as to the original composition in 1585, or later.

3. In one of the cancelled pages, *see p.* 118, is an account of the King of Spain's escutcheon and its legend, *Non sufficit orbis*, in the Governor's palace at St. Domingo. This city was taken by Drake, on New Year's Day 1586; and his great Expedition returned to Portsmouth on the 20th July 1586. Subsequent to which date, we must place our Author's knowledge of the fact.

4. Sidney is called *Sir Philip Sidney* (he was knighted 8th Jan. 1583). The absence of all allusion to his death (17 Oct. 1586) or magnificent public funeral (16 Feb. 1587), accords with an anterior composition of this work.

5. The correction on publication in 1589, as to events and time, is sometimes perfect; as in bringing up the Queen's rule to 'this one and thirty yeares space of your glorious raigne;'^{*} sometimes imperfect as 'We ourselues haue heretofore giuen some example by our *Triumphals* written in honour of her Maiesties long peace;'[†] a passage evidently written in the time of that peace.

A minute and exhaustive analysis of the work, tracing every contemporary allusion to its date, would probably but confirm this general result—that it was written about 1585, and then as, with but few corrections and additions, it was printed in 1589.

The *occasion* of the work appears in language, which, considering that great Age, and the great Worthies and Poets then living, is somewhat extraordinary.

But in these dayes (although some learned Princes may take delight in Poets) yet vniuerſally it is not ſo. For as well Poets as Poetrie are deſpiſed, and the name become, of honorable infamous, ſubiect to ſcorne and deriſion, and rather a reproch than a prayſe to any that vſeth it: for commonly who ſo is ſtudious in th'Arte or ſhewes him ſelfe excellent in it, they call him in diſdayne a *phantaſticall*: and a light headed or phantaſticall man (by conuerſion) they call a Poet.‡

Peraduenture in this iron and malitious age of ours, Princes are leſſe delighted in it [the Arte of Poetrie] being ouer carneſtly bent and affected to the affaires of Empire and ambition. . . . So as, it is hard to find in theſe dayes of noblemen or gentlemen any good *Mathematician*, or excellent *Muſitian*, or notable *Philosopher*, or els a cunning Poet: becauſe we find few great Princes much delighted in the ſame ſtudies. Now alſo of ſuch among the Nobilitie or gentry as be very well ſcene in many laudable ſciences, and eſpecially in making or Poetrie, it is ſo come to paſſe thāt they haue no courage to write and if they haue, yet are they

^{*} *p.* 62.

[†] *p.* 61.

[‡] *p.* 33.

loath to be a known of their skill. So as I know very many notable Gentlemen in the Court that haue written commendably and suppressed it agayne, or els suffred it to be publisht without their names to it : as if it were a discredit for a Gentleman, to seeme learned, and to shew him selfe amorous of any good Art.*

And in her Maiesties time that now is are sprong vp an other crew of Courtly makers Noble men and Gentlemen of her Maiesties owne seruantes, who haue written excellently well as it would appeare if their doings could be found out and made publicke with the rest.†

Which chiding, strangely coming from an anonymous author,—containing as it does an important testimony, both as to an anterior literary fecundity, and to the mass of contemporary literature which never reached the printing-press—is always to be estimated, in considering the earlier Elizabethan literature of England.

Such being the occasion, the Author tells us of the *persons* he had in view in writing this, the largest piece of Poetical Criticism in Elizabeth's reign.

First and above all : he writes for the Queen's own personal information and pleasure : whose portrait, in all her glorious attire, adorns the original edition, and specimens of whose poesie will be found at *pp.* 243. 255.

You (Madame) my most Honored and Gracious : if I should seeme to offer you this my deuise for a discipline and not a delight.‡

So haue we remembred and set forth to your Maiestie very briefly, all the commended formes of the auncient Poesie . . . And we haue purposely omitted all nice or scholastical curiosities not meete for your Maiesties contemplation in this our vulgar arte.§

Also that I write to the pleasure of a Lady and a most gracious Queene, and neither to Priestes nor to Prophetes or Philosophers.||

Next he wrote for the Court.

I trust they will beare with me writing in the vulgar speach and seeking by my nouelties to fatishe not the schoole but the Court.¶

Courtiers for whose instruction this trauaile is taken. . . . The authors owne purpose, which is to make of a rude rimer, a learned and a Courtly Poet.**

* *p.* 37. † *p.* 75. ‡ *p.* 21. § *p.* 72. || *p.* 314. ¶ *p.* 172. ** *p.* 170.

Because our chiefe purpose herein is for the learning of Ladies and young Gentlewomen or idle Courtiers, desirous to become skilful in their owne mother tongue, and for their priuate recreation to make now and then ditties of pleasure. . . .*

Specially for your Ladies and pretie mistresses in Court, for whose learning I write.†

Nevertheless because we are to teache Ladies and Gentlemen to know their schoole points and termes appertaining to the Art.‡

[Proportion in figure] also fittest for the pretie amourets in Court to entertaine their seruants and the time withall, their delicate wits requiring some commendable exercise to keepe them from idlenesse.§

So as euery surplusage or preposterous placing or vndue iteration or darke word, or doubtfull speach are not so narrowly to be looked vpon in a large poeme, nor specially in the pretie Poesies and deuises of Ladies, and gentlewoman makers, whom we would not haue too precise Poets least with their shrewd wits, when they were married they might become a little too phantasticall wiues.||

Lastly, he tells us.

Our intent is to make this Art vulgar for all English mens vse.¶

Thus, Queen, Court, Educated if it might not be the Learned as well, are those for whose instruction and delight in *The Arte of English Poesie* this work was undertaken.

What was then his purpose and plan? He gives us his own summary of it?

Now (most excellent Queene) hauing largely said of Poets and Poesie, and about what matters they be employed: then of all the commendable formes of Poemes, thirdly of metricall proportions, such as do appertaine to our vulgar arte: and last of all set forth the poetickall ornament consisting chiefly in the beautie and gallantnesse of his language and stile, and so haue apparelled him to our seeming, in all his gorgeous habilliments, and pulling him first from the carte to the schoole, and from thence to the Court, and preferred him to your Maiesties seruice, in that place of great honour and magnificence to geue entertainment to Princes, Ladies of honour, Gentlewomen and Gentlemen, and by his many moodes of skill, to serue the many humors of men thither haunting and resorting, some by way of solace, some of serious aduise, and in matters aswell profitable as pleasant and honest.**

Hitherto we have dealt with the intention of the book, its execution is too large a subject for consideration here. A few points may be simply glanced at.

* p. 170:

† p. 184.

‡ p. 180.

§ p. 104.

|| p. 256.

¶ p. 40.

** p. 304.

The work is not exclusively confined to *English Poësie*. The First of the three bookes gives also the theory of the *origin* of the various forms of Poetry. The Second describes the ancient Classic Poetry; reports, and apparently introduces into our literature, the Tartarian and Persian forms of verse, afterwards so fashionable; and discusses the application of Greek and Latin metrical 'numerositie' to English poetry. The Third book explains the then theory of Punctuation; has a long chapter on *Language*; deals with the figures of Rhetoric as well as those of Poetry proper: and has some forty pages on a seemingly foreign subject, *Decorum*; by which we are to understand not only Courtly manners, but also apt and felicitous expression of thought, and appropriateness of dress and conduct to our condition in life.

That chapter *Of Language*, and the many criticisms on 'words' scattered through the book are most interesting. Our Author was the Archbishop Trench of his age. It is important in the history of the growth of our Tongue, to see him fixing English, as 'the vsuall speach of the Court, and the shires lying about London within sixty miles, and not much above;' defending the introduction by himself or others, into our language, of such words as *Impression, Scientific, Major-domo, Politician, Conduct, Idiom, Significative*;* to listen to his explanations of such words as *Pelf, Moppe* or of such proverbs as *Totnesse is turned French, Skarborow warning*, and the like. A man who could patiently transpose a single sentence five hundred times in search of an Anagram on his Sovereign's name; would easily delight in the refined subtilties of meaning which are enshrined in words.

A word of common occurrence in the book—*vulgar*, must oftentimes be stripped of its modern acceptation. Sometimes it is used as we use it now, for *low, common*: but often it refers to the then current theory of languages. People supposed that from the three ancient and dead languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, all modern Continental languages were derived. They

* The words quoted in his self-criticism will be found in the opening chapters of the first Book.

gave to these national living languages the common name of 'vulgar tongues.' So in many instances herein, vulgar stands for *native* or *national*: e. g. our *vulgar* art, may be read our *national* art, or sometimes simply, *our vulgar* is equivalent to *our native tongue*.

It would be great injustice to overpass the clear style of the book. Considering the nature of the subject, and that the Author was writing for Ladies; great skill is shown in the breaking up of the book into many chapters; and in his perfect affluence of example, illustration, and anecdote to solace their 'minds with mirth after all these scholastical preceptes which can not but bring with them (specially to Courtiers) much tediousnesse'; while a merry twinkling wit is constantly peeping out, as in his debating 'I cannot well say whether a man vse to kisse before hee take his leaue, or take his leaue before he kisse, or that it be all one businesse.'

Another characteristic is his dispassionate judgement. His condemnation of his own productions is without a qualm; and his praise of others' poetry is equally unqualified: just as either appear to him to neglect or conform to the principles of his *Arte*.

There yet remains a great question. Who was the Author?

A large number of tantalizing self-allusions occur in the book. No less than twelve of the writer's previous works, not counting flighter pieces, are either referred to, described, or quoted in it; and some of them in a way, only consistent with their antecedent circulation in MS. Of all these works, there has come down to us, but a late and imperfect copy of one,—*Partheniades*: and that copy, in accordance with the perfectly successful reticence, has not the author's name on it.

We learn from *The Arte of English Poesie* that it was written by an Englishman, born about 1532; that he was one of children in the Nurfery, and he calls his nurse, 'the old gentlewoman'; that in due time he became a Scholar at Oxford; that in his younger days

he gave himself up to Poësie ; that at eighteen he 'made an Eglogue entitled *Elpine* to Edward VI; that yet in his youth he was brought up in Foreign Courts and knew them better than he did the English one ; that he could say 'I my selfe hauing seene the Courts of Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, and that of the Empire, with many inferiour Courts ;' that by early studies, riper training, and foreign society he was at home in Greek and Latin ; well skilled in French, Italian, and Spanish ; well read in history, especially that of his own time ; of great acquaintance with our national literature ; and taking an especial delight in English poësy.

Further he was some time on the Continent between 1560-1570 : and in 1579 presented his *Partheniades* as a New Year's gift to Queen Elizabeth.

Finally, approaching sixty years of age, he wrote the present work for his Sovereign's delight and instruction. Who is this high-born, high bred, highly cultivated, courtly Crichton ?

Can he be George Puttenham, of whose existence there is no doubt, but whose name is first possibly associated in print with this work so late as 1614, in William Carew's paper *On the excellencie of the English tongue*, in the second edition of Camden's *Remaines*. It is an aggravation, that gleaning as much as we do of our Author, we know so little otherwise of Puttenham's life : that we have no elements to combine with the above facts.

Our purpose is not to dispossess Puttenham of the authorship, as to contrast the abundant self-allusion in the work, with the weak external evidence in his favour. It is to be hoped in the exhumation of old documents so constantly going on, all or at least some of our Author's works may be discovered : or if that be too great a hope, that evidence, decisive and final, may turn up, as to whether among the good writers, either in prose or verse, of our Country can be enrolled the name of George Puttenham : whether it is to him that we are indebted for this original and clever book on Poetry, Rhetoric, and Good Manners.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS, &c.

of the

AUTHOR

in the present work.

* Probable or approximate dates.

The indications of time are so rarely given, that the order is often simply haphazard: and the whole collection is but tentative.

1509. Apr. 22. Henry VIII. succeeds to the throne.

[*1529.

With reference to the story at *p.* 277, Professor J. S. Brewer, a great authority as to this period, writes to me: "The Ambassador referred to can be no other than Dr. Lee, afterwards Archbp. of York, the celebrated opponent of Erasmus. He was ambassador in Spain from 1525 until the Emperor left for Italy at the commencement of 1530. During the year 1529, he was called upon to remonstrate with the Emperor for the part he took in supporting Catherine, and practising with the Pope to prevent the king's divorce. It was apparently on one of these occasions that the circumstances mentioned in the anecdote occurred. It is clear from various indications in Lee's letter, that he was not an exact Spanish or French scholar. In general the interviews between Charles and the English ambassadors were carried on in French."]

*1532.

Probable date of the Author's birth.

'My mother had an old woman in her nurserie, who in the winter nights would put vs forth many pretty riddles. . . The good gentlewoman would tell vs that were children . . .'
pp. 198, 199.

'When I was a scholler at Oxford.' *p.* 219.

'It [Poesie] was but the studie of my yonger yeares in which vanitie reigned.' *p.* 314.

'I haue set you down two little ditties which our selues in our younger yeares played vpon the [figure of the] *Antistrophe*.
Vpon the mutable loue of a Lady.

Vpon the meritorious loue of Christ our Sauour.'

pp. 208, 209.

1539-41.

[JOHN EVERAERTS, also called SECUNDUS NICOLAÏUS [b. 10 Nov. 1511, at the Hague; d. 8 Oct. 1536, at Tournay] was one of the great poets of the Renaissance. His works—all of them in Latin—were not published till after his death. His 19 poems, called 'Kisses,' *Basia*, were first published at Leyden in 1539. A collection of his works appeared at Utrecht in 1541, and again at Paris in 1582: in which among his book of poems, entitled *Sylva* are the *Epithalamium* referred to at *p.* 68; and 'The Palace of Money,' *Regia Pecunia*, the autographic copy of which is in Harl. MS. 4935, in the British Museum. Secundus wrote Elegies, Odes, Epigrams, &c.; and among other, 'A Monody on the death of Sir Thomas More.')

1547. Jan. 28. Edward VI. comes to the throne.

- *1550. æt. 18. 'Also in our Eglogue intituled *Elpine*, which we made being but eightene yeares old, to King *Edward* the sixt a Prince of great hope.' *p.* 180. [This fixes the author's birth between 1529-1535. Taking a mean date, he may be assumed to have been born within a year, either way, of 1532.]
 'Specially in the Courtiers of forraigne countreyes, where in my youth I was brought vp, and very well obserued their maner of life and conuersation, for of mine owne country I haue not made so great experience.' *p.* 308.
 'I my selfe hauing seene the Courts of Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, and that of the Empire, with many inferior Courts.' *p.* 277.
 'Being in Italy conuersant with a certain gentleman, who had long trauielled the Orientall parts of the world, and seene the Courts of the great Princes of China and Tartarie.' *p.* 104.
 His foreign travels are referred to at *fp.* 216, 278, 279, 305.

1553. July 6. Mary succeeds to the crown.

1553. Oct. 5. Parliament meets. By the first Motion and Nomination of (Thursday.) Mr. Treasurer of the Queen's House, the Worshipful Mr. *John Pollard*, Esq. [who sat for *Oxfordshire* not *Yorkshire*. Willis's *Notitia Parl.* P. II. iii. 29, *Ed.* 1750] excellent in the Laws of this Realm, was elected speaker. *Commons Journals*, i. 27.
 1553. Oct. 9. On *Monday* afternoon, Mr. Speaker made an excellent Oration before the Queen's Highness sitting in the Royal Seat in the Parliament Chamber; all the Nobles and Commons assembled. *Idem.* See *p.* 151.

1558. Nov. 17. Elizabeth begins to reign.

- 1559-1567. *Margaret, Duchess of Parma, Regent of the Netherlands.*
 [?] Our author 'is a beholder of the feast' given by the Regent at Brussels to Henry, Earl of Arundel, 'passing from England towards Italie by her Maesties licence.' *p.* 278.
 1560-1574. *Charles IX. King of France.*
 [?] 'In the time of *Charles* the ninth French king, I being at the Spaw waters, there lay a Marshall of *Fraunce* called *Monsieur de Sipier*' [who apparently dies there]. *p.* 285.
 [?] 'Or else be locked into the Church by the Sexten as I my selfe was once serued reading an Epitaph in a certain cathedrall Church of England.' *p.* 71.
 [?] *The Golden Knight* and the Knight called *Saint Sunday*; both living when our Author wrote. *p.* 291.
 [?] 'Quoth the Iudge [apparently dead at the time of writing] what neede of such eloquent termes [as *violent persuasions*] in this place?' *p.* 153.
 [At *pp.* 169-178 of Cott. MS. *Vespasian E. viii.*, written in a small hand, is a *copy* of 17 poems, which were printed by Mr. Haslewood in his edition of the present work in 1811. The first is headed—
The principall addresse in nature of a new years gifte, seeminge thereby the author intended not to have his name knowne.
 These poems are the *Partheniades* of our author. The somewhat modern copy is apparently imperfect: as the 15th in its order is quoted as the 20th, and the 16th as the 18th. The following are also quoted—the 2d, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 12th. Three poems at least are therefore omitted, besides

some transposition of the order in the copy. In the last poem are these lines, which fix the date at 1 Jan. 1579:—

‘But O, nowe twentye yeare agon,
Forsakinge Greece for Albion,
Where thow alone doost rule and raygne,
Empresse and Queene of great brittrayne.’]

1579. Jan. 1. Our author presented these *Partheniades* to the Queen.
1558-1579, Authorities differ as to Sir J. Throgmorton's tenure of the
or office of the Justice of the County Palatine of Chester. G.
1559-1564. Ormerod, *Hist. of Chester*, i. 59, 1819, states it to be from
1558-1579. In *Chetham Misc.* ii. 30, 1856, it is stated to be
only from 1559-1564. Probably the former is more correct.
Our author wrote the Knight's Epitaph. See p. 189.
[?] ‘I haue scene forraine Embassadors in the Quenes pres-
ence, laugh so dissolutely at some rare pastime or sport that
hath been made there. . . .’ p. 297.
[?] Serjeant Bendlowes saying on the Queen's progress in
Huntingdonshire.’ p. 266.
1579. Feb. 28. Sir Nicholas Bacon dies. See p. 152.
1580. Feb. 25. Henry, Earl of Arundel, dies. See p. 278.
1584. June 20. Date of John Soowthern's *Pandora*. See p. 3.

The author's other works anterior to the composition of this one:—

PROSE.

‘And whereof it first proceeded and grew, . . . appeareth more at large
in our bookes of *Ierrotekni*.’ p. 45.

‘We our selues who compiled this treatise haue written for pleasure a litle
brief *Romance* or historicall ditty in the English tong of the Isle of great
Britaine in short and long meetres. . . .’ p. 57.

‘Of all which matters, we haue more largely spoken in our bookes of the
origina's and pedigree of the English tong.’ p. 156.

‘Our booke which we haue written *de Decoro*.’ p. 283.

POETRY.

‘An hymphne written by vs to the Quenes Maiestie entitled (*Minerva*)’
Quoted at p. 244.

‘Our Comedie intituled *Ginecocratia*.’ Described, p. 146.

‘Our Enterlude intituled *Lustie London*.’ Quoted, pp. 183, 208.

‘Our Enterlude called *The Wooer*.’ Quoted, pp. 212, 233.

‘In a worke of ours intituled *Philo Calia*, where we entreat of the loves
betwene prince *Philo* and Lady *Calia*.’ p. 256. Quoted at p. 110.

‘Our *Triumphals* written in honour of her Maiesties long peace.’ p. 61.

The following entry appears in the Register of the Sta-
tioners' Company:—

1588. Nov. 9. ix. of No. Tho. Orwyn. Allowed unto him to prynte etc.
The Arte of Englishe Poesie in Thre Bookes, the first of
Poets and Poesye, the second of Proportion, and the third
of Ornamente. 2yd.

[This important work appeared in 1859, “Printed by
Richard Field, dwelling in the Black-Friars, neere Ludgate,”
where he was then carrying on the business, to which he had
succeeded from marrying Vautrollier's daughter. The
authorship of the volume is doubtful, no name appearing in any
part of the more than 250 quarto pages, although the writer
over and over again mentions and quotes his own poems,
and treats of the compositions of nearly all the writers of the
day—*J. P. Collier in ‘Notes and Queries,’* 2d S., xii. 143.]

1589. Feb. 3. A second entry occurs in the Stationers' Co.'s Registers :
 Rich. Feild. *Thart of English Poesie*, beinge before
 entred for Tho. Orwin's copie, and is by his consent now
 put over to Rich. Field. *tyd.*
 [See for the entry to Orwin, (above) : the imprint of the
 edition, 4to, 1589, is "At London, printed by Richard
 Field, dwelling in the Black-Friars, neere Ludgate;" and
 Orwin does not appear to have had any interest in the work.
 Field, as already stated, was from Stratford-on-Avon, and
 was the typographer, employed by Shakespeare for his
Venus and Adonis, 1593, and *Lucrece*, 1594; and by Spen-
 ser for the edit. of *The Faerie Queen*, in 1596. *J. P. Collier.*
Idem p. 243.]
- May 28. Date of the printer's dedication of the book to Lord
 Burghley, *see* p. 18.
- * June. The book published.

1 Sir JOHN HARRINGTON, in his Preface to *Orlando Furioso*, in English Heroical verses. London. fol. 1591 : thus refers to our Author; and controverts his opinion as to translators being no Poets.

Neither do I suppose it to be greatly behoofull for this purpose, to trouble you with the curious definitions of a Poet and Poesie, and with the subtil distinctions of their sundrie kinds; nor to dispute how high and supernatural the name of a maker is, so christened in English by that vnknowne Godfather, that this last yeare saue one, viz. 1589. set forth a booke called the Arte of English Poetrie: and least of all do I purpose to bestow any long time to argue, whether *Plato*, *Zenophon*, and *Erasmus*, writing fictions and Dialogues in prose, may iustly be called Poets, or whether *Lucan* writing a story in verse be an historiographer, or whether Mayster *Faire* translating *Virgil*, Mayster *Golling* translating *Ovids* metamorphosis, and my selfe in this worke that you see, be any more then versifiers, as the same *Iguoto* termeth all translators: for as for all, or the most part of such questions, I will refer you to Sir *Philip Sidney's* Apologie [*in MS. but not printed when Harrington thus quotes it. It was first published in 1595*], who doth handle them right learnedly, or to the forenamed treatise where they are discoursed more largely, and where, as it were a whole receipt of Poetrie is prescribed, with so manie new figures, as would put me in great hope in this age to come, would breed manie excellent Poets; saue for one obseruation that I gather out of the verie same book. For though the poore gentleman laboreth greatly to proue, or rather to make Poetrie an art, and reciteth as you may see in the plural number, some pluralities of patterns, and parcels of his owne Poetrie, with diuers pieces of Partheniads and hymnes in praise of the most praiseworthy; yet whatsoever he would proue by all these, sure in my poore opinion he doth proue nothing more plainly, then that which *M. Sidney* and all the learned sort that haue written of it, do pronounce, namely that it is a gift and not an art, I say he proueth it, because making himselfe and so manie others so cunning in the art, yet he sheweth himselfe so slender a gift in it; deservung to be commended as *Martiall* praiseth one that he compares to *Tully*.

*Carmina quod scribis et Apolline nullo
 Laudari debes, hoc Ciceronis habes.*

2 Mr. Haslewood [*Cens. Lit.* ii. 40. Ed. 1809] was of opinion, that FRANCIS MERES, M.A., derived from the present work (and especially Bk. I. Chap. 31) the greater portion of his *Comparative discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine and Italian Poets*, at pp. 279-287 of his '*Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury*,' 1598: and that W. VAUGHAN, M.A., in *The Golden Grove*, 2d Ed. 1608; in Chap. 44, Book III. *Of Poetry, and the excellencie thereof*: and HENRY PEACHAM, M.A., in *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1622; in Chap. 10 *Of Poetrie*, pp. 78-96; also borrowed unacknowledged information from the present work.

EVIDENCE in favour of GEORGE PUTTENHAM

being the Author of this book.

*1532.

[*1534 or *1535.

Approximate date of birth of the Author.

Sir T. Elyot, in his dedication of *The Education or bringinge vp of children*, printed in 1535 'to his only entirely beloued syster Margaret Puttenham,' writes, 'I therefore in tymes vacant from busynes and other more serious study, as it were for my solace and recreation, have translated for you this lytell treatise entituled the Education of chyldren, and made by Plutarch the excellent philosopher and mayster of Traiane, moost vertuous and noble of all Emperours. . . . And it shall only suffice me, if I by this littel labour I may cause you myn entirely beloued syster to folowe theintente of Plutarche, in brynginge and inducyng my litell newewes into the trayne and rule of vertue, whereby they shall synallye attayne to honour (god so disposynge) to the inestimable comforte of theyr naturall parents, and other theyr louynge friendes: and moste specially to the high pleasure of god, commodite and profite of theyr countray. Thus hartily fare ye well, and kepe with you this token of my tender loue to you, which with the vertue and towardnes of your children shall be continually augmented. From London the. xxvii. day of Novembre' [*1534 or 1535.]

Can George and Richard Puttenham be these 'neuwes' of Sir T. Elyot, for whom he wrote this book: and the children of Sir Thomas' 'only' entirely beloued syster Margaret, married to — Puttenham?

The following entry occurs in the Register of the Stationer's Company:

1588, Nov. 9.

ix. of No. Tho. Orwyn. Allowed unto him to prynte etc. *The Arte of Englishe Poesie in Three Bookes, the first of Poets and Poesye, the second of Proportion, and the third of Ornamente.* 2jd.

[The most plausible claim [to the authorship] is that of George Puttenham, who had a brother one of the Queen's Yeomen of the Guard, named Richard Puttenham, who was buried at St. Clement Danes, on 2d July 1601. There is extant, under the date of 8 Feb. 1584-5, an order from the Lords of the Queen's Council in the following form, which we give because it has hitherto been passed over, and because it refers to a man of so much literary distinction:—

"The Order of the Lords.—Whereas George Puttenham, gent., hath been a long sutor to her Ma^{tie} and us to be recompensed to the value of one thousand pounds, as well in respect that he did incurre so much loss in obeying her Ma^{ties} commaundement, as for other causes conteyned in a secedule and order wherunto wee have sett to our hands. Now, at his humble sute and request we (having considered the equitie of the cause, and being desirouse to doe the said suppliant good aid and furtherance in his said sute in respect of his obedience) have ordered and so require that Mr. Secretarie in our name (and for the causes above said) doe prefer to her Ma^{tie} the humble sute of the said suppliant with this recommendation from us; and that her Ma^{tie} may be pleased to rest satisfied with our opinion in the equitie of the cause.

'Tho. Brumley, canc., Robert Leycester,
H. Hunsden, William Burley, C. Howard,
James Croftes.'

By a long explanatory paper annexed, it appears that the dispute was between George Puttenham and his brother Richard. From the Book of Decrees of the Court of Requests, we learn that in 28 Eliz., Richard Puttenham was in most distressed circumstances, having been four years in prison, and having had to maintain 'a proud stubborn woman, his wife, in unbridled liberty:' he was thus worth no more than 'the simple garment on his back.' These particulars are as new as they are curious, and are derived from the original documents —*Mr. J. P. Collier, in Notes and Queries*, 2nd S. xii. 143.]

[Mr. Haslewood in *Ancient Critical Essays*, i. 1 Ed. 1800, gives the following information:—"In the prerogative court of Canterbury there is a nuncupative will dated the first of September, 1590, of *George Puttenham*, of London, Esquire, and probably our author, whereby, "First and principallie he bequethed his soull vnto Almighty God, and his bodie to be buried in christian buriall. Item, he gaue and bequeathed vnto Marye Symes, wydowe, his servant, as well for the good service she did him as alsoe for the money which she had laid forth for him, all and singular, his goods, chattels, leases, plate, redie money, linnen, wollen, brasse, peuter, stuff of household, bills, bonds, obligations, and all other his goodes and debts whatsoeuer, due or owinge vnto him. Alsoe his goods moueable or vnmoueable, of what kind nature qualitie or condicion, and in whose hands custodie or possession theye then were in, or remained, as well within his dwellinge howse as in anie other place or places within the realme of England. In the presence of Sebastian Archibould, scrivener: James Clerke, William Johnson, and diuers others." The probate act describes the defunct of Saint Bridgett's, in Fleet Street, London, Esq. There was also a *Richard Puttenham*, Esquire, whose will accords with the above as a scrivener's form, dated 16 Oct. 1597, he being "prisoner in her Majesty's Bench:" bequeaths all his property to his "verily reported and reputed daughter Katherine Puttenham." Considering the tenor of both Wills, the want of descendants of the name of Puttenham is no longer extraordinary."]

[Harl. MS. 831 is a clearly written copy, apparently of the *seventeenth* century, entitled—

An apologie, or true defens of her Maiesties honorable and good renowne against all such who haue sought or shall seek to blemish the same, with any iniustice, crueltie, or other unprincely behaviour in any partes of her Maiesties proceedings against the late Scottish Queene, Be it for her first surprince, imprisonment, process attayneder or death.

By very firme reasons, authorities and examples, proving that her Maiestie hath done nothing in the said action against the rules of honor or armes or otherwise, not warrantable by the law of God and of man.

Written by George Puttenham to the seruice of her Maiestie and for large satisfaction of all such persons both princely and private, who by ignorance of the case, or partiallite of mind shall happen to be irresolute and not well satisfied in the said cause.]

1. WILLIAM CAMDEN, in his *Remaines of a Greater Worke, concerning Britaine, &c.*, London, 1605, thus commences the section of *Poems*:—

'Of the dignity of Poetry much hath beene said by the worthy Sir *Philipp Sidney*, and by the gentleman which proued that Poets were the first *Politicians*, the first *Philosophers*, the first *Historiographers*.' Apparently Camden did not know who that gentleman was.

2. EDMUND BOLTON left behind him a MS. entitled *Hypercritica, a Rule of Judgement for writing or reading our history's*, in four addresses: the last of which is entitled *Prime Gardens for gathering English: according to the true gage or standard of the Tongue, about 15 or 16 years ago*. This address—though not published till 1722 by A. Hall—was undoubtedly written in the reign of James I., probably about 1620, not 1610, as A. à Wood thought. The year 1605 should probably be associated with the following remark:—

'Q. Elizabeth's verses, those which I have seen and read, some exist in the elegant, witty and artificial Book of the *Art of English Poetry*, (the Work as the Fame is) of one of her Gentlemen Pensioners, *Puttenham*, are Princely, as her prose.'—*Sect. iv.*, p. 236, ed. 1722.

This is the earliest trace at present of Puttenham's name being associated with *The Arte of English Poesie*.

3. In 1614, the second edition of Camden's *Remaines*, Reviewed, corrected and increased, appeared. It contained a paper of ten pages on *The Excellencie of the English tongue*, by *R[ichard] C[arew] of [St.] Anthony, Esquire, to W[illiam] C[amden]*.

CAREW, at p. 42, says, 'And in a word, to close vp these proofs of our copiousnesse, looke into our Imitations of all sorts of verses afforded by any other language, and you shall finde that Sir *Philip Sydney*, Master *Putten-*

ham, Maister *Stainhurst* and diuers more haue made vse how farre wee are within compasse of a fare imagined possibilitie in that behalfe'—an allusion to Puttenham more as a versifier than a poetical critic.

This is all the evidence, by any contemporary of either Elizabeth or James.

A. A. Wood, following Bolton, gives the following very short account of Puttenham:—A worthy gentleman, his [Dyer's] contemporary, called ——— Puttenham, one of the gentlemen pensioners to qu. Elizabeth, who, according to fame, was author of *The Arte of English Poesie*, accounted in its time an elegant, witty, and artificial book; in which are some of the verses, made by qu. Elizabeth, extant; but whether this Puttenham was bred in Oxon I cannot yet tell. *Ath. Oxon.* i. 742. Ed. 1813.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Arte of English Poesie.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

I. As a separate publication.

- 1 1589. London. *Editio princeps*: see title on opposite page. This edition has become very scarce. Messrs. Willis and Sotheran, in *Bibliotheca Curiosa*, 1867, offered a copy at £5, 5s. Mr. Joseph Lilly, in his *Bibliotheca Anglo-Curiosa*, is now offering a copy at £4, 14s. 6d. He states that copies of this edition sold at Col. Stanley's sale for £21, at Hibbert's for £13, 13s., and at the Roxburghe sale for £16, 5s. 6d.

Three copies of the original edition have been used in preparing the present reprint—Ben Jonson's copy in the Grenville Collection, and another also in the British Museum, (Press-mark 1077. f.) together with a third kindly lent me by J. P. Collier, Esq., F.S.A.

This last copy formerly belonged to Dr. Farmer. Inside its cover, are noted the following prices paid for it, long ago; which strongly contrast with the more recent figures quoted above:—

Sold at Mr. West's auction, No. 1815, for £1, 13s. Egerton, 1788, £2, 2s. While Mr. Collier bought it at Dr. Farmer's sale for £2, 14s.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. As a separate publication.

- 3 10 April 1869. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at p. 1. London.

II. With other works.

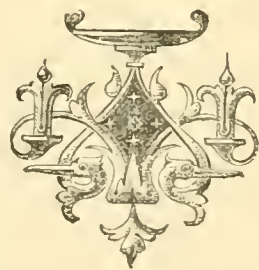
- 2 1811-16. Lond. *Ancient Critical Essays*: Ed. by JOSEPH HASLEWOOD. Puttenham occupies the whole of the first volume published in 1811. In addition to *The Arte of English Poesie* is reprinted the *Partheniades*, from the Cottonian MS.

Mr. Lilly, in offering in his *Bibliotheca Anglo-Curiosa*, a copy of this edition at £2, 12s. 6d., states, 'Only 200 copies were printed, which were published at £3, 3s. each; but the greater part of them were destroyed at the fire at Mr. Bensley's printing office.'

It may be therefore fairly assumed that there are hardly more than three hundred copies of the present work in existence in any form, anterior to the present edition.

THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE.

Contriued into three Bookes : The first of
Poets and Poefie, the fecond of Pro-
portion, the third of Ornament.



AT LONDON
Printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the
black-Friers, neere Ludgate.

1589.



TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR VVILLIAM CECILL
KNIGHT, LORD OF BVRGHLEY, LORD
HIGH TREASVRER OF ENGLAND, R. F.

Printer wisheth health and prosperitie, with
the commandement and vse of his
continuall seruice.



*His Booke (right Honorable) comming to my
handes, with his bare title without any Authours
name or any other ordinarie addresse, I doubted how
well it might become me to make you a present thereof,
seeming by many expresse passages in the same at large,
that it was by the Authour intended to our Soueraigne
Lady the Queene, and for her recreation and seruice chiefly deuised,
in which case to make any other person her highnes partener in the
honour of his giuft it could not stand with my dutie, nor be without
some preiudice to her Maiesties interest and his merrite. Perceyuing
besides the title to purport so slender a subiect, as nothing almost could
be more discrepant from the grauitie of your yeeres and Honorable
function, whose contemplations are euery houre more seriously em-
ployed vpon the publicke administration and seruices: I thought it
no condigne gratification, nor scarce any good satisfaction for such
a person as you. Yet when I considered, that bestowyng vpon your
Lordship the first reue of this mine impression (a feat of mine owne
simple facultie) it could not scypher her Maiesties honour or prero-
gatiue in the giuft, nor yet the Authour of his thanks: and seeing
the thing it selfe to be a deuice of some nouellie (which commonly
giueth euery good thing a speciall grace) and a nouellie so highly
tending to the most worthy prayses of her Maiesties most excellent
name (dearer to you I dare conceiue them any worldly thing besides)
mee thought I could not deuise to haue presented your Lordship any
gift more agreable to your appetite, or fitter for my vocation and
abilitie to bestow, your Lordship beyng learned and a louer of learn-
ing, my present a Booke and my selfe a printer alwaies ready and
desirous to be at your Honourable commaundement. And
thus I humbly take my leaue from the Black-
friars, this xxviij. of May. 1589.*

Your Honours most humble
at commaundement,

R. F.

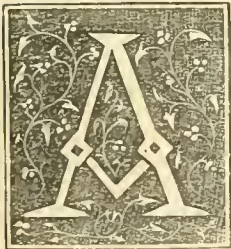


THE FIRST BOOKE,

Of Poets and Poesie.

CHAP. I.

*What a Poet and Poesie is, and who may be worthily
sayd the most excellent Poet of our time.*



Poet is as much to say as a maker. And our English name well conformes with the Greeke word: for of ποιην to make, they call a maker *Poeta*. Such as (by way of resemblance and reuerently) we may say of God: who without any trauell to his diuine imagination, made all the world of nought, nor also by any paterne or mould as the Platonicks with their Ideas do phantastically suppose. Euen so the very Poet makes and contriues out of his owne braine, both the verie and matter of his poeme, and not by any foreine copie or example, as doth the translator, who therefore may well be sayd a versifier, but not a Poet. The premises considered, it giueth to the name and profession no smal dignitie and preheminence, aboue all other artificers, Scientificke or Me-

chanicall. And neuerthelesse without any repugnancie at all, a Poet may in some fort be said a follower or imitator, because he can expresse the true and liuely of euery thing is set before him, and which he taketh in hand to describe: and so in that respect is both a maker and a counterfaior: and Poesie an art not only of making, but also of imitation. And this science in his perfection, can not grow, but by some diuine instinct, the Platonicks call it *furor*: or by excellencie of nature and complexion: or by great subtiltie of the spirits and wit, or by much experience and obseruation of the world, and course of kinde, or peraduenture by all or most part of them. Otherwise how was it possible that *Homer* being but a poore priuate man, and as some say, in his later age blind, should so exactly set forth and describe, as if he had bene a most excellent Captaine or Generall, the order and array of battels, the conduct of whole armies, the sieges and assaults of cities and townes? or as some great Princes maiordome and perfect Surueyour in Court, the order, sumptuousnesse and magnificence of royal bankets, feasts, weddings, and enteruewes? or as a Polititian very prudent, and much inured with the priuat and publique affaires, so grauely examine the lawes and ordinances Ciuill, or so profoundly discourse in matters of estate, and formes of all politique regiment? Finally how could he so naturally paint out the speeches, countenance and maners of Princely persons and priuate, to wit, the wrath of *Achilles*, the magnanimitie of *Agamemnon*, the prudence of *Mene-laüs*, the prowesse of *Hector*, the maiestie of king *Priamus*, the grauitie of *Nestor*, the pollicies and eloquence of *Vlysses*, the calamities of the distressed *Queenes*, and valiance of all the Captaines and aduenturous knights in those lamentable warres of Troy? It is therefore of Poets thus to be conceiued, that if they be able to deuise and make all these things of them selues, without any subiect of veritie, that they be (by maner of speech) as creating gods. If they do it by instinct diuine or naturall, then surely much fauoured from aboue. If by

their experience, then no doubt very wise men. If by any president or paterne layd before them, then truly the most excellent imitators and counterfaiors of all others. But you (Madame) my most Honored and Gracious: if I should seeme to offer you this my deuise for a disciplinè and not a delight, I might well be reputed, of all others the most arrogant and iniurious: your selfe being already, of any that I know in our time, the most excellent Poet. Forsooth by your Princely purse fauours and countenance, making in maner what ye list, the poore man rich, the lewd well learned, the coward couragious, and vile both noble and valiant. Then for imitation no lesse, your person as a most cunning counterfaior liuely representing *Venus* in countenance, in life *Diana*, *Pallas* for gouernement, and *Iuno* in all honour and regall magnificence.

CHAP. II.

That there may be an Art of our English Poesie, aswell as there is of the Latine and Greeke.



Then as there was no art in the world till by experience found out: so if Poesie be now an Art, and of al antiquitie hath bene among the Greeks and Latines, and yet were none, vntill by studious persons fashioned and reduced into a method of rules and precepts, then no doubt may there be the like with vs. And if th'art of Poesie be but a skill appertaining to vtterance, why may not the same be with vs aswel as with them, our language being no lesse copious pithie and significatiue then theirs, our conceipts the same, and our wits no lesse apt to deuise and imitate then theirs were? If againe Art be but a certaine order of rules prescribed by reason, and gathered by experience, why should not Poesie be a vulgar Art with vs aswel as with the Greeks and Latines, our language admitting no fewer rules and nice diuersities then theirs? but peradventure moe by a peculiar, which our speech hath in many things differing from theirs: and yet in the generall points of that Art, allowed to

go in common with them: so as if one point perchance which is their feete whereupon their measures stand, and in deede is all the beautie of their Poesie, and which feete we haue not, nor as yet neuer went about to frame (the nature of our language and wordes not permitting it) we haue in stead thereof twentie other curious points in that skill more then they euer had, by reason of our rime and tunable concords or simphonie, which they neuer obserued. Poesie therefore may be an Art in our vulgar, and that verie methodicall and commendable.

CHAP. III.

How Poets were the first priests, the first prophets, the first Legislators and polititians in the world.



He profession and vse of Poesie is most ancient from the beginning, and not as manie erroneously suppose, after, but before any ciuil society was among men. For it is written, that Poesie was th'originall cause and occasion of their first assemblies, when before the people remained in the woods and mountains, vagarant and dispersed like the wild beasts, lawlesse and naked, or verie ill clad, and of all good and necessarie prouision for harbour or sustenance vtterly vnfurnished: so as they litle diffred for their maner of life, from the very brute beasts of the field. Whereupon it is sayned that *Amphion* and *Orpheus*, two Poets of the first ages, one of them, to wit *Amphion*, builded vp cities, and reared walles with the stones that came in heapes to the sound of his harpe, figuring thereby the mollifying of hard and stonie hearts by his sweete and eloquent perswasion. And *Orpheus* assembled the wilde beasts to come in heards to harken to his musicke, and by that meanes made them tame, implying thereby, how by his discreete and wholsome lessons vttered in harmonie and with melodious instruments, he brought the rude and sauage people to a more ciuill and orderly life, nothing, as it seemeth, more preuailing or fit to redresse and edifie the cruell and sturdie

courage of man then it. And as these two Poets and *Linus* before them, and *Museus* also and *Hesiodus* in Greece and Archadia: so by all likelihood had no Poets done in other places, and in other ages before them, though there be no remembrance left of them. by reason of the Records by some accident of time perished and failing. Poets therefore are of great antiquitie. Then forasmuch as they were the first that attended to the obseruation of nature and her works, and specially of the Celestiall courses, by reason of the continuall motion of the heauens, seaching after the first mouer, and from thence by degrees comming to know and consider of the substances separate and abstract. which we call the diuine intelligences or good Angels (*Demonies*) they were the first that instituted sacrifices of placion, with inuocations and worship to them, as to Gods: and inuented and stablished all the rest of the obseruances and ceremonies of religion, and so were the first Priests and ministers of the holy misteries. And because for the better execution of that high charge and function, it behoued them to liue chaste, and in all holines of life, and in continuall studie and contemplation: they came by instinct diuine, and by deepe meditation, and much abstinence (the same assubtiling and refining their spirits) to be made apt to receaue visions, both waking and sleeping, which made them vtter prophecies, and foretell things to come. So also were they the first Prophetes or seears, *Videntes*, for so the Scripture termeth them in Latine after the Hebrue word, and all the oracles and answers of the gods were giuen in meeter or verse, and published to the people by their direction. And for that they were aged and graue men, and of much wisedome and experience in th'affaires of the world, they were the first lawmakers to the people, and the first polititiens, deuising all expedient meanes for th'establishment of Common wealth, to hold and containe the people in order and duety by force and vertue of good and wholesome lawes, made for the preservation of the publike peace and tranquillitie. The

fame peradventure not purpofely intended, but greatly furthered by the aw of their gods, and fuch scruple of confcience, as the terrors of their late inuented religion had led them into.

CHAP. IIII.

How Poets were the first Philosophers, the first Astronomers and Historiographers and Oratours and Musitiens of the world.



Vtterance also and language is giuen by nature to man for perfwasion of others, and aide of them felues, I meane the first abilitie to speake. For speech it felfe is artificiall and made by man, and the more pleasing it is, the more it preuaileth to fuch purpofe as it is intended for: but speech by meeter is a kind of vtterance, more cleanly couched and more delicate to the eare then profe is, becaufe it is more currant and flipper vpon the tongue, and withal tunable and melodious, as a kind of Muficke, and therfore may be tearmed a muficall speech or vtterance, which cannot but please the hearer very well. Another caufe is, for that is briefer and more compendious, and eafier to beare away and be retained in memorie, then that which is contained in multitude of words and full of tedious ambage and long periods. It is befide a maner of vtterance more eloquent and rethoricall then the ordinarie profe, which we vfe in our daily talke: becaufe it is decked and fet out with all maner of frefh colours and figures, which maketh that it fooner inuegleth the iudgement of man, and carieth his opinion this way and that, whither foeuer the heart by impreffion of the eare fhallbe moft affectionatly bent and directed. The vtterance in profe is not of fo great efficacie, becaufe not only it is dayly vfed, and by that occafion the eare is ouergluttred with it, but is alfo not fo voluble and flipper vpon the tong, being wide and lofe, and nothing numerous, nor contriued into meafures, and founded with fo gallant and harmonical accents, nor in fine allowed that figuratiue conueyance, nor fo great licence in

choife of words and phrafes as meeter is. So as the Poets were alfo from the beginning the beft perfwaders and their eloquence the firft Rethoricke of the world. Euen fo it became that the high myfteries of the gods fhould be reuealed and taught, by a maner of vtterance and language of extraordinarie phrafe, and briefe and compendious, and aboue al others sweet and ciuill as the Metricall is. The fame alfo was meeteft to register the liues and noble gefts of Princes, and of the great Monarkes of the world, and all other the memorable accidents of time: fo as the Poet was alfo the firft hiftoriographer. Then forasmuch as they were the firft obferuers of all naturall caufes and effects in the things generable and corruptible, and from thence mounted vp to fearch after the celeftiall courfes and influences, and yet penetrated further to know the diuine effences and fubftances feparate, as is fayd before, they were the firft Aftronomers and Philofophifts and Metaphificks. Finally, becaufe they did altogether endeuor them felues to reduce the life of man to a certaine method of good maners, and made the firft differences betweene vertue and vice, and then tempered all thefe knowledges and skilles with the exercife of a delectable Muficke by melodious inftruments, which withall ferued them to delight their hearers, and to call the people together by admiration, to a plaufible and vertuous conuerfation, therefore were they the firft Philofophers Ethick, and the firft artificial Muficiens of the world. Such was *Linus*, *Orpheus*, *Amphion* and *Mufcus* the moft ancient Poets and Philofophers, of whom there is left any memorie by the prophane writers. King *David* alfo and *Salomon* his fonne and many other of the holy Prophets wrate in meeters, and vfed to fing them to the harpe, although to many of vs ignorant of the Hebrue language and phrafe, and not obferuing it, the fame feeme but a profe. It can not bee therefore that anie fcorne or indignitie fhould iuftly be offred to fo noble, profitable, ancient and diuine a fciencie as Poefie is.

CHAP. V.

*How the wilde and sauage people vsed a naturall Poesie in
versicle and rime as our vulgar is.*



And the Greeke and Latine Poesie was by verse numerous and metricall, running vpon pleasant feete, sometimes swift, sometime slow (their words very aptly seruing that purpose) but without any rime or tunable concord in the end of their verses, as we and all other nations now vse. But the Hebrues and Chaldees who were more ancient then the Greekes, did not only vse a metricall Poesie, but also with the same a maner of rime, as hath bene of late obserued by learned men. Wherby it appeareth, that our vulgar running Poesie was common to all the nations of the world besides, whom the Latines and Greekes in speciall called barbarous. So as it was notwithstanding the first and most ancient Poesie, and the most vniuersall, which two points do otherwise giue to all humane inuentions and affaires no small credit. This is proued by certificate of marchants and trauellers, who by late nauigations haue surueyed the whole world, and discovered large countries and strange peoples wild and sauage, affirming that the American, the Perusine and the very Canniball, do sing and also say, their highest and holiest matters in certaine riming versicles and not in prose, which proues also that our maner of vulgar Poesie is more ancient then the artificiall of the Greeks and Latines, ours comming by instinct of nature, which was before Art or obseruation, and vsed with the sauage and vnciuill, who were before all science or ciuilitie, euen as the naked by prioritie of time is before the clothed, and the ignorant before the learned. The naturall Poesie therefore being aided and amended by Art, and not vtterly altered or obscured, but some signe left of it, (as the Greekes and Latines haue left none) is no lesse to be allowed and commended then theirs.

CIIAP. VI.

*How the riming Poesie came first to the Grecians and
Latines, and had altered and almost spilt
their maner of Poesie.*



Vt it came to passe, when fortune fled farre from the Greekes and Latines, and that their townes florished no more in traficke, nor their Vniuersities in learning as they had done continuing those Monarchies: the barbarous conquerers inuading them with innumerable swarmes of strange nations, the Poesie metricall of the Grecians and Latines came to be much corrupted and altered, in so much as there were times that the very Greekes and Latines themselues tooke pleasure in Riming verses, and vsed it as a rare and gallant thing: Yea their Oratours profes nor the Doctors Sermons were acceptable to Princes nor yet to the common people vnlesse it went in manner of tunable rime or metricall sentences, as appeares by many of the auncient writers, about that time and since. And the great Princes, and Popes, and Sultans would one salute and greet an other sometime in frendship and sport, sometime in earnest and enmitie by ryming verses, and nothing seemed clerkly done, but must be done in ryme: Whereof we finde diuers examples from the time of th'Emperours Gracian and Valentinian downwardes: For then aboutes began the declination of the Romain Empire, by the notable inundations of the *Hunnes* and *Vandalles* in Europe, vnder the conduict of *Totila* and *Atila* and other their generalles. This brought the ryming Poesie in grace, and made it preuaile in Italie and Greece (their owne long time cast aside, and almost neglected) till after many yeares that the peace of Italie and of th'Empire Occidentall reuiued new clerkes, who recouering and perusing the bookes and studies of the ciuiler ages, restored all maner of arts, and that of the Greeke and Latine Poesie withall into their former puritie and netnes. Which neuerthelesse did not so preuaile, but that the

yming Poetic of the Barbarians remained still in his reputation, that one in the schole, this other in Courts of Princes more ordinary and allowable.

CHAP. VIII.

How in the time of Charlemaine and many yeares after him the Latine Poetes wrote in ryme.



And this appeareth evidently by the workes of many learned men, who wrote about the time of *Charlemaines* raigne in the Empire *Occidentall*, where the Christian Religion, became through the excessiue authoritie of Popes, and deepe deuotion of Princes strongly fortified and established by erection of orders *Monastical*, in which many simple clerks for deuotion fake and sanctitie were receiued more then for any learning, by which occasion and the solitarinesse of their life, waxing studious without discipline or instruction by any good methode, some of them grew to be historiographers, some Poets, and following either the barbarous rudenes of the time, or els their own idle inuentions, all that they wrote to the fauor or prayse of Princes, they did it in such maner of minstrelsie, and thought themselues no small fooles, when they could make their verses goe all in ryme as did the schoole of *Salerne*, dedicating their booke of medicinall rules vnto our king of England, with this beginning.

*Anglorum Rege scripsit tota schoia Salerni
Si vis incolumem, si vis te reddere sanum
Curas tolle graues, irasci crede prophanum
Nec retine ventrem nec stringas fortiter a num.*

And all therest that follow throughout the whole booke more curiously then cleanelly, neuerthelesse very well to the purpose of their arte. In the same time king *Edward* the iij. him selfe quartering the Armes of England and France, did discouer his pretence and clayme to the Crowne of Fraunce, in these ryming verses.

*Rex sum regnorum bina ratione duorum
Anglorum regno sum rex ego iure paterno*

*Matris iure quidem Francorum nuncupor idem
Hinc est armorum variatio facta meorum.*

Which verses *Phillip de Valois* then possessing the Crowne as next heire male by pretexte of the law *Salique*, and holding out *Edward* the third, answered in these other of as good stuffe.

*Prædo regnorum qui diceris esse duorum
Regno materno priuaberis atque paterno
Prolis ius nullum ubi matris non fuit ullum
Hinc est armorum variatio stulta tuorum.*

It is found written of Pope *Lucius*, for his great avarice and tyranny vsed ouer the Clergy thus in ryming verses.

*Lucius est piscis rex et tyrannus aquarum
A quo discordat Lucius iste parum
Deuorat hic homines, his piscibus insidiatur
Efurit hic semper hic aliquando futur
Amborum vitam si laus æquata notaret
Plus rationis habet qui ratione caret.*

And as this was vsed in the greatest and gayest matters of Princes and Popes by the idle inuention of Monasticall men then rainging al in their superlatiue. So did euery scho-ler and fecular clerke or versifier, when he wrote any short poeme or matter of good lesion put it in ryme, whereby it came to passe that all your old Prouerbes and common sayinges, which they would haue plausible to the reader and easie to remember and beare away, were of that forte as these.

*In mundo mira faciunt duo nummus et ira
Mollificant dura peruertunt omnia iura.*

And this verse in dispraise of the Courtiers life following the Court of Rome.

Vita palatina dura est animæque ruina.

And these written by a noble learned man.

*Ire redire sequi regum sublimia castra
Eximius status est, sed non sic itur ad astra.*

And this other which to the great iniurie of all women was written (no doubt by some forlorne loue, or els some old malicious Monke) for one womans sake blemishing the whole sexe.

*Fallere flere nere mentiri nilque tacere
Hæc quinque vere statuit Deus in muliere.*

If I might haue bene his Iudge, I would haue had him for his labour, serued as *Orpheus* was by the women of *Thrace*. His eyes to be picket out with pinnes, for his so deadly belying of them, or worfe handled if worfe could be deuised. But will ye see how God raised a reuenger for the silly innocent women, for about the same ryming age came an honest ciuill Courtier somewhat bookish, and wrate these verses against the whole rable of Monkes.

*O Monachi vestri stomachi sunt amphora Bacchi
Vos estis Deus est testis turpissima pestis.*

Anon after came your secular Priests as iolly rymers as the rest, who being fore agreed with their Pope *Calixtus*, for that he had enioyned them from their wiues, and railed as fast against him.

*O bone Calixte totus mundus perodit te
Quondam Presbiteri, poterant vxoribus uti
Hoc destruxisti, postquam tu Papa fuisti.*

Thus what in writing of rymes and registring of lyes was the Clergy of that fabulous age wholly occupied.

We finde some but very few of these ryming verses among the Latines of the ciuiller ages, and those rather hapning by chaunce then of any purpose in the writer, as this *Distick* among the disportes of *Ouid*.

*Quot cælum stellas tot habet tua Roma puellas
Pasca quotque hædos tot habet tua Roma Cynædos,*

The posteritie taking pleasure in this manner of *Simphonie* had leasure as it seemes to deuise many other knackes in their versifying that the auncient and ciuill Poets had not vsed before, whereof one was to make euery word of a verse to begin with the same letter, as did *Hugobald* the Monke who made a large poeme to the honour of *Carolus Caluus*, euery word beginning with *C.* which was the first letter of the king name thus.

Carmina clarifonæ Caluis cantate camene.

And this was thought no small peece of cunning, being in deed a matter of some difficultie to finde out

so many wordes beginning with one letter as might make a iust volume, though in truth it were but a phantasticall deuise and to no purpose at all more then to make them harmonickall to the rude cares of those barbarous ages.

Another of their pretie inuentions was to make a verse of such wordes as by their nature and manner of construction and situation might be turned backward word by word, and make another perfit verse, but of quite contrary sence as the gibing Monke that wrote of Pope *Alexander* these two verses.

*Laus tua non tua fraus, virtus non copia rerum,
Scandere te faciunt hoc decus eximium.*

Which if ye will turne backwards they make two other good verses, but of a contrary sence, thus.

*Eximium decus hoc faciunt te scandere, rerum
Copia, non virtus, fraus tua non tua laus.*

And they called it *Verse Lyon*.

Thus you may see the humors and appetites of men how diuers and chaungeable they be in liking new fashions, though many tymes worse then the old, and not onely in the manner of their life and vse of their garments, but also in their learnings and arts and specially of their languages.

CHAP. VIII.

In what reputation Poesie and Poets were in old time with Princes and otherwise generallly, and how they be now become contemptible and for what causes.



Or the respectes aforeseyd in all former ages and in the most ciuill countreys and commons wealthes, good Poets and Poesie were highly esteemed and much fauoured of the greatest Princes. For prooffe whereof we read how much *Amyntas* king of *Macedonia* made of the Tragicall Poet *Enripides*. And the *Athenians* of *Sophocles*. In what price the noble poemes of *Homer* were holden with *Alexander* the great, in so much as euery night they were layd vnder his pillow, and by day were carried in

the rich iewell cofer of *Darius* lately before vanquished by him in battaile. And not onely *Homer* the father and Prince of the Poets was so honored by him, but for his sake all other meaner Poets, in so much as *Cherillus* one no very great good Poet had for euery verse well made a *Phillips* noble of gold, amounting in value to an angell English, and so for euery hundreth verses (which a cleanly pen could speedely dispatch) he had a hundred angels. And since *Alexander* the great how *Theocritus* the Greeke poet was fauored by *Tholomee* king of Egipt and Queene *Berenice* his wife, *Ennius* likewise by *Scipio* Prince of the *Romaines*, *Virgill* also by th'Emperour *Augustus*. And in later times how much were *Iehan de Mehune* and *Guillaume de Loris* made of by the French kinges, and *Geffrey Chaucer* father of our English Poets by *Richard* the second, who as it was supposed gaue him the maner of new Holme in Oxfordshire. And *Gouuer* to *Henry* the fourth, and *Harding* to *Edvard* the fourth. Also how *Francis* the Frenche king made *Sangelais*, *Salmonius*, *Macrinus*, and *Clement Marot* of his priuy Chamber for their excellent skill in vulgare and Latine Poefie. And king *Henry* the 8. her *Maieslies* father for a few Psalmes of *Dauid* turned into English meetre by Sternhold, made him groome of his priuy chamber, and gaue him many other good gifts. And one *Gray* what good estimation did he grow vnto with the same king *Henry*, and afterward with the Duke of Sommerfet Protectour, for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was *The hunte it [is?] vp, the hunte is vp*. And Queene *Mary* his daughter for one *Epithalamie* or nuptiall song made by *Vargas* a Spanish Poet at her mariage with king *Phillip* in Winchester gaue him during his life two hundred Crownes pension: nor this reputation was giuen them in auncient times altogether in respect that Poefie was a delicate arte, and the Poets themselves cunning Princepleasers, but for that also they were thought for their vniuersall knowledge to be very sufficient men for the greateſt charges in their common

wealthes, were it for counsell or for conduct, whereby no man neede to doubt but that both skilles may very well concurre and be most excellent in one person. For we finde that *Iulius Cæsar* the first Emperour and a most noble Captaine, was not onely the most eloquent Orator of his time, but also a very good Poet, though none of his doings therein be now extant. And *Quintus Catulus* a good Poet, and *Cornelius Gallus* treasurer of Egipt, and *Horace* the most delicate of all the Romain *Lyrickes*, was thought meete and by many letters of great instance prouoked to be Secretarie of estate to *Augustus* th'Emperour, which neuerthelesse he refused for his vnhealthiulnesse sake, and being a quiet mynded man and nothing ambitious of glory: *non voluit accedere ad Rempublicam*, as it is reported. And *Ennius* the Latine Poet was not as some perchaunce thinke, onely fauored by *Scipio* the *Africane* for his good making of verses, but vsed as his familiar and Counsellor in the warres for his great knowledge and amiable conuersation. And long before that *Antimenides* and other Greeke Poets, as *Aristotle* reportes in his Politiques, had charge in the warres. And *Piræus* the Poet being also a lame man and halting vpon one legge, was chosen by the Oracle of the gods from the *Athenians* to be generall of the *Lacedemonians* armie, not for his Poetrie, but for his wisedome and graue persuasions, and subtile Stratagemes whereby he had the victory ouer his enemies. So as the Poets seemed to haue skill not onely in the subtilties of their arte, but also to be meete for all maner of functions ciuill and martiall, euen as they found fauour of the times they liued in, insomuch as their credit and estimation generally was not small. But in these dayes (although some learned Princes may take delight in them) yet vniuersally it is not so. For as well Poets as Poesie are despised, and the name become, of honorable infamous, subiect to scorne and derision, and rather a reproch than a prayse to any that vseth it: for commonly who so is studious in th'Arte or shewes him selfe excellent

in it, they call him in disdayne a *phantaſticall*: and a light headed or phantaſticall man (by conuerſion) they call a Poet. And this proceedes through the barbarous ignoraunce of the time, and pride of many Gentlemen, and others, whoſe groſſe heads not being brought vp or acquainted with any excellent Arte, nor able to contriue, or in manner conceiue any matter of ſubtiltie in any buſineſſe or ſcience, they doe deride and ſcorne it in all others as ſuperfluous knowledges and vayne ſciences. and whatſoeuer deuife be of rare inuention they terme it *phantaſticall*, conſtruing it to the worſt ſide: and among men ſuch as be modeſt and graue, and of litle conuerſation, nor delighted in the buſie life and vayne ridiculous aſtions of the popular, they call him in ſcorne a *Philosopher* or *Poet*, as much to ſay as a phantaſticall man, very iniuriouſly (God wot) and to the manifeſtation of their own ignoraunce, not making difference betwixt termes. For as the euill and vicious diſpoſition of the braine hinders the ſounde iudgement and diſcourſe of man with buſie and diſordered phantaſies, for which cauſe the Greekes call him *φανταſτικος*, ſo is that part being well affected, not onely nothing diſorderly or confuſed with any monſtrous imaginations or conceits, but very formall, and in his much multiformitie *uniforme*, that is well proportioned, and ſo paſſing cleare, that by it as by a glaſſe or mirrour, are repreſented vnto the ſoule all maner of bewtiſull viſions, whereby the inuentiue parte of the mynde is ſo much holpen, as without it no man could deuife any new or rare thing: and where it is not excellent in his kind, there could be no politique Captaine, nor any witty enginer or cunning artificer, nor yet any law maker or counſellor of deepe diſcourſe, yea the Prince of Philoſophers ſlickes not to ſay *animam non intelligere abſque phantaſmate* which text to another purpoſe *Alexander Aphrodiſcus* well noteth, as learned men know. And this phantaſie may be reſembled to a glaſſe as hath bene ſayd, whereof there be many tempers and manner of makinges, as the *perſpectiues* doe

acknowledge, for some be false glasses and shew things otherwise than they be in deede, and others right as they be in deede, neither fairer nor fouler, nor greater nor smaller. There be againe of these glasses that shew things exceeding faire and comely, others that shew figures very monstrous and illfaured. Euen so is the phantastick part of man (if it be not disordered) a representer of the best, most comely and bewtifull images or apparances of things to the soule and according to their very truth. If otherwise, then doth it breede *Chimeres* and monsters in mans imaginations, and not onely in his imaginations, but also in all his ordinarie actions and life which ensues. Wherefore such persons as be illuminated with the brightest irradiations of knowledge and of the veritie and due proportion of things, they are called by the learned men not *phantastici* but *euphantasiote*, and of this sorte of phantasie are all good Poets, notable Captaines stratagematique, all cunning artificers and enginers, all Legislators Politiciens and Counsellours of estate, in whose exercises the inuentiue part is most employed and is to the sound and true iudgement of man most needful. This diuersitie in the termes perchance euery man hath not noted, and thus much be said in defence of the Poets honour, to the end no noble and generous minde be discomforted in the studie thereof, the rather for that worthy and honorable memoriall of that noble woman twise French Queene, Lady *Anne* of Britaine, wife first to king *Charles* the viij. and after to *Lewes* the xij. who passing one day from her lodging toward the kinges side, saw in a gallerie *Maister Allaine Chartier* the kings Secretarie, an excellent maker or Poet leaning on a tables end a sleepe, and stooped downe to kisse him. saying thus in all their hearings, we may not of Princely courtesie passe by and not honor with our kisse the mouth from whence so many sweete ditties and golden poems haue issued. But me thinks at these words I heare some smilingly say, I would be loath to lacke liuing of my own till the Prince gaue me a maner of new

Elme for my riming. And another to say I haue read that the Lady *Cynthia* came once downe out of her skye to kisse the faire yong lad *Endimion* as he lay a sleep: and many noble Queenes that haue bestowed kisses vpon their Princes paramours, but neuer vpon any Poets. The third me thinks shruggingly saith, I kept not to sit sleeping with my Poesie till a Queene came and kissed me. But what of all this? Princes may giue a good Poet such conuenient countenance and also benefite as are due to an excellent artificer, though they neither kisse nor cokes them, and the discreet Poet lookes for no such extraordinarie fauours, and aswell doth he honour by his pen the iust, liberall, or magnanimous Prince, as the valiaunt, amiable or bewtifull though they be euery one of them the good giftes of God. So it seemes not altogether the scorne and ordinarie disgrace offered vnto Poets at these dayes, is cause why few Gentlemen do delight in the Art, but for that liberalitie, is come to fayle in Princes, who for their largesse were wont to be accompted th'onely patrons of learning, and first founders of all excellent artificers. Besides it is not perceiued, that Princes them selues do take any pleasure in this science, by whose example the subiect is commonly led, and allured to all delights and exercises be they good or bad, according to the graue saying of the historian. *Rex multitudinem religione impleuit, quæ semper regenti similiis est.* And peraduenture in this iron and malicious age of ours, Princes are lesse delighted in it, being ouer earnestly bent and affected to the affaires of Empire and ambition, whereby they are as it were inforced to indeuour them selues to armes and practises of hostilitie, or to entend to the right pollicing of their states, and haue not one houre to bestow vpon any other ciuill or delectable Art of naturall or morall doctrine: nor scarce any leisure to thincke one good thought in perfect and godly contemplation, whereby their troubled mindes might be moderated and brought to tranquillitie. So as, it is hard to find in these dayes of noblemen or

gentlemen any good *Mathematician*, or excellent *Musitian*, or notable *Philosopher*, or els a cunning Poet: because we find few great Princes much delighted in the same studies. Now also of such among the Nobilitie or gentrie as be very well seene in many laudable sciences, and especially in making or Poesie, it is so come to passe that they haue no courage to write and if they haue, yet are they loath to be a knowen of their skill. So as I know very many notable Gentlemen in the Court that haue written commendably and suppressed it agayne, or els suffred it to be publisht without their owne names to it: as if it were a discredit for a Gentleman, to seeme learned, and to shew him selfe amorous of any good Art. In other ages it was not so, for we read that Kinges and Princes haue written great volumes and publisht them vnder their owne regall titles. As to begin with *Salomon* the wisest of Kings, *Iulius Cæsar* the greatest of Emperours, *Hermes Trismegistus* the holiest of Priestes and Prophetes, *Eua*x king of *Arabia* wrote a booke of precious stones in verse, Prince *Auicenna* of Phisicke and Philosophie, *Alphonfus* king of Spaine his Astronomicall Tables, *Almansor* a king of *Marrocco* diuerse Philosophicall workes, and by their regall example our late soueraigne Lord king *Henry* the eight wrate a booke in defence of his faith, then perswaded that it was the true and Apostolicall doctrine, though it hath appeared otherwise since, yet his honour and learned zeale was nothing lesse to be allowed. Queenes also haue bene knowen studious, and to write large volumes, as Lady *Margaret* of Fraunce Queene of *Nauarre* in our time. But of all others the Emperour *Nero* was so well learned in Musique and Poesie, as when he was taken by order of the Senate and appointed to dye, he offered violence to him selfe and sayd, *O quantus artifex perco!* as much as to say, as, how is it possible a man of such science and learning as my selfe, should come to this shamefull death? Th'emperour *Oclauian* being made executor to *Virgill*, who had left by his last will and testa-

ment, that his bookes of the *Æneidos* should be committed to the fire as things not perfit by him, made his excuse for infringing the deads will, by a number of verses most excellently written, whereof these are part.

Frangatur potius legum veneranda potestas,

Quàm tot congestos noctesque diūque labores

Hauserit una dies. And put his name to them.

And before him his vncle and father adoptiue *Julius Cæsar*, was not ashamed to publish vnder his owne name, his Commentaries of the French and Britaine warres. Since therefore so many noble Emperours, Kings and Princes haue bene studious of Poesie and other ciuill arts, and not ashamed to bewray their skills in the same, let none other meaner person despise learning, nor (whether it be in prose or in Poesie, if they them selues be able to write, or haue written any thing well or of rare inuention) be any whit squeimish to let it be publisht vnder their names, for reason serues it, and modestie doth not repugne.

CHAP. IX.

*How Poesie should not be employed vpon vayne conceits
or vicious or infamous.*



Herefore the Nobilitie and dignitie of the Art considered aswell by vniuersalitie as antiquitie and the naturall excellence of it selfe, Poesie ought not to be abased and employed vpon any vnworthy matter and subiect, nor vsed to vaine purposes, which neuerthelesse is dayly seene, and that is to vtter conceits infamous and vicious or ridiculous and foolish, or of no good example and doctrine. Albeit in merry matters (not vn honest) being vsed for mans solace and recreation it may be well allowed, for as I said before, Poesie is a pleasant maner of vtteraunce varying from the ordinarie of purpose to refresh the mynde by the eares delight. Poesie also is not only laudable, because I said it was a metricall speach vsed by the first men, but

because it is a metricall speach corrected and reformed by discreet iudgements, and with no lesse cunning and curiositie then the Greeke and Latine Poefie, and by Art bewtified and adorned, and brought far from the primitiue rudeneffe of the first inuentors, otherwise it may be sayd to me that *Adam* and *Eues* apernes were the gayest garmentes, because they were the first, and the shepheardes tente or pauillion, the best housing, because it was the most auncient and most vniuersall: which I would not haue so taken, for it is not my meaning but that Art and cunning concurring with nature, antiquitie and vniuersalitie, in things indifferent, and not euill, doe make them more laudable. And right so our vulgar riming Poefie, being by good wittes brought to that perfection we see, is worthily to be preferred before any other maner of vtterance in prose, for such vse and to such purpose as it is ordained, and shall hereafter be set downe more particularly.

CHAP. X.

The subiect or matter of Poefie.



HAuing sufficiently sayd of the dignitie of Poets and Poefie, now it is tyme to speake of the matter or subiect of Poefie, which to myne intent is, what soeuer wittie and delicate conceit of man meet or worthy to be put in written verse, for any necessary vse of the present time, or good instruction of the posteritie. But the chief and principall is: the laud honour and glory of the immortall gods (I speake now in phrase of the Gentiles.) Secondly the worthy gests of noble Princes: the memoriall and registry of all great fortunes, the praise of vertue and reproofe of vice, the instruction of morall doctrines, the reuealing of sciences naturall and other profitable Arts, the redresse of boistrous and sturdie courages by perswasion, the consolation and repose of temperate myndes, finally the common solace of mankind in all his trauals and cares of this transitorie life. And in this last sort being vsed

for recreation onely, may allowably beare matter not alwayes of the graueſt, or of any great commoditie or profit, but rather in ſome ſort, vaine, diſſolute, or wanton, ſo it be not very ſcandalous and of euill example. But as our intent is to make this Art vulgar for all Engliſh mens uſe, and therefore are of neceſſitie to ſet downe the principal rules therein to be obſerued: ſo in mine opinion it is no leſſe expedient to touch briefly all the chief points of this auncient Poefie of the Greeks and Latines, ſo far forth as it conformeth with ours. So as it may be knowen what we hold of them as borrowed, and what as of our owne peculiar. Wherefore now that we haue ſaid, what is the matter of Poefie, we will declare the manner and formes of poemēs vſed by the auncients.

CHAP. XI.

Of poemēs and their fundry formes and how thereby the auncient Poets receaued furnames.



AS the matter of Poefie is diuers, ſo was the forme of their poemēs and maner of writing, for all of them wrote not in one ſort, euen as all of them wrote not vpon one matter. Neither was euery Poet alike cunning in all as in ſome one kinde of Poefie, nor vttered with like felicitie. But wherein any one moſt excelled, thereof he tooke a furname, as to be called a Poet *Heroick*, *Lyrick*, *Elegiack*, *Epigrammatist* or otherwiſe. Such therefore as gaue themſelues to write long hiſtories of the noble geſts of kings and great Princes entermeddling the dealings of the gods, halfe gods or *Heroes* of the gentiles, and the great and waighty conſequences of peace and warre, they called Poets *Heroick*, whereof *Homer* was chief and moſt auncient among the Greeks, *Virgill* among the Latines: Others who more delighted to write ſongs or ballads of pleaſure, to be ſong with the voice, and to the harpe, lute, or citheron and ſuch other muſical, inſtruments, they were called melodious Poets [*melici*] or by a more common

name *Lirique* Poets, of which sort was *Pindarus*, *Anacreon* and *Callimachus* with others among the Greeks: *Horace* and *Catullus* among the Latines. There were an other sort, who sought the fauor of faire Ladies, and coueted to bemone their estates at large, and the perplexities of loue in a certain pitious verse called *Elegie*, and thence were called *Eligiack*: such among the Latines were *Ouid*, *Tibullus*, and *Propertius*. There were also Poets that wrote onely for the stage, I meane playes and interludes, to rec[r]eate the people with matters of disporte, and to that intent did fet forth in shewes pageants, accompanied with speach the common behaiours and maner of life of priuate persons, and such as were the meaner sort of men, and they were called *Comicall* Poets, of whom among the Greekes *Menander* and *Aristophanes* were most excellent, with the Latines *Terence* and *Plautus*. Besides those Poets *Comick* there were other who serued also the stage, but medled not with so base matters: For they set forth the dolesfull falles of infortunate and afflicted Princes, and were called Poets *Tragicall*. Such were *Euripides* and *Sophocles* with the Greeks, *Seneca* among the Latines. There were yet others who mounted nothing so high as any of them both, but in base and humble stile by maner of Dialogue, vttered the priuate and familiar talke of the meanest sort of men, as shepheards, heywards and such like, such was among the Greekes *Theocritus*: and *Virgill* among the Latines, their poems were named *Eglogues* or shepheardly talke. There was yet another kind of Poet, who intended to taxe the common abuses and vice of the people in rough and bitter speeches, and their inuectiues were called *Satyres*, and them selues *Satyr-iques*. Such were *Lucilius*, *Iuuenall* and *Perfius* among the Latines, and with vs he that wrote the booke called *Piers plowman*. Others of a more fine and pleasant head were giuen wholly to taunting and scoffing at vndecent things, and in short poemes vttered pretie merry conceits, and these men were called *Epigram-*

matisses. There were others that for the peoples good instruction, and triall of their owne witts vsed in places of great assembly, to say by rote numbers of short and sententious meetres, very pithie and of good edification, and thereupon were called Poets *Mimisses*: as who would say, imitable and meet to be followed for their wise and graue lessons. There was another kind of poeme, inuented onely to make sport, and to refresh the company with a maner of buffonry or counterfaiting of merry speeches, conuerting all that which they had hard spoken before, to a certaine derision by a quite contrary sence, and this was done, when *Comedies* or *Tragedies* were a playing, and that betweene the actes when the players went to make ready for another, there was great silence, and the people waxt weary, then came in these maner of conteraite vices, they were called *Pantomimi*, and all that had before bene sayd, or great part of it, they gaue a crosse construction to it very ridiculously. Thus haue you how the names of the Poets were giuen them by the formes of their poemmes and maner of writing.

CHAP. XII.

In what forme of Poesie the gods of the Gentiles were prayfed and honored.



He gods of the Gentiles were honoured by their Poetes in hymnes, which is an extraordinarie and diuine praise, extolling and magnifying them for their great powers and excellencie of nature in the highest degree of laude, and yet therein their Poets were after a fort restrained: so as they could not with their credit vnruly praise their owne gods, or vse in their lauds any maner of grosse adulation or vnueritable report. For in any writer vntruth and flatterie are counted most great reproches. Wherefore to praise the gods of the Gentiles, for that by authoritie of their owne fabulous records, they had fathers and mothers, and kinned

and allies, and wiues and concubines : the Poets first commended them by their genealogies or pedegrees, their mariages and aliances, their notable exploits in the world for the behoofe of mankind, and yet as I sayd before, none otherwise then the truth of their owne memorials might beare, and in such fort as it might be well auouched by their old written reports, though in very deeде they were not from the beginning all historically true, and many of them verie fictions, and such of them as were true, were grounded vpon some part of an historie or matter of veritie, the rest altogether figuratiue and misticall, couertly applied to some morall or natural sense, as *Cicero* setteth it foorth in his bookes *de natura deorum*. For to say that *Iupiter* was sonne to *Saturne*, and that he married his owne sister *Iuno*, might be true, for such was the guise of all great Princes in the Orientall part of the world both at those dayes and now is. Againe that he loued *Danae*, *Europa*, *Leda*, *Calisto* and other faire Ladies daughters to kings, besides many meaner women, it is likely enough, because he was reported to be a very incontinent person, and giuen ouer to his lustes, as are for the most part all the greatest Princes, but that he should be the highest god in heauen, or that he should thunder and lighten, and do manie other things very vnnaturally and absurdly : also that *Saturnus* should geld his father *Celius*, to th'intent to make him vnable to get any moe children, and other such matters as are reported by them, it seemeth to be some wittie deuise and fiction made for a purpose, or a very noble and impudent lye, which could not be reasonably suspected by the Poets, who were otherwise discrete and graue men, and teachers of wisedome to others. Therefore either to transgresse the rules of their primitiue records, or to seeke to giue their gods honour by belying them (otherwise then in that fence which I haue alledged) had bene a signe not onely of an vnskilfull Poet, but also of a very impudent and leude man. For vntrue praise neuer giueth any true reputation. But with vs Christ-

ians, who be better disciplined, and do acknowledge but one God Almighty, euerlasting, and in euery respect selfe suffizant [*autharcos*] reposed in all perfect rest and soueraigne blisse, not needing or exacting any forreine helpe or good. To him we can not exhibit ouermuch praise, nor belye him any wayes, vnlesse it be in abasing his excellencie by scarcitie of praise, or by misconceauing his diuine nature, weening to praise him, if we impute to him such vaine delights and peeuish affections, as commonly the frailest men are reproued for. Namely to make him ambitious of honour, iealous and difficult in his worships, terrible, angrie, vindicatiue, a louer, a hater, a pitier, and indigent of mans worships: finally so passionate as in effect he shold be altogether *Anthropopathis*. To the gods of the Gentiles they might well attribute these infirmities, for they were but the children of men, great Princes and famous in the world, and not for any other respect diuine, then by some resemblance of vertue they had to do good, and to benefite many. So as to the God of the Christians, such diuine praise might be verified: to th'other gods none, but figuratiuely or in mistlicall sense as hath bene said. In which sort the ancient Poets did in deede giue them great honors and praises, and made to them sacrifices, and offred them oblations of sundry sortes, euen as the people were taught and perswaded by such placations and worships to receaue any helpe, comfort or benefite to them selues, their wiues, children, possessions or goods. For if that opinion were not, who would acknowledge any God? the verie *Etimologie* of the name with vs of the North partes of the world declaring plainely the nature of the attribute, which is all one as if we sayd good, [*bonus*] or a giuer of good things. Therefore the Gentiles prayed for peace to the goddesse *Pallas*: for warre (such as thriued by it) to the god *Mars*: for honor and empire to the god *Iupiter*: for riches and wealth to *Pluto*: for eloquence and gayne to *Mercurie*: for safe nauigation to *Neptune*: for faire weather and prosperous

windes to *Eolus*: for skill in musick and leechcraft to *Apollo*: for free life and chastitie to *Diana*: for bewtie and good grace, as also for issue and prosperitie in loue to *Venus*: for plenty of crop and corne to *Ceres*: for seasonable vintage to *Bacchus*: and for other things to others. So many things as they could imagine good and desirable, and to so many gods as they supposed to be authors thereof, in so much as *Fortune* was made a goddesse, and the feuer quartaine had her aulters, such blindnes and ignorance raigned in the harts of men at that time, and whereof it first proceeded and grew, besides th'opinion hath bene giuen, appeareth more at large in our bookes of *Ierotckni*, the matter being of another consideration then to be treated of in this worke. And these hymnes to the gods was the first forme of Poesie and the highest and the stateliest, and they were song by the Poets as priests, and by the people or whole congregation as we sing in our Churchs the Psalmes of *Dauid*, but they did it commonly in some shadie groues of tall tymber trees: In which places they reared aulters of green turie, and bestrewed them all ouer with flowers, and vpon them offred their oblations and made their bloudy sacrifices, (for no kinde of gift can be dearer then life) of such quick cattaille, as euery god was in their conceit most delighted in, or in some other respect most fit for the misterie: temples or churches or other chappels then these they had none at those dayes.

CHAP. XIII.

In what forme of Poesie vice and the common abuses of mans life was reprehended.



Some perchance would thinke that next after the praise and honoring of their gods, should commence the worshipping and praise of good men, and specially of great Princes and gouernours of the earth in soueraignty and function next vnto the gods. But it

is not so, for before that came to passe, the Poets or holy Priests, chiefly studied the rebuke of vice, and to carpe at the common abuses, such as were most offensive to the publique and priuate, for as yet for lacke of good ciuility and wholesome doctrines, there was greater store of lewde lourdaines then of wise and learned Lords, or of noble and vertuous Princes and gouernours. So as next after the honours exhibited to their gods, the Poets finding in man generally much to reprove and litle to praise, made certaine poems in plaine meetres, more like to sermons or preachings then otherwise, and when the people were assembled together in those hallowed places dedicate to their gods, because they had yet no large halles or places of conuenticle, nor had any other correction of their faults, but such as rested onely in rebukes of wise and graue men, such as at these dayes make the people ashamed rather then afear'd, the said auncient Poets vsed for that purpose, three kinds of poems reprehensue, to wit, the *Satyre*, the *Comedie*, and the *Tragedie*: and the first and most bitter inuective against vice and vicious men, was the *Satyre*: which to th'intent their bitterness should breede none ill will, either to the Poets, or to the recitours (which could not haue bene chosen if they had bene openly knowen) and besides to make their admonitions and reproofs seeme grauer and of more efficacie, they made wise as if the gods of the woods, whom they called *Satyres* or *Siluanes*, should appeare and recite those verses of rebuke, whereas in deede they were but disguised persons vnder the shape of *Satyres* as who would say, these terrene and base gods being conuersant with mans affaires, and spiers out of all their secret faults: had some great care ouer man, and desired by good admonitions to reforme the euill of their life, and to bring the bad to amendment by those kinde of preachings, whereupon the Poets inuentours of the deuise were called *Satyristes*.

CHAP. XIII.

How vice was afterward reprov'd by two other manner of poems, better reformed then the Satyre, whereof the first was Comedie, the second Tragedie.



But when these manner of solitary speeches and recitals of rebuke, uttered by the rurall gods out of bushes and briers, seemed not to the finer heads sufficiently perswasive, nor so popular as if it were reduced into action of many persons, or by many voyces lively represented to the eare and eye, so as a man might thinke it were euen now a doing. The Poets deuised to haue many parts played at once by two or three or foure persons, that debated the matters of the world, sometimes of their owne priuate affaires, sometimes of their neighbours, but neuer meddling with any Princes matters nor such high personages, but commonly of marchants, fouldiers, artificers, good honest householders, and also of vnthrifty youthes, yong damfels, old nurses, bawds, brokers, ruffians and parasites, with such like, in whose behauiors, lyeth in effect the whole course and trade of mans life, and therefore tended altogether to the good amendment of man by discipline and example. It was also much for the solace and recreation of the common people by reason of the pageants and shewes. And this kind of poeme was called *Comedie*, and followed next after the *Satyre*, and by that occasion was somewhat sharpe and bitter after the nature of the *Satyre*, openly and by expresse names taxing men more maliciously and impudently then became, so as they were enforced for feare of quarell and blame to disguise their players with strange apparell, and by colouring their faces and carying hatts and capps of diuerse fashions to make them selues lesse knowen. But as time and experience do reforme euery thing that is amisse, so this bitter poeme called the old *Comedie*, being disused and taken away, the new *Comedie* came in place, more ciuill and pleasant a great deale and not touch-

ing any man by name, but in a certaine generalitie glancing at euery abuse, so as from thenceforth tearing none illwill or enmitie at any bodies hands, they left aside their disguisings and played bare face, till one *Roscius Gallus* the most excellent player among the Romaines brought vp these vizards, which we see at this day vsed, partly to supply the want of players, when there were moe parts than there were persons, or that it was not thought meet to trouble and pester princes chambers with too many folkes. Now by the chaunge of a vizard one man might play the king and the carter, the old nurse and the yong damsell, the marchant and the souldier or any other part he listd very conueniently. There be that say *Roscius* did it for another purpose, for being him selfe the best *Histrion* or buffon that was in his dayes to be found, insomuch as *Cicero* said *Roscius* contended with him by varietie of liuely gestures, to surmount the copy of his speach, yet because he was squint eyed and had a very vnpleasant countenance, and lookes which made him ridiculous or rather odious to the presence, he deuised thete vizards to hide his owne ilfaured face. And thus much touching the *Comedy*.

CHAP. XV.

In what forme of Poesie the euill and outrageous behaiours of Princes were reprehended.



BVt because in those dayes when the Poets first taxed by *Satyre* and *Comedy*, there was no great store of Kings or Emperors or such high estats (al men being yet for the most part rude, and in a maner popularly egall) they could not say of them or of their behaiours any thing to the purpose, which cases of Princes are fithens taken for the highest and greatest matters of all. But after that some men among the moe became mighty and famous in the world, soueraignetie and dominion hauing learned them all maner of lusts and licentiousnes of life, by which occasions also their high estates and felicities fell many times into

most lowe and lamentable fortunes : whereas before in their great prosperities they were both feared and reuerenced in the highest degree, after their deathes when the posteritie stood no more in dread of them, their infamous life and tyrannies were layd open to all the world, their wickednes reproched, their follies and extreme infolencies derided, and their miserable ends painted out in playes and pageants, to shew the mutabilitie of fortune, and the iust punishment of God in reuenge of a vicious and euill life. These matters were also handled by the Poets, and represented by action as that of the *Comedies*: but because the matter was higher then that of the *Comedies* the Poets stile was also higher and more loftie, the prouision greater, the place more magnificent: for which purpose also the players garments were made more rich and costly and solemne, and euery other thing appertaining, according to that rate: So as where the *Satyre* was pronounced by rusticall and naked *Syluanes* speaking out of a bush, and the common players of interludes called *Plampedes*, played barefoote vpon the floore: the later *Comedies* vpon scaffolds, and by men well and cleanly hosed and shod. These matters of great Princes were played vpon lofty stages, and the actors thereof ware vpon their legges buskins of leather called *Cothurni*, and other solemne habits, and for a speciall preheminance did walke vpon those high corked shoes or pantofles, which now they call in Spaine and Italy *Shoppini*. And because those buskins and high shoes were commonly made of goats skinnes very finely tanned, and dyed into colours: or for that as some say the best players reward, was a goate to be giuen him, or for that as other thinke, a goate was the peculiar sacrifice of the god *Pan*, king of all the gods of the woodes: forasmuch as a goate in Greeke is called *Tragos*, therefore these stately playes were called *Tragedies*. And thus haue ye foure fundry formes of Poesie *Drammatick* reprehensiuē, and put in execution by the feate and dexteritie of mans body, to wit, the *Satyre*, old *Comedie*, new *Comedie*, and *Tragedie*,

whereas all other kinde of poems except *Eglogue* whereof shalbe entreated hereafter, were onely recited by mouth or song with the voyce to some melodious instrument.

CHAP. XVI.

In what forme of Poetrie the great Princes and dominators of the world were honored.



Ut as the bad and illawdable parts of all estates and degrees were taxed by the Poets in one sort or an other, and those of great Princes by Tragedie in especial, (and not till after their deaths) as hath bene before remembred, to th'intent that such exemplifying (as it were) of their blames and aduersities, being now dead, might worke for a secret reprehension to others that were aliue, living in the same or like abuses. So was it great reason that all good and vertuous persons should for their well doings be rewarded with commendation, and the great Princes aboue all others with honors and praises, being for many respects of greater moment, to haue them good and vertuous then any inferior sort of men. Wherefore the Poets being in deede the trumpetters of all praise and also of slander (not slander, but well deserued reproch) were in conscience and credit bound next after the diuine praises of the immortall gods, to yeeld a like ratable honour to all such amongst men, as most resembled the gods by excellencie of function, and had a certaine affinitie with them, by more then humane and ordinarie vertues shewed in their actions here vpon earth. They were therefore praised by a second degree of laude: shewing their high estates, their Princely genealogies and pedegrees, mariages, aliances, and such noble exploits, as they had done in th'affaires of peace and of warre to the benefit of their people and countries, by inuention of any noble science, or profitable Art, or by making wholsome lawes or enlarging of their dominions by honorable and iust conquests, and many other wayes. Such personages among the Gentiles were *Bacchus*,

Ceres, Perseus, Hercules, Theseus and many other, who thereby came to be accompted gods and halfe gods or goddesſes [*Heroes*] and had their commendations giuen by Hymne accordingly or by ſuch other poems as their memorie was therby made famous to the poſteritie for euer after, as ſhal be more at large ſayd in place conuenient. But firſt we will ſpeake ſomewhat of the playing places, and prouiſions which were made for their pageants and pomps repreſentatiue before remembred.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the places where their enterludes or poemés arammaticke were repreſented to the people.



As it hath bene declared, the *Satyres* were firſt vttered in their hallowed places within the woods where they honoured their gods vnder the open heauen, becauſe they had no other houſing fit for great aſſemblies.

The old comedies were plaid in the broad ſtreets vpon wagons or carts vncovered, which carts were floored with bords and made for remouable ſtages to paſſe from one ſtreete of their townes to another, where all the people might ſtand at their eaſe to gaze vpon the fights. Their new comedies or ciuill enterludes were played in open pauilions or tents of linnen cloth or lether, halfe diſplayed that the people might ſee. Afterward when Tragidies came vp they deuifed to preſent them vpon ſcaffoldes or ſtages of timber, ſhadowed with linen or lether as the other, and theſe ſtages were made in the forme of a *Semicircle*, wherof the bow ſerued for the beholders to ſit in, and the ſtring or forepart was appointed for the floore or place where the players vttered, and had in it fundrie little diuiſions by curteins as trauerſes to ſerue for ſeuerall roomes where they might repaire vnto and change their garments and come in againe, as their ſpeeches and parts were to be renewed. Alſo there was place appointed for muſiciens to ſing or to play vpon their inſtrumentes at the end of euery ſcene. to the intent

the people might be refreshed, and kept occupied. This maner of stage in halfe circle, the Greekes called *theatrum*, as much to say as a beholding place, which was also in such fort contriued by benches and greeces to stand or sit vpon, as no man should empeach anothers fight. But as ciuilitie and withall wealth encreased, so did the minde of man growe dayly more haultie and superfluous in all his deuises, so as for their *theaters* in halfe circle, they came to be by the great magnificence of the Romain princes and people somptuously built with marble and square stone in forme all round, and were called *Amphitheaters*, whereof as yet appears one among the ancient ruines of Rome, built by *Pompeius Magnus*, for capacitie able to receiue at ease fourscore thousand persons as it is left written, and so curiously contriued as euery man might depart at his pleasure, without any annoyance to other. It is also to be knowne that in those great *Amphitheaters*, were exhibited all maner of other shewes and disports for the people, as their fence playes, or digladiations of naked men, their wrastring, runnings, leapings and other practises of actiuitie and strength, also their baitings of wild beasts, as Elephants, Rhinoceros[es], Tigers, Leopards and others, which fights much delighted the common people, and therefore the places required to be large and of great content.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Shepheards or pastorall Poesie called Eglogue, and to what purpose it was first inuented and vsed.



Some be of opinion, and the chiefe of those who haue written in this Art among the Latines, that the pastorall Poesie which we commonly call by the name of *Eglogue* and *Bucolick*, a tearme brought in by the Sicilian Poets, should be the first of any other, and before the *Satyre* comedie or tragedie, because, say they, the shepheards and haywards assemblies and meetings when they kept their cattell and heards in the common fields and forests. was the first familiar cor-

uerfation, and their babble and talk vnder bushes and fhadie trees, the firft difputation and contentious reafoning, and their flefhly heates growing of eafe, the firft idle wooings, and their fongs made to their mates or paramours either vpon forrow or iolity of courage, the firft amorous muficks, fometime alfo they fang and played on their pipes for wagers, ftriuing who fhould get the beft game, and be counted cunningeft. All this I do agree vnto, for no doubt the fhepheards life was the firft example of honeft felowfhip, their trade the firft art of lawfull acquifition or purchafe, for at thefe daies robbery was a manner of purchafe. So faith *Aristotle* in his bookes of the Politiques, and that paf-turage was before tillage, or fifhing or fowling, or any other predatory art or cheuifance. And all this may be true, for before there was a fhepherd keeper of his owne, or of fome other bodies flocke, there was none owner in the world, quick cattel being the firft property of any forreine poffeffion. I fay forreine, becaufe alway men claimed property in their apparell and armour, and other like things made by their owne trauel and induftry, nor thereby was there yet any good towne or city or Kings palace, where pageants and pompes might be fhewed by Comedies or Tragedies. But for all this, I do deny that the *Eglogue* fhould be the firft and moft auncient forme of artificiall Poefie, being perfwaded that the Poet deuifed the *Eglogue* long after the other *drammatick* poems, not of purpofe to counterfait or represent the ruficall manner of loues and communication: but vnder the vaile of homely perfons, and in rude fpeeches to infinuate and glaunce at greater matters, and fuch as perchance had not bene fafe to haue beene difclofed in any other fort, which may be perceiued by the Eglogues of *Virgill*, in which are treated by figure matters of greater importance then the loues of *Titirus* and *Corydon*. Thefe Eglogues came after to containe and enforme morall difcipline, for the amendment of mans behauiour, as be thofe of *Mantuan* and other moderne Poets.

CHAP. XIX.

*Of historicall Poesie, by which the famous aëts of Princes
and the vertuous and worthy liues of our fore-
fathers were reported.*



Here is nothing in man of all the potential parts of his mind (reason and will except) more noble or more necessary to the actiue life then memory: because it maketh most to a sound iudgement and perfect worldly wisedome, examining and comparing the times past with the present, and by them both considering the time to come, concludeth with a stedfast resolution, what is the best course to be taken in all his actions and aduices in this world: it came vpon this reason, experience to be so highly commended in all consultations of importance, and preferred before any learning or science, and yet experience is no more than a masse of memories assembled, that is, such trials as man hath made in time before. Right so no kinde of argument in all the Oratorie craft, doth better perswade and more vniuersally satisfie then example, which is but the representation of old memories, and like successes happened in times past. For these regards the Poesie historicall is of all other next the diuine most honorable and worthy, as well for the common benefit as for the speciall comfort euery man receiueth by it. No one thing in the world with more delectation reuiuing our spirits then to behold as it were in a glasse the liuely image of our deare forefathers, their noble and vertuous maner of life, with other things autentike, which because we are not able otherwise to attaine to the knowledge of, by any of our senses, we apprehend them by memory, whereas the present time and things so swiftly passe away, as they giue vs no leasure almost to looke into them, and much lesse to know and consider of them thoroughly. The things future, being also euent very vncertaine, and such as can not possibly be knowne because they be not yet, can not be vsed for example

nor for delight otherwise then by hope. Though many promise the contrary, by vaine and deceitfull arts taking vpon them to reueale the truth of accidents to come, which if it were so as they surmise, are yet but sciences meereley coniecturall, and not of any benefit to man or to the common wealth, where they be vsed or professed. Therefore the good and exemplarie things and actions of the former ages, were reserved only to the historicall reportes of wise and graue men: those of the present time left to the fruition and iudgement of our senses: the future as hazards and incertaine euentues vtterly neglected and layd aside for Magicians and mockers to get their liuings by: such manner of men as by negligence of Magistrates and remisses of lawes euery countrie breedeth great store of. These historical men neuerthelesse vsed not the matter so precisely to wish that al they wrote should be accounted true, for that was not needefull nor expedient to the purpose, namely to be vsed either for example or for pleasure: considering that many times it is seene a fained matter or altogether fabulous, besides that it maketh more mirth than any other, works no lesse good conclusions for example then the most true and veritable: but often times more, because the Poet hath the handling of them to fashion at his pleasure, but not so of those other which must go according to their veritie and none otherwise without the writers great blame. Againe as ye know mo and more excellent examples may be fained in one day by a good wit, then many ages through mans frailtie are able to put in vre, which made the learned and wittie men of those times to deuise many historicall matters of no veritie at all, but with purpose to do good and no hurt, as vsing them for a maner of discipline and president of commendable life. Such was the common wealth of *Plato*, and Sir *Thomas Moores Vtopia*, resting all in deuise, but neuer put in execution, and easier to be wished then to be performed. And you shall perceiue that histories were of three sortes, wholly true and wholly false, and a

third holding part of either, but for honest recreation, and good example they were all of them. And this may be apparant to vs not onely by the Poeticall histories, but also by those that be written in prose: for as *Homer* wrate a fabulous or mixt report of the siege of Troy, and another of *Uliſſes* errors or wandrings, so did *Museus* compile a true treatise of the life and loues of *Leander* and *Hero*, both of them *Heroick*, and to none ill edification. Also as *Theucidides* wrate a worthy and veritable historie, of the warres betwixt the *Athenians* and the *Peloponeses*: so did *Zenophon*, a most graue Philosopher, and well trained courtier and counsellour make another (but fained and vntrue) of the childhood of *Cyrus* king of *Persia*, neuertheles both to one effect, that is for example and good information of the posteritie. Now because the actions of meane and base personages, tend in very few cases to any great good example: for who passeth to follow the steps, and maner of life of a craftes man, shepheard or failer, though he were his father or dearest frend? yea how almost is it possible that such maner of men should be of any vertue other then their profession requireth? Therefore was nothing committed to historie, but matters of great and excellent persons and things that the same by irritation of good courages (such as emulation causeth) might worke more effectually, which occasioned the story writer to chuse an higher stile fit for his subiect, the Prosaicke in prose, the Poet in meetre, and the Poets was by verse exameter for his grauitie and flatinesse most allowable: neither would they intermingle him with any other shorter measure, vnlesse it were in matters of such qualitie, as became best to be song with the voyce, and to some muscicall instrument, as were with the Greeks, all your Hymnes and *Encomia* of *Pindarus* and *Callimachus*, not very histories but a maner of historicall reportes in which cases they made those poemes in variable measures, and coupled a short verse with a long to serue that purpose the better, and we our selues who compiled this treatise

haue written for pleasure a litle brief *Romance* or historicall ditty in the English tong of the Isle of great *Britaine* in short and long meetres, and by breaches or diuisions to be more commodiously song to the harpe in places of assembly, where the company shalbe desirous to heare of old aduentures and valiaunces of noble knights in times past, as are those of king *Arthur* and his knights o. the round table, Sir *Beuys* of *Southampton*, *Guy* of *Warwicke* and others like. Such as haue not premonition hereof, and consideration of the causes alledged, would peradventure reprove and disgrace euery *Romance*, or short historicall ditty for that they be not written in long meeters or verses *Alexandrins*, according to the nature and stile of large histories, wherein they should do wrong for they be fundry formes of poems and not all one.

CHAP. XX.

In what forme of Poetrie vertue in the inferiour fort was commended.



IN euerie degree and fort of men vertue is commendable, but not egally: not onely because mens estates are vnegall, but for that also vertue it selfe is not in euery respect of egall value and estimation. For continence in a king is of greater merit, then in a carter, th'one hauing all opportunities to allure him to lusts, and abilitie to serue his appetites, th'other partly, for the basenesse of his estate wanting such meanes and occasions, partly by dread of lawes more inhibited, and not so vehemently caried away with vnbridled affections, and therefore deserue not in th'one and th'other like praise nor equall reward, by the very ordinarie course of distributiue iustice. Euen so parsimonie and illiberalitie are greater vices in a Prince then in a priuate person, and pusillanimitie and iniustice likewise: for to th'one, fortune hath supplied inough to maintaine them in the contrarie vertues, I meane, fortitude, iustice. liberalitie, and magnanimitie: the Prince hauing

all plentie to vse largeſſe by, and no want or neede to driue him to do wrong. Alſo all the aides that may be to liſt vp his courage, and to make him ſtout and feareleſſe (*augent animos fortune*) ſaith the *Mimiſt*, and very truly, for nothing pulleth downe a mans heart ſo much as aduerſitie and lacke. Againe in a meane man prodigalitie and pride are faultes more reprehensible then in Princes, whoſe high eſtates do require in their countenance, ſpeech and expence, a certaine extraordinary, and their functions enforce them ſometime to exceede the limites of mediocritie not excuſable in a priuat perſon, whoſe manner of life and calling hath no ſuch exigence. Beſides the good and bad of Princes is more exemplarie, and thereby of greater moment then the priuate perſons. Therefore it is that the inferiour perſons, with their inferiour vertues haue a certaine inferiour praiſe, to guerdon their good with, and to comfort them to continue a laudable courſe in the modeſt and honeſt life and behauiour. But this lyeth not in written laudes ſo much as ordinary reward and commendation to be giuen them by the mouth of the ſuperiour magistrate. For hiſtories were not intended to ſo generall and baſe a purpoſe, albeit many a meane ſouldier and other obſcure perſons were ſpoken of and made famous in ſtories, as we finde of *Irus* the begger, and *Therſites* the glorious noddie, whom *Homer* maketh mention of. But that happened (and ſo did many like memories of meane men) by reaſon of ſome greater perſonage or matter that it was long of, which therefore could not be an vniuerſall caſe nor chaunce to euery other good and vertuous perſon of the meaner fort. Wherefore the Poet in praiſing the maner of life or death of anie meane perſon, did it by ſome litle dittie or Epigram or Epitaph in ſewe verſes and meane ſtile conformable to his ſubieſt. So haue you how the immortall gods were praiſed by hymnes, the great Princes and heroicke perſonages by ballades of praiſe called *Encomia*, both of them by hiſtoricall reports of great grauitie and maiestie, the inferiour perſons by other ſlight poemēs.

CHAP. XXI.

*The forme wherein honest and profitable Artes
and sciences were treated.*



He profitable sciences were no lesse meete to be imported to the greater number of ciuill men for instruction of the people and increase of knowledge, then to be reserved and kept for clerkes and great men onely. So as next vnto the things historicall such doctrines and arts as the common wealth fared the better by, were esteemed and allowed. And the same were treated by Poets in verse *Exameter* fauouring the *Heroicall*, and for the grauitie and comelinesse of the meetre most vsed with the Greekes and Latines to sad purposes. Such were the Philosophicall works of *Lucretius Carus* among the Romaines, the Astronomicall of *Aratus* and *Manilius*, one Greeke th'other Latine, the Medicinall of *Nicander*, and that of *Oprianus* of hunting and fishes. and many moe that were too long to recite in this place.

CHAP. XXII.

*In what forme of Poesie the amorous affections and
allurements were vttered.*



He first founder of all good affections is honest loue, as the mother of all the vicious is hatred. It was not therefore without reason that so commendable, yea honourable a thing as loue well meant, were it in Princely estate or priuate, might in all ciuill common wealths be vttered in good forme and order as other laudable things are. And because loue is of all other humane affections the most puissant and passionate, and most generall to all sortes and ages of men and women, so as whether it be of the yong or old or wife or holy, or high estate or low, none euer could truly bragge of any exemption in that case: it requireth a forme of Poesie variable, inconstant, affected, curi-

ous and most witty of any others, whereof the ioyes were to be vttered in one sorte, the sorrowes in an other, and by the many formes of Poesie, the many moodes and pangs of louers, throughly to be discouered: the poore foules sometimes praying, beseeching, sometime honouring, auancing, praising: an other while railing, reuiling, and cursing: then sorrowing, weeping, lamenting: in the ende laughing, reioysing and solacing the beloued againe, with a thousand delicate deuises, odes, songs, elegies, ballads, sonets and other ditties, moouing one way and another to great compassion.

CHAP. XXIII.

The forme of Poeticall reioysings.



Pleasure is the chiefe parte of mans felicity in this world, and also (as our Theologians say) in the world to come. Therefore while we may (yea alwaies if it could be) to reioyce and take our pleasures in vertuous and honest sort, it is not only allowable, but also necessary and very naturall to man. And many be the ioyes and consolations of the hart: but none greater, than such as he may vtter and discouer by some convenient meanes: euen as to suppress and hide a mans mirth, and not to haue therein a partaker, or at least wise a witnes, is no little grieve and infelicity. Therefore nature and ciuility haue ordained (besides the priuate solaces) publike reioysings for the comfort and recreation of many. And they be of diuerse sorts and vpon diuerse occasions growne: one and the chiefe was for the publike peace of a countrie the greatest of any other ciuill good. And wherein your Maiestie (my most gracious Soueraigne) haue shewed your selfe to all the world for this one and thirty yeares space of your glorious raigne, aboue all other Princes of Christendome, not onely fortunate, but also most sufficient vertuous and worthy of Empire. An other is for iust and honourable victorie achieved against the forraine enemy. A third at solemne feasts and pompes of coronations

and enſtallments of honourable orders. An other for iollity at weddings and marriages. An other at the births of Princes children. An other for priuate entertainements in Court, or other ſecret diſports in chamber, and ſuch ſolitary places. And as theſe reioyſings tend to diuers effects, ſo do they alſo carry diuerſe formes and nominations: for thoſe of victorie and peace are called *Triumphall*, whereof we our ſelues haue heretofore giuen ſome example by our *Triumphals* written in honour of her Maieſties long peace. And they were uſed by the auncients in like manner, as we do our generall proceſſions or Letanies with bankets aad bonefires and all manner of ioyes. Thoſe that were to honour the perſons of great Princes or to ſolemnize the pompes of any inſtallment were called *Eucomia*, we may call them carols of honour. Thoſe to celebrate marriages were called ſongs nuptiall or *Epithalamies*, but in a certaine miſticall ſenſe as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. Others for magnificence at the natiuities of Princes children, or by cuſtome uſed yearely vpon the ſame dayes, are called ſongs natall or *Genethliaca*. Others for ſecret recreation and paſtime in chambers with company or alone were the ordinary Muſickes amorous, ſuch as might be ſong with voice or to the Lute, Citheron or Harpe, or daunced by meaſures as the Italian Pauan and galliard are at theſe daies in Princes Courts and other places of honourable or ciuill aſſembly, and of all theſe we will ſpeake in order and very briefly.

CHAP. XXIII.

The forme of Poeticall lamentations.



Lamenting is altogether contrary to reioicing, euery man ſaith ſo, and yet is it a peece of ioy to be able to lament with eaſe, and freely to poure forth a mans inward forrowes and the griefs wherewith his minde is furcharged. This was a very neceſſary deuife of the Poet and a fine, beſides his poetrie to play alſo

the Phisitian, and not onely by applying a medicine to the ordinary sicknes of mankind, but by making the very greef it selfe (in part) cure of the disease. Nowe are the causes of mans sorrowes many: the death of his parents, friends, allies, and children: (though many of the barbarous nations do reioyce at their burials and sorrow at their birthes) the ouerthrowes and discomforts in battell, the subuersions of townes and cities, the desolations of countreys, the losse of goods and worldly promotions, honour and good renowne: finally the trauails and torments of loue forlorne or ill bestowed, either by disgrace, deniall, delay, and twenty other wayes, that well experienced louers could recite. Such of these griefs as might be refrained or holpen by wiselome, and the parties owne good endeouour, the Poet gaue none order to sorrow them: for first as to the good renowne it is lost. for the more part by some default of the owner, and may be by his well doings recouered againe. And if it be vniustly taken away, as by vntrue and famous libels, the offenders recantation may suffice for his amends: so did the Poet *Stefichorus*, as it is written of him in his *Pallinoäie* vpon the dispraise of *Helen*, and recouered his eye sight. Also for worldly goods they come and go, as things not long proprietary to any body, and are not yet subiect vnto fortunes dominion so, but that we our selues are in great part accessarie to our own losses and hinderaunces, by ouersight and misguiding of our selues and our things, therefore why should we bewaile our such voluntary detriment? But death the irrecoverable losse, death the dolefull departure of frendes, that can neuer be recontinued by any other meeting or new acquaintance. Besides our vncertaintie and suspicion of their estates and welfare in the places of their new abode, seemeth to carry a reasonable pretext of iust sorrow. Likewise the great ouerthrowes in battell and desolations of countreys by warres, aswell for the losse of many liues and much libertie as for that it toucheth the whole state. and euery priuate

man hath his portion in the damage: Finally for loue, there is no frailtie in flesh and bloud so excusable as it, no comfort or discomfort greater then the good and bad successe thereof, nothing more naturall to man, nothing of more force to vanquish his will and to inuegle his iudgement. Therefore of death and burials, of th'aduerfities by warres, and of true loue lost or ill bestowed, are th'onely sorrowes that the noble Poets fought by their arte to remoue or appease, not with any medicament of a contrary temper, as the *Galenistes* vse to cure [*contraria contrarijs*] but as the *Paracelsians*, who cure [*fimilia fimilibus*] making one dolour to expell another, and in this case, one short sorrowing the remedie of a long and grieuous sorrow. And the lamenting of deathes was chiefly at the very burialls of the dead, also at monethes mindes and longer times, by custome continued yearely, when as they vsed many offices of seruice and loue towards the dead, and thereupon are called *Obsequies* in our vulgare, which was done not onely by cladding the mourners their friendes and seruauntes in blacke vestures, of shape dolefull and sad, but also by wofull countenances and voyces, and besides by Poeticall mournings in verse. Such funerall songs were called *Epicedia* if they were song by many, and *Monodia* if they were vttered by one alone, and this was vsed at the enterment of Princes and others of great accompt, and it was reckoned a great ciuilitie to vse such ceremonies, as at this day is also in some countrey vsed. In Rome they accustomed to make orations funerall and commendatorie of the dead parties in the publique place called *Procostris*: and our *Theologians*, in stead thereof vse to make sermons, both teaching the people some good learning, and also saying well of the departed. Those songs of the dolorous discomforts in battaile, and other desolations in warre, or of townes sacked and subuerted, were song by the remnant of the army ouerthrowen, with great skrikings and outcries, holding the wrong end of their weapon vpwards in signe of sorrow

and dispaire. The cities also made generall mournings and offred sacrifices with Poeticall songs to appease the wrath of the martiall gods and goddeses. The third sorrowing was of loues, by long lamentation in *Elegie*: so was their song called, and it was in a pitious maner of meetre, placing a limping *Pentameter*, after a lusty *Exameter*, which made it go dolourously more then any other meeter.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the solemne reioysings at the natiuitie of Princes children.



TO returne from sorrow to reioysing it is a very good hap and no vnwise part for him that can do it, I say therefore, that the comfort of issue and procreation of children is so naturall and so great, not onely to all men but specially to Princes, as duetie and ciuilitie haue made it a common custome to reioyse at the birth of their noble children, and to keepe those dayes hallowed and festiuall for euer once in the yeare, during the parentes or childrens liues: and that by publique order and consent. Of which reioysings and mirthes the Poet ministred the first occasion honorable, by presenting of ioyfull songs and ballades, prayeing the parentes by prooffe, the child by hope, the whole kinred by report, and the day it selfe with wishes of all good succesie, long life, health and prosperitie for euer to the new borne. These poemes were called in Greeke *Genethiaca*, with vs they may be called natall or birth songs.

CHAP. XXVI.

The maner of reioysings at mariages and weddinges.



AS the consolation of children well begotten is great, no lesse but rather greater ought to be that which is occasion of children, that is honorable matrimonie, a loue by al lawes allowed, not mutable nor encomb-

red with such vaine cares and passions, as that other loue, whereof there is no assurance, but loose and fickle affection occasioned for the most part by sodaine sights and acquaintance of no long triall or experience, nor vpon any other good ground wherein any suretie may be conceiued: wherefore the Ciuill Poet could do no lesse in conscience and credit, then as he had before done to the ballade of birth: now with much better deuotion to celebrate by his poeme the chearefull day of mariages aswell Princeely as others, for that hath alwayes bene accompted with euery countrey and nation of neuer so barbarous people, the highest and holiest, of any ceremonie appertaining to man: a match forsooth made for euer and not for a day, a solace provided for youth, a comfort for age. a knot of alliance and amitie indissoluble: great reioysing was therefore due to such a matter and to so gladsome a time. This was done in ballade wise as the natall song, and was song very sweetely by Musicians at the chamber dore of the Bridegroom and Bride at such times as shalbe hereafter declared and they were called *Epithalamies* as much to say as ballades at the bedding of the bride: for such as were song at the borde at dinner or supper were other Musickes and not properly *Epithalamies*. Here, if I shall say that which appertaineth to th'arte, and disclose the misterie of the whole matter, I must and doe with all humble reuerence bespeake pardon of the chaste and honorable eares, least I should either offend them with licentious speech, or leaue them ignorant of the ancient guise in old times vsed at weddings (in my simple opinion) nothing reprobable. This *Epithalamie* was deuided by breaches into three partes to serue for three seuerall fits or times to be song. The first breach was song at the first parte of the night when the spouse and her husband were brought to their bed and at the very chamber dore, where in a large vtter roome vsed to be (besides the musitiens) good store of ladies or gentlewomen of their kinsfolkes, and others who came to honor the mariage, and the tunes

of the songs were very loude and shrill, to the intent there might no noise be hard out of the bed chamber by the skreeking and outcry of the young damosell feeling the first forces of her stiffe and rigorous young man, the being as all virgins tender and weake, and vnexpert in those maner of affaires. For which purpose also they vsed by old nurfes (appointed to that seruice) to suppress the noise by casting of pottes full of nuttes round about the chamber vpon the hard floore or pauement, for they vsed no mattes nor rushes as we doe now. So as the Ladies and gentlewomen should haue their eares so occupied what with Musicke, and what with their handes wantonly scrambling and catching after the nuttes, that they could not intend to harken after any other thing. This was as I said to diminish the noise of the laughing lamenting spouse. The tenour of that part of the song was to congratulate the first acquaintance and meeting of the young couple, allowing of their parents good discretions in making the match, then afterward to sound cherfully to the onset and first encounters of that amorous battaile, to declare the comfort of children, and encrease of loue by that meane cheifly caused: the bride shewing her self euery waies well disposed and still supplying occasions of new lustes and loue to her busband, by her obedience and amorous embracings and all other allurementes. About midnight or one of the clocke, the Musicians came again to the chamber dore (all the Ladies and other women as they were of degree, hauing taken their leaue, and being gone to their rest.) This part of the ballade was to refresh the faint and wried bodies and spirits, and to animate new appetites with cherefull wordes, encoraging them to the recontinuance of the same entertainments, praising and commending (by supposall) the good conformities of them both, and their desire one to vanquish the other by such frendly conflicts: alledging that the first embracementes neuer bred barnes, by reason of their ouermuch affection and heate, but onely made passage for children and en-

forced greater liking to the late made match. That the second assaults, were lesse rigorous, but more vigorous and apt to auance the purpose of procreation, that therefore they should persist in all good appetite with an inuincible courage to the end. This was the second part of the *Epithalamie*. In the morning when it was faire broad day, and that by liklyhood all tourmes were sufficiently serued, the last actes of the enterlude being ended, and that the bride must within few hours arise and apparrell her selfe, no more as a virgine, but as a wife, and about dinner time must by order come forth *Sicut sponsa de thalamo*, very demurely and stately to be sene and acknowledged of her parents and kinsfolkes whether she were the same woman or a changeling, or dead or aliue, or maimed by any accident nocturnall. The same Musicians came againe with this last part, and greeted them both with a Psalm of new applausions, for that they had either of them so well behaued them selues that night, the husband to rob his spouse of her maidenhead and saue her life, the bride so lustely to fatisfie her husbandes loue and scape with so litle daunger of her person, for which good chaunce that they should make a louely truce and abstinence of that warre till next night sealing the placard of that louely league, with twentie maner of sweet kiffes, then by good admonitions enformed them to the frugall and thriftie life all the rest of their dayes. The good man getting and bringing home, the wife sauing that which her husband should get, therewith to be the better able to keepe good hospitalitie, according to their estates, and to bring vp their children, (if God sent any) vertuously, and the better by their owne good example. Finally to perseuer all the rest of their life in true and inuiolable wedlocke. This ceremony was omitted when men married widowes or such as had tasted the frutes of loue before, (we call them well experienced young women) in whom there was no feare of daunger to their persons, or of any outcry at all, at the time of those terrible approaches. Thus much touching the

vsage of *Epithalamie* or bedding ballad of the ancient times, in which if there were any wanton or lasciuious matter more then ordinarie which they called *Ficcinia licentia* it was borne withal for that time because of the matter no lesse requiring. *Catullus* hath made of them one or two very artificiall and ciuil: but none more excellent then of late yeares a young noble man of Germanie as I take it *Iohannes fecundus* who in that and in his poeme *De basis*, passeth any of the auncient or moderne Poetes in my iudgment.

CHAP. XXVII.

The manner of Poesie by which they vttered their bitter taunts, and priuy nips, or witty scoffes and other merry conceits.



Vt all the world could not keepe, nor any ciuill ordinance to the contrary so preuaile, but that men would and must needs vtter their splenes in all ordinarie matters also: or else it seemed their bowels would burst, therefore the poet deuised a prety fashioned poeme short and sweete (as we are wont to say) and called it *Epigramma* in which euery mery conceited man might without any long studie or tedious ambage, make his frend sport, and anger his foe, and giue a prettie nip, or shew a sharpe conceit in few verses: for this *Epigramme* is but an inscription or writting made as it were vpon a table, or in a windowe, or vpon the wall or mantell of a chimney in some place of common resort, where it was allowed euery man might come, or be sitting to chat and prate, as now in our tauernes and common tabling houses, where many merry heades meete, and scribble with ynke, with chalke, or with a cole such matters as they would euery man should know, and descant vpon. Afterward the same came to be put in paper and in bookes, and vsed as ordinarie missiues, some of frendship, some of defiance, or as other messages of mirth: *Martiall* was the cheife of this skill among the Latines, and at these days the best *Epigrammes* we

finde, and of the sharpest conceit are those that haue bene gathered among the reliques of the two muet *Satyres* in Rome, *Pasquill* and *Marphorin*, which in time of *Sede vacante*, when merry conceited men listd to gibe and iest at the dead Pope, or any of his Cardinales, they fastened them vpon those Images which now lie in the open streets, and were tollerated, but after that terme expired they were inhibited againe. These inscriptions or Epigrammes at their begining had no certaine author that would auouch them, some for feare of blame, if they were ouer saucy or sharpe, others for modestie of the writer as was that *dislicke* of *Virgil* which he set vpon the pallace gate of the emperour *Augustus*, which I will recite for the breifnes and quicknes of it, and also for another euento that fell out vpon the mater worthy to be remembred. These were the verses.

*Nocte pluit tota, redeunt spectacula mane
Diuisum imperium cum Ioue Cæsar habet.*

Which I haue thus Englished,

*It raines all night, early the shewes returne
God and Cæsar, do raigne and rule by turne.*

As much to say, God sheweth his power by the night raines. Cæsar his magnificence by the pompes of the day.

These two verses were very well liked, and brought to th'Emperours Maiestie, who tooke great pleasure in them, and willed the author should be known. A fausie courtier profered him selfe to be the man, and had a good reward giuen him: for the Emperour himself was not only learned, but of much munificence toward all learned men: whereupon *Virgil* seing himself by his ouermuch modestie defrauded of the reward, that an impudent had gotten by abuse of his merit, came the next night, and fastened vpon the same place this halfe metre, foure times iterated. Thus.

*Sic vos non vobis
Sic vos non vobis
Sic vos non vobis
Sic vos non vobis*

And there it remained a great while because no man wist what it meant. till *Virgill* opened the whole fraude by this denite. He wrote aboue the same halfe metres this whole verse *Hexameter*.

Hos ego versiculos feci tulit alter honores.

And then finished the foure half metres, thus.

Sic vos non vobis Fertis aratra boues

Sic vos non vobis Vellera fertis oues

Sic vos non vobis Mellificatis apes

Sic vos non vobis Indificatis aues.

And put to his name *Publius Virgilius Maro*. This matter came by and by to Th'emperours eare, who taking great pleasure in the deuise called for *Virgill*, and gaue him not onely a present reward, with a good allowance of dyet a bonche in court as we vse to call it: but also held him for euer after vpon larger triall he had made of his learning and vertue in so great reputation, as he vouchsafed to giue him the name of a frend (*amicus*) which among the Romanes was so great an honour and speciall fauour, as all such persons were allowed to the Emperours table, or to the Senatours who had receiued them (as frendes) and they were the only men that came ordinarily to their boords, and solaced with them in their chambers, and gardins when none other could be admitted.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the poeme called Epitaph vsed for memoriall of the dead.



AN Epitaph is but a kind of Epigram only applied to the report of the dead persons estate and degree, or of his other good or bad partes, to his commendation or reproch: and is an inscription such as a man may commodiously write or engraue vpon a tombe in few verses, pithie, quicke and sententious for the passer by to peruse, and iudge vpon without any long tariaunce: So as if it exceede the measure of an Epigram, it is then (if the verse be correspondent) rather an Elegie

then an Epitaph which errour many of these bastard rimers commit, because they be not learned, nor (as we are wont to say) craftes [craftes?] masters, for they make long and tedious discourses, and write them in large tables to be hanged vp in Churches and chauncells ouer the tombes of great men and others, which be so exceeding long as one must haue halfe a dayes leasure to reade one of them, and must be called away before he come halfe to the end, or else be locked into the Church by the Sexten as I my selfe was once serued reading an Epitaph in a certain cathedrall Church of England. They be ignorant of poesie that call such long tales by the name of Epitaphes, they might better call them Elegies, as I said before, and then ought neither to be engrauen nor hanged vp in tables. I haue seene them neuertheles vpon many honorable tombes of these late times erected, which doe rather disgrace then honour either the matter or maker.

CHAP. XXIX.

*A certaine auncient forme of poesie by which men
did vse to reproch their enemies.*



S frendes be a rich and ioyfull possession, so be foes a continuall torment and canker to the minde of man, and yet there is no possible meane to auoide this inconuenience, for the best of vs all, and he that thinketh he liues most blamelesse, liues not without enemies, that enuy him for his good parts, or hate him for his euill. There be wise men, and of them the great learned man *Plutarch* tooke vpon them to perswade the benefite that men receiue by their enemies, which though it may be true in manner of *Paradoxe*, yet I finde mans frailtie to be naturally such, and alwayes hath beene, that he cannot conceiue it in his owne case, nor shew that patience and moderation in such greifs, as becometh the man perfite and accomplisht in all vertue: but either in deede or by word, he will seeke reuenge against them that malice him, or practise his harmes,

ſpecially ſuch foes as oppoſe themſelues to a mans loues. This made the auncient Poetes to inuent a meane to rid the gall of all ſuch Vindicatiue men: ſo as they might be a wrecked of their wrong, and neuer bely their enimie with ſlaunderous vntruthes. And this was done by a maner of imprecation, or as we call it by curſing and banning of the parties, and wiſhing all euill to a light vpon them. and though it neuer the ſooner happened, yet was it great eaſement to the boiling ſtomacke: They were called *Diræ*, ſuch as *Virgill* made ag[a]inſt *Battarus*, and *Ouide* againſt *Ibis*: we Chriſtians are for bidden to uſe ſuch vncharitable faſhions, and willed to referre all our reuenges to God alone.

CHAP. XXX.

Of ſhort Epigrammes called Poſies.



Here be alſo other like Epigrammes that were ſent vſually for new yeares giſtes or to be Printed or put vpon their banketting diſhes of ſuger plate, or of march paines, and ſuch other dainty meates as by the curteſie and cuſtome euery geſt might carry from a common feaſt home with him to his owne houſe, and were made for the nonce, they were called *Nenia* or *apophoreta*, and neuer contained aboue one verſe, or two at the moſt, but the ſhorter the better, we call them Poſies, and do paint them now a dayes vpon the backe ſides of our fruite trenchers of wood, or uſe them as deuifes in rings and armes and about ſuch courtly purpoſes. So haue we remembred and ſet forth to your Maieſtie very briefly, all the commended fourmes of the auncient Poefie, which we in our vulgare makings do imitate and uſe vnder theſe common names: enterlude, ſong, ballade, carroll and ditty: borrowing them alſo from the French al ſauing this word (ſong) which is our naturall Saxon Engliſh word. The reſt, ſuch as time and vſurpation by cuſtome haue allowed vs out of the primitiue Greeke and Latine. as Comedie, Tragedie, Ode, Epitaphe, Elégie, Epigramme, and other moe.

And we haue purpofely omitted all nice or ſcholastiſcally curioſities not meete for your Maieſties contemplation in this our vulgare arte, and what we haue written of the auncient formes of Poemes, we haue taken from the beſt clerks writing in the ſame arte. The part that next followeth to wit of proportion, becauſe the Greeks nor Latines neuer had it in vſe nor made any obſeruation, no more then we doe of their ſecte, we may truly affirme, to haue bene the firſt deuifers thereof our ſelues, as *αὐτοδίδακτοι*, and not to haue borrowed it of any other by learning or imitation, and thereby truſting to be holden the more excuſable if any thing in this our labours happen either to miſlike, or to come ſhort of th'authors purpoſe, becauſe commonly the firſt attempt in any arte or engine artificiall is amendable, and in time by often experiences reformed. And ſo no doubt may this deuife of ours be, by others that ſhall take the penne in hand after vs.

CHAP. XXXI.

Who in any age haue bene the moſt commended writers in our Engliſh Poefie, and the Authors cenſure giuen vpon them.



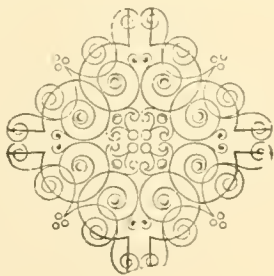
IT appeareth by fundry records of bookes both printed and written, that many of our countrey men haue painfully trauelled in this part: of whoſe works ſome appeare to be but bare tranſlations, other ſome matters of their owne inuention and very commendable, whereof ſome recitall ſhall be made in this place, to th'intent chiefly that their names ſhould not be defrauded of ſuch honour as ſeemeth due to them for hauing by their thankfull ſtudies ſo much beautified our Engliſh tong, as at this day it will be found our nation is in nothing inferiour to the French or Italian for copie of language, ſubtiltie of deuice, good method and proportion in any forme of poeme, but that they may compare with the moſt, and perchance paſſe a great many of them. And I will not reach aboue the

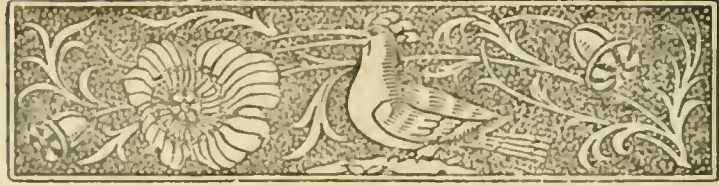
time of king *Edward* the third, and *Richard* the second for any that wrote in English meeter: because before their times by reason of the late Normane conquest, which had brought into this Realme much alteration both of our langage and lawes, and there withall a certain martiall barbarousnes, whereby the study of all good learning was so much decayd, as long time after no man or very few entended to write in any laudable science: so as beyond that time there is litle or nothing worth commendation to be founde written in this arte. And those of the first age were *Chaucer* and *Gower* both of them as I suppose Knights. After whom followed *John Lydgate* the monke of Bury, and that nameles, who wrote the *Satyre* called Piers Plowman, next him followed *Harding* the Chronicler, then in king *Henry* th' eight times *Skelton*, (I wot not for what great worthines) furnamed the Poet *Laureat*. In the latter end of the same kings raigne sprong vp a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir *Thomas Wyat* th'elder and *Henry* Earle of Surrey were the two chieftaines, who hauing trauailed into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian Poesie as nouices newly crept out of the schooles of *Dante Arioste* and *Petrarch*, they greatly polished our rude and homely maner of vulgar Poesie, from that it had bene before, and for that cause may iustly be sayd the first reformers of our English meetre and stile. In the same time or not long after was the Lord *Nicholas Vaux*, a man of much facilitie in vulgar makings. Afterward in king *Edward* the sixths time came to be in reputation for the same facultie *Thomas Sternehold*, who first translated into English certaine Psalmes of Dauid, and *John Heywood* the Epigrammatist who for the myrth and quicknesse of his conceits more then for any good learning was in him came to be well benefited by the king. But the principall man in this profession at the same time was Maister *Edward Ferrys* a man of no lesse mirth and felicitie that way, but of much more skil, and magnificence in his meeter, and therefore wrate

for the most part to the stage, in Tragedie and sometimes in Comedie or Enterlude, wherein he gaue the king so much good recreation, as he had thereby many good rewardes. In Queenes *Maries* time florished aboue any other Doctour *Phaer* one that was well learned and excellently well translated into English verse Heroicall certaine bookes of *Virgils Aeneidos*. Since him followed Maister *Arthure Golding*, who with no lesse commendation turned into English meetre the *Metamorphosis* of *Ouide*, and that other Doctour, who made the supplement to those bookes of *Virgils Aeneidos*, which Maister *Phaer* left vndone. And in her Maiesties time that now is are sprong vp an other crew of Courtly makers Noble men and Gentlemen of her Maiesties owne seruantes, who haue written excellently well as it would appeare if their doings could be found out and made publicke with the rest, of which number is first that noble Gentleman *Edward* Earle of Oxford. *Thomas* Lord of Bukhurst, when he was young, *Henry* Lord Paget, Sir *Philip Sydney*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Master *Edward Dyar*, Maister *Fulke Grenell*, *Gafcon*, *Britton*, *Turberuille* and a great many other learned Gentlemen, whose names I do not omit for enuie. but to auoyde tediousnesse, and who haue deserued no little commendation. But of them all particularly this is myne opinion, that *Chaucer*, with *Gower*, *Lidgat* and *Harding* for their antiquitie ought to haue the first place, and *Chaucer* as the most renowned of them all, for the much learning appeareth to be in him aboue any of the rest. And though many of his bookes be but bare translations out of the Latin and French, yet are they wel handled, as his bookes of *Troilus* and *Cresseid*, and the Romant of the Rose, whereof he translated but one halfe, the deuice was *John de Mevunes* a French Poet, the Canterbury tales were *Chaucers* owne inuention as I suppose, and where he sheweth more the naturall of his pleasant wit, then in any other of his workes, his similitudes comparifons and all other descriptions are such as can not be amended. His

meetre Heroicall of *Troilus* and *Cressid* is very graue and stately, keeping the stasse of teuen, and the verie of ten, his other verses of the Canterbury tales be but riding ryme, neuertheless very well becomming the matter of that pleasaunt pilgrimage in which euery mans part is playd with much decency. *Gower* sau- ing for his good and graue moralities, had nothing in him highly to be commended, for his verse was homely and without good measure, his wordes strained much deale out of the French writers, his ryme wrested, and in his inuentions small subtiltie: the applications of his moralities are the best in him, and yet those many times very grossely bestowed, neither doth the substance of his workes sufficiently aunswere the subtiltie of his titles. *Lydgat* a translatour onely and no deuier of that which he wrate, but one that wrate in good verse. *Harding* a Poet Epick or Historicall, handled himselfe well according to the time and maner of his subiect. He that wrote the Satyr of Piers Ploughman, seemed to haue bene a malcontent of that time, and therefore bent himselfe wholly to taxe the disorders of that age, and specially the pride of the Romane Clergy, of whose fall he seemeth to be a very true Prophet, his verse is but loose meetre, and his termes hard and obscure, so as in them is litle pleasure to be taken. *Skelton* a sharpe Satirist, but with more rayling and scoffery then became a Poet Lawreat, such among the Greekes were called *Pantomimi*, with vs Buffons, altogether applying their wits to Scurrillities and other ridiculous matters. *Henry* Earle of Surrey and Sir *Thomas Wyat*, betweene whom I finde very litle difference, I repute them (as before) for the two chief lanternes of light to all others that haue since employed their pennes vpon English Poesie, their conceits were loftie, their stiles stately, their conueyance cleanelly, their termes proper, their meetre sweete and well proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and studiously their Maister *Francis Petrarcha*. The Lord *Vaux* his commendation lyeth chiefly in the subtiltie of his meetre, and the aptnesse

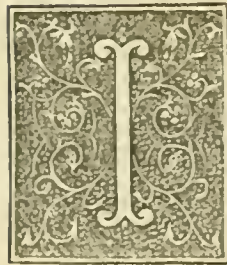
of his descriptions such as he taketh vpon him to make, namely in fundry of his Songs, wherein he sheweth the counterfait action very liuely and pleasantly. Of the later fort I thinke thus. That for Tragedie, the Lord of Buckhurst, and Maister *Edward Ferrys* for such doings as I haue sene of theirs do deserue the hiest price: Th'Earle of Oxford and Maister *Edwardes* of her Maiesties Chappell for Comedy and Enterlude. For Eglogue and pastorall Poesie, Sir *Philip Sydney* and Maister *Challenmer*, and that other Gentleman who wrote the late shepherdes Callender. For dittie and amorous *Ode* I finde Sir *Walter Rawleyghs* vayne most loftie, insolent, and passionate. Maister *Edward Dyar*, for Elegie most sweete, solempne and of high conceit. *Gaston* for a good meeter and for a plentifull vayne. *Phaer* and *Golding* for a learned and well corrected verse, specially in translation cleare and very faithfully answering their authours intent. Others haue also written with much facillitie, but more commendably perchance if they had not written so much nor so popularly. But last in recitall and first in degree is the Queene our foueraigne Lady, whose learned, delicate, noble Muse, easily surmounteth all the rest that haue written before her time or since, for fence, sweetnesse and subtility, be it in Ode, Elegie, Epigram, or any other kinde of poeme Heroick or Lyricke, wherein it shall please her Maiestie to employ her penne, euen by as much oddes as her owne excellent estate and degree exceedeth all the rest of her most humble vassalls.





THE SECOND BOOKE, OF PROPORTION POETICAL.

CHAP. I. *Of Proportion Poeticall.*



It is said by such as professe the Mathematicall sciences, that all things stand by proportion, and that without it nothing could stand to be good or beautiful. The Doctors of our Theologie to the same effect, but in other termes, say: that God made the world by number, measure and weight: some for weight say tune, and peradventure better. For weight is a kind of measure or of much conueniencie with it: and therefore in their descriptions be alwayes coupled together (*statica et metrica*) weight and measures. Hereupon it seemeth the Philosopher gathers a triple proportion, to wit, the Arithmetical, the Geometrical, and the Musickall. And by one of these three is euery other proportion guided of the things that haue conueniencie by relation, as the visible by light colour and shadow: the audible by stirres, times and accents: the odorable by smelles of sundry temperaments: the tastible by fauours to the rate: the tangible by his obiectes in this

or that regard. Of all which we leaue to speake, returning to our poetick proportion, which holdeth of the Musickall, because as we sayd before Poetrie is a skill to speake and write harmonically: and verses or rime be a kind of Musickall utterance, by reason of a certaine congruities in sounds pleasing the eare, though not perchance so exquisitely as the harmonickall contents of the artificiall Musicke, consisting in strained tunes, as is the vocall Musike, or that of melodious instruments, as Lutes, Harpes, Regals. Records and such like. And this our proportion Poetickall resteth in five points: Staffe, Measure, Concord, Scituation and figure all which shall be spoken of in their places.

CHAP. II.

Of proportion in Staffe.



Staffe in our vulgare Poetrie I know not why it should be so called, vnlesse it be for that we vnderstand it for a bearer or supporter of a song or ballad, not vnlike the old weake bodie, that is stayed vp by his staffe, and were not otherwise able to walke or to stand vp-right. The Italian called it *Stanza*, as if we should say a resting place: and if we consider well the forme of this Poetickall staffe, we shall finde it to be a certaine number of verses allowed to go altogether and ioyne without any intermission, and doe or should finish vp all the sentences of the same with a full period, vnlesse it be in som special cases, and there to stay till another staffe follow of like sort: and the shortest staffe containeth not vnder foure verses, nor the longest above ten, if it passe that number it is rather a whole ditty then properly a staffe. Also for the more part the staues stand rather vpon the euen number of verses then the odde, though there be of both sorts. The first proportion then of a staffe is by *quadrien* or foure verses. The second of five verses, and is seldome vsed. The third by *sixeine* or sixe verses, and is not only most vsual, but also very pleasant to th'eare.

The fourth is in feuen verses, and is the chiefe of our ancient proportions vsed by any rimer writing any thing of historical or graue poeme, as ye may see in *Chaucer* and *Lidgate* th'one writing the loues of *Troilus* and *Cresseida*, th'other of the fall of Princes: both by them translated not deuised. The first [fifth?] proportion is of eight verses very stately and *Heroicke*, and which I like better then that of feuen, because it receaueth better band. The sixt is of nine verses, rare but very graue. The seuenth proportion is of tenne verses, very stately, but in many mens opinion too long: neuerthelesse of very good grace and much grauitie. Of eleuen and twelue I find none ordinary staues vsed in any vulgar language, neither doth it serue well to continue any historicall report and ballade, or other song: but is a dittie of it self, and no stasse, yet some moderne writers haue vsed it but very seldome. Then last of all haue ye a proportion to be vsed in the number of your staues. as to a caroll and a ballade, to a song, and a round, or virelay. For to an historicall poeme no certain number is limited, but as the matter fals out: also a *distick* or couple of verses is not to be accompted a stasse, but serues for a continuance as we see in Elegie, Epitaph, Epigramme or such metres, of plaine concord not harmonically entangled, as some other songs of more delicate musick be.

A stasse of foure verses containeth in it selfe matter sufficient to make a full periode or complement of sence, though it doe not alwayes so, and therefore may go by diuisions.

A stasse of foue verses, is not much vsed because he that can not comprehend his periode in foure verses. will rather driue it into six then leaue it in foue, for that the euen number is more agreeable to the eare then the odde is.

A stasse of fixe verses, is very pleasant to the eare, and also serueth for a greater complement then the inferiour staues, which maketh him more commonly to be vsed.

A staffe of seuen verses, most vsuall with our auncient makers, also the staffe of eight, nine and ten of larger complement then the rest, are onely vsed by the later makers, and vnlesse they go with very good bande, do not so well as the inferiour staues. Therefore if ye make your staffe of eight, by two fowers not entangled, it is not a huitaine or a staffe of eight, but two quadreins, so is it in ten verses, not being entangled they be but two staues of fwe.

CHAP. III.

Of proportion in measure.



Measure and measure is all one, for what the Greekes called *μετρον*, the Latines call *Mensura*, and is but the quantitie of a verse, either long or short. This quantitie with them consisteth in the number of their feete: and with vs in the number of fillables, which are comprehended in euery verse, not regarding his feete, otherwise then that we allow in scanning our verse, two fillables to make one short portion (suppose it a foote) in euery verse. And after that sort ye may say, we haue feete in our vulgare rymes, but that is improperly: for a foote by his fence naturall is a member of office and function, and serueth to three purposes, that is to say, to go, to runne, and to stand still: so as he must be sometimes swift, sometimes slow, sometime vnegally marching or peradventure steddly. And if our feete Poeticall want these qualities it can not be sayd a foote in fence translatiue as here. And this commeth to passe, by reason of the euident motion and stirre, which is perceiued in the sounding of our wordes not alwayes egall: for some aske longer, some shorter time to be vttered in, and so by the Philosophers definition, stirre is the true measure of time. The Greekes and Latines because their wordes hapned to be of many fillables, and very few of one fillable, it fell out right with them to conceiue and also to perceiue, a notable diuersitie of motion and times in the pronuntiation of their wordes,

and therefore to euery *bissillable* they allowed two times, and to a *trissillable* three times, and to euery *polisillable* more, according to his quantitie, and their times were some long, some short according as their motions were slow or swift. For the sound of some sillable staid the eare a great while, and others slid away so quickly, as if they had not bene pronounced, then euery sillable being allowed one time, either short or long, it fell out that euery *tetrasillable* had foure times, euery *trissillable* three, and the *bissillable* two, by which obseruation euery word, not vnder that size, as he ranne or stood in a verse, was called by them a foote of such and so many times, namely the *bissillable* was either of two long times as the *spondeus*, or two short, as the *pirchius*, or of a long and a short as the *trocheus*, or of a short and a long as the *iambus*: the like rule did they set vpon the word *trissillable*, calling him a foote of three times: as the *daëtilus* of a long and two short: the *mollossus* of three long, the *tribracchus* of three short, the *amphibracchus* of two long and a short, the *amphimacer* of two short and a long. The word of foure sillables they called a foote of foure times, some or all of them, either long or short: and yet not so content they mounted higher, and because their wordes serued well thereto, they made feete of fixe times: but this proceeded more of curiositie, then otherwise: for whatsoeuer foote passe the *trissillable* is compounded of his inferiour as euery number Arithmetically aboue three, is compounded of the inferiour number as twise two make foure, but the three is made of one number, videl. of two and an vnitie. Now because our naturall and primitiue language of the *Saxon English*, beares not any wordes (at least very few) of more sillables then one (for whatsoeuer we see exceede, commeth to vs by the alterations of our language growen vpon many conquestes and otherwise) there could be no such obseruation of times in the sound of our wordes, and for that cause we could not haue the feete which the Greeks and Latines haue in their metres: but of this stirre and motion of their deuised

feete, nothing can better shew the qualitie then these runners at common games, who setting forth from the first goale, one giueth the start speedely and perhaps before he come half way to th'other goale, decayeth his pace, as a man weary and fainting : another is slow at the start, but by amending his pace keepes euen with his fellow or perchance gets before him : another one while gets ground, another while loseth it again, either in the beginning, or middle of his race, and so proceedes vnegally sometimes swift somtimes slow as his breath or forces serue him : another fort there be that plod on, and will neuer change their pace, whether they win or lose the game : in this maner doth the Greeke *daētilus* begin slowly and keepe on swifter till th'end, for his race being deuided into three parts, he spends one, and that is the first slowly, the other twaine swiftly : the *anapestus* his two first parts swiftly, his last slowly : the *Molossus* spends all three parts of his race slowly and egally. *Bacchius* his first part swiftly, and two last parts slowly. The *tribrachus* all his three parts swiftly : the *antibacchius* his two first partes slowly, his last and third swiftly : the *amphimacer*, his first and last part slowly and his middle part swiftly : the *amphibracus* his first and last parts swiftly but his midle part slowly, and so of others by like proportion. This was a pretie phantasticall obseruation of them, and yet brought their meetres to haue a maruelous good grace, which was in Greeke called *ῥυθμός* : whence we haue deriued this word ryme, but improperly and not wel because we haue no such feete or times or stirres in our meeters, by whose *sympathie*, or pleasant conueniencie with th'eare, we could take any delight : this *rithmus* of theirs, is not therfore our rime, but a certaine muscally numerositie in vtterance, and not a bare number as that of the Arithmetical computation is, which therfore is not called *rithmus* but *arithmus*. Take this away from them, I meane the running of their feete, there is nothing of curiositie among them more then with vs nor yet so much.

CHAP. III. [IV.]

How many sorts of measures we vse in our vulgar.



O returne from rime to our measure againe, it hath bene sayd that according to the number of the fillables contained in euery verse, the same is sayd a long or short meeter, and his shortest proportion is of foure fillables, and his longest of twelue, they that vse it aboue, passe the bounds of good proportion. And euery meeter may be aswel in the odde as in the euen fillable, but better in the euen, and one verse may begin in the euen, and another follow in the odde, and so keepe a commendable proportion. The verse that containeth but two fillables, which may be in one word, is not vsuall: therefore many do deny him to be a verse, saying that it is but a foot, and that a meeter can haue no lesse then two feete at the least, but I find it otherwise aswell among the best Italian Poets, as also with our vulgar makers, and that two fillables serue wel for a short measure in the first place, and middle, and end of a stasse: and also in diuerse scituations and by fundry distances, and is very passionate and of good grace, as shalbe declared more at large in the Chapter of proportion by scituation.

The next measure is of two feete or of foure fillables, and then one word *tetrafillable* diuided in the middest makes vp the whole meeter, as thus

Rēnē rēntlic

Or a trifillable and one monosillable thus. *Soueraigne God*, or two bissillables and that is pleasant thus, *Restore againe*, or with foure monosillables, and that is best of all thus, *When I doe thinke*, I finde no fauour in a meetre of three fillables nor in effect in any odde, but they may be vsed for varietie sake, and specially being enterlaced with others the meetre of six fillables is very sweete and delicate as thus.

*O God when I behold
This bright heauen so hye*

*By thine owne hands of old
Contrived so cunningly.*

The meter of seuen fillables is not vsual, no more is that of nine and eleuen, yet if they be well composed, that is, their *Cesure* well appointed, and their last accent which makes the concord, they are commendable inough, as in this ditty where one verse is of eight an other is of seuen, and in the one the accent vpon the last, in the other vpon the last saue on[e].

*The smoakie sighes, the bitter teares
That I in vaine haue wasted
The broken sleepes, the woe and feares
That long in me haue lasted
Will be my death, all by thy guilt
And not by my deseruing
Since so inconstantly thou wilt
Not loue but still be fweruing.*

And all the reason why these meeters in all fillable are allowable is, for that the sharpe accent falles vpon the *penultima* or last saue one fillable of the verse, which doth so drowne the last, as he seemeth to passe away in maner vnpronounced, and so make the verse seeme euen: but if the accent fall vpon the last and leaue two flat to finish the verse, it will not seeme so: for the odnes will more notoriously appeare, as for example in the last verse before recited *Not loue but still be fweruing*, say thus *Loue it is a maruelous thing*. Both verses be of egall quantitie, vidz. seauen fillables a peece, and yet the first seemes shorter then the later, who shewes a more odnesse then the former by reason of his sharpe accent which is vpon the last fillable, and makes him more audible then if he had slid away with a flat accent, as the word *fweruing*.

Your ordinarie rimers vse very much their measures in the odde as nine and eleuen, and the sharpe accent vpon the last fillable, which therefore makes him go ill fauouredly and like a minstrels musicke. Thus sayd one in a meeter of eleuen very harshly in mine care, whether it be for lacke of good rime or of good reason, or of both I wot not.

*Now sucke childe and sleepe childe, thy mothers owne ioy
Her only sweete comfort, to drowne all annoy
For beauty surpassing the azured skie
I loue thee my darling, as ball of mine eye.*

This sort of composition in the odde I like not, vnlesse it be holpen by the *Cesure* or by the accent as I sayd before.

The meeter of eight is no lesse pleasant then that of fixe, and the *Cesure* fals iust in the middle, as this of the Earle of Surreyes.

When raging loue, with extreme payne.

The meeter of ten fillables is very stately and Heroicall, and must haue his *Cesure* fall vpon the fourth fillable, and leaue fixe behinde him thus.

I serue at ease, and gouerne all with woe.

This meeter of twelue fillables the French man calleth a verse *Alexandrine*, and is with our moderne rimers most vsuall: with the auncient makers it was not so. For before Sir *Thomas Wiats* time they were not vsed in our vulgar, they be for graue and stately matters fitter than for any other ditty of pleasure. Some makers write in verses of foureteene fillables, giuing the *Cesure* at the first eight, which proportion is tedious, for the length of the verse kepeth the eare too long from his delight, which is to heare the cadence or the tuneable accent in the ende of the verse. Neuerthelesse that of twelue if his *Cesure* be iust in the middle, and that ye suffer him to runne at full length, and do not as the common rimers do, or their Printer for sparing of paper, cut them of in the middest, wherein they make in two verses but halfe rime. They do very wel as wrote the Earle of Surrey translating the booke of the preacher.

Salomon Davids sonne, king of Ierusalem.

This verse is very good *Alexandrine*, but perchaunce woulde haue sounded more musically, if the first word had bene a disyllable, or two monosyllables and not a trissyllable: hauing this sharpe accent vpon the *Antepenultima* as it hath, by which occasion it runnes like a

Daſtill, and carries the two later fillables away ſo ſpeedily as it ſeemes but one foote in our vulgar meaſure, and by that meanes makes the verſe ſeeme but of eleuen fillables, which odneſſe is nothing pleaſant to the eare. Iudge ſome body whether it would haue done better (if it might) haue bene ſayd thus,

Robóham Dauidſ ſonne king of Ieruſalem.

Letting the ſharpe accent fall vpon *bo*, or thus

Reſlóre king Dáuidſ ſónne vntó Ierúſalém

For now the ſharpe accent ſalles vpon *bo*, and ſo doth it vpon the laſt in *reſlóre*, which was not in th'other verſe. But becauſe we haue ſeemed to make mention of *Ceſure*, and to appoint his place in euery meaſure, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſay ſomewhat more of it, and alſo of ſuch pauses as are vſed in vtterance, and what commoditie or delectation they bring either to the ſpeakers or to the hearers.

CHAP. IIII. [V.]

Of Ceſure.



Here is no greater difference betwixt a ciuill and brutiſh vtteraunce then cleare diſtinction of voices: and the moſt laudable languages are alwaies moſt plaine and diſtinct, and the barbarous moſt confuſe and indiſtinct: it is therefore requiſit that leaſure be taken in pronuntiation, ſuch as may make our wordes plaine and moſt audible and agreeable to the eare: alſo the breath aſketh to be now and then releued with ſome pause or ſtay more or leſſe: beſides that the very nature of ſpeech (becauſe it goeth by clauſes of ſeuerall conſtruction and ſence) requireth ſome ſpace betwixt them with intermiſſion of ſound, to th'end they may not huddle one vpon another ſo rudly and ſo faſt that th' eare may not perceiue their difference. For theſe reſpectes the auncient reformers of language, inuented, three maner of pauses, one of leſſe leaſure then another, and ſuch ſeuerall intermiſſions of ſound to ſerue (beſides

easiment to the breath) for a treble distinction of sentences or parts of speech, as they happened to be more or lesse perfect in sence. The shortest pause or intermission they called *comma* as who would say a peece of a speech cut of. The second they called *colon*, not a peece but as it were a member for his larger length, because it occupied twise as much time as the *comma*. The third they called *periodus*, for a complement or full pause, and as a resting place and perfection of so much former speech as had bene vttered, and from whence they needed not to passe any further vnles it were to renew more matter to enlarge the tale. This cannot be better represented then by example of these common trauailers by the hie ways, where they seeme to allow themselues three maner of staies or easements: one a horsebacke calling perchaunce for a cup of beere or wine, and hauing dronken it vp rides away and neuer lights: about noone he commeth to his Inne, and there baies him selfe and his horse an houre or more: at night when he can conueniently trauaile no further, he taketh vp his lodging, and rests him selfe till the morrow: from whence he followeth the course of a further voyage, if his businesse be such. Euen so our Poet when he hath made one verse, hath as it were finished one dayes iourney, and the while easeth him selfe with one baite at the least, which is a *Comma* or *Cesure* in the mid way, if the verse be euen and not odde, otherwise in some other place, and not iust in the middle. If there be no *Cesure* at all, and the verse long, the lesse is the makers skill and hearers delight. Therefore in a verse of twelue fillables the *Cesure* ought to fall right vpon the sixt fillable: in a verse of eleuen vpon the sixt also leauing five to follow. In a verse of ten vpon the fourth, leauing sixe to follow. In a verse of nine vpon the fourth, leauing five to follow. In a verse of eight iust in the middest, that is, vpon the fourth. In a verse of seauen, either vpon the fourth or none at all, the meeter very ill brooking any pause. In a verse of sixe fillables and vnder is needefull no *Cesure*

at all, because the breath asketh no reliefe: yet if ye giue any *Comma*, it is to make distinction of sense more then for any thing else: and such *Cesure* must neuer be made in the midst of any word, if it be well appointed. So may you see that the vse of these pawses or distinctions is not generally with the vulgar Poet as it is with the Prose writer because the Poetes cheise Musicke lying in his rime or concorde to heare the Simphonie, he maketh all the hast he can to be at an end of his verse, and delights not in many staves by the way, and therefore gineth but one *Cesure* to any verse: and thus much for the founding of a meetre. Neuerthelesse he may vse in any verse both his *comma*, *colon*, and *interrogative* point, as well as in prose. But our auncient rymers, as *Chaucer*, *Lydgate* and others, vsed these *Cesures* either very feldome, or not at all, or else very licentiously, and many times made their meetres (they called them riding ryme) of such vnshapely wordes as would allow no conuenient *Cesure*. and therefore did let their rymes runne out at length, and neuer stayd till they came to the end: which maner though it were not to be misliked in some sort of meetre, yet in euery long verie the *Cesure* ought to be kept precisely, if it were but to serue as a law to correct the licentiousnesse of rymers, besides that it pleateth the eare better, and sheweth more cunning in the maker by following the rule of his restraint. For a rymmer that will be tyed to no rules at all, but range as he list, may easily vter what he will: but such maner of Poesie is called in our vulgar, ryme dogrell, with which rebuke we will in no case our maker should be touched. Therfore before all other things let his ryme and concordes be true, cleare and audible with no lesse delight, then almost the strayned note of a Musicians mouth, and not darke or wrenched by wrong writing as many doe to patch vp their meetres, and so follow in their arte neither rule, reason nor ryme. Much more might be sayd for the vse of your three pauses, *comma*, *colon*, and *periode*, for perchance it be not all a matter to vse many *com-*

mas, and few, nor *colons* likewise, or long or short *periclaes*, for it is diuersly vsed, by diuers good writers. But because it apperteineth more to the oratour or writer in prose then in verse, I will say no more in it, then thus, that they be vsed for a commodious and sensible distinction of clauses in prose, since euery verse is as it were a clause of it selfe, and limited with a *Cesure* howsoeuer the fence beare, perfect or imperfect, which difference is obseruable betwixt the prose and the meeter.

CHAP. V. [VI.]

Of Proportion in Concord, called Symphonie or rime.



Ecause we vse the word rime (though by maner of abusio) yet to helpe that fault againe we apply it in our vulgar Poesie another way very commendably and curiously. For wanting the currantnesse of the Greeke and Latine feete, in stead thereof we make in th' ends of our verses a certaine tunable found: which anon after with another verse reasonably distant we accord together in the last fall or cadence: the care taking pleasure to heare the like tune reported, and to feele his returne. And for this purpose serue the *monosyllables* of our English Saxons excellently well, because they do naturally and indifferently receiue any accent, and in them if they finish the verse, resteth the shrill accent of necessitie, and so doth it not in the last of euery *bissyllable*, nor of euery *polisyllable* word: but to the purpose, *ryme* is a borrowed word from the Greeks by the Latines and French, from them by vs Saxon angles, and by abusio as hath bene sayd, and therefore it shall not do amisse to tell what this *rithmos* was with the Greekes, for what is it with vs hath bene already sayd. There is an accomptable number which we call *arithmeticall* (*arithmos*) as one, two, three. There is also a musicall or audible number, fashioned by stirring of tunes and their fundry times in the vtterance of our wordes, as when the voice goeth high or low, or sharpe or

flat, or swift or slow: and this is called *rithmos* or numerositie, that is to say, a certaine flowing vtterance by slipper words and fillables, such as the toung easily vtters, and the eare with pleasure receiueth, and which flowing of wordes with much volubilitie smoothly proceeding from the mouth is in some sort *harmonicall* and breedeth to th'eare a great compassion. This point grew by the smooth and delicate running of their feete, which we haue not in our vulgare, though we vse as much as may be the most flowing words and slippery fillables, that we can picke out: yet do not we call that by the name of ryme, as the Greekes did: but do giue the name of ryme onely to our concordcs, or tunable consentes in the latter end of our verses, and which concordcs the Greekes nor Latines neuer vsed in their Poesie till by the barbarous fouldiers out of the campe, it was brought into the Court and thence to the schoole, as hath bene before remembred: and yet the Greekes and Latines both vsed a maner of speach, by clauscs of like termination, which they called *ὁμοιοτέλευτον*, and was the nearest that they approached to our ryme: but is not our right concord: so as we in abusing this terme (*ryme*) be neuerthelesse excusable applying it to another point in Poesie no lesse curious then their *rithme* or numerositie which in deede passed the whole verse throughout, whereas our concordcs keepe but the latter end of euery verse, or perchaunce the middle and the end in meetres that be long.

CHAP. VI. [VII.]

Of accent, time and stir perceiued euidently in the distinction of mans voice, and which makes the flowing of a meeter.



Owe because we haue spoken of accent, time and stirre or motion in wordes, we will set you downe more at large what they be. The auncient Greekes and Latines by reason their speech fell out originally to be fashioned with words of many fillables for the

most part, it was of necessity that they could not utter every syllable with one like and egall sounde, nor in like space of time, nor with like motion or agility: but that one must be more suddenly and quickly forsaken, or longer pawed vpon then another: or sounded with a higher note and clearer voyce then another, and of necessitie this diuersitie of sound, must fall either vpon the last syllable, or vpon the last saue one, or vpon the third and could not reach higher to make any notable difference, it caused them to giue vnto three different sounds, three seuerall names: to that which was highest lift vp and most eleuate or shrillest in the eare, they gaue the name of the sharpe accent, to the lowest and most base because it seemed to fall downe rather then to rise vp, they gaue the name of the heauy accent, and that other which seemed in part to lift vp and in part to fall downe, they called the circumflex, or compass accent: and if new termes were not odious, we might very properly call him the (windabout) for so is the Greek word. Then bycause euery thing that by nature falls down is said heauy, and whatfoeuer naturally mounts vpward is said light, it gaue occasion to say that there were diuersities in the motion of the voice, as swift and slow, which motion also presupposes time, bycause time is *mensura motus*, by the Philosopher: so haue you the causes of their primitiue inuention and vse in our arte of Poesie, all this by good obseruation we may perceiue in our vulgar wordes if they be of mo syllables then one, but specially if they be *trissyllables*, as for example in these wordes [*altitude*] and [*heauinesse*] the sharpe accent falles vpon [*al*] and [*he*] which be the *antepenultimaes*: the other two fall away speedily as if they were scarfe sounded in this *trissyllable* [*forsaken*] the sharp accent falls vpon [*sa*] which is the *penultima*, and in the other two is heauie and obscure. Again in these *bissyllables*, *endure*, *unsure*, *demure*: *aspire*, *desire*, *retire*, your sharpe accent falles vpon the last syllable: but in words *monosyllable* which be for the more part our naturall Saxon English, the accent is in-

different, and may be vsed for sharp or flat and heauy at our pleasure. I say Saxon English, for our Normane English alloweth vs very many *bissillables*, and also *trissillables* as, *reuerence*, *diligence*, *amorous*, *desirous*, and such like.

CHAP. VII. [VIII.]

Of your Cadences by which your meeter is made Symphonickall when they be sweetest and most solemne in a verse.



THE smoothnesse of your words and fillables running vpon feete of fundrie quantities, make with the Greekes and Latines the body of their verses numerous or Rithmicall, so in our vulgar Poesie, and of all other nations at this day, your verses answering eche other by couples, or at larger distances in good [*cadence*] is it that maketh your meeter symphonickall. This cadence is the fall of a verse in euery last word with a certaine tunable found which being matched with another of like found, do make a [*concord*.] And the whole cadence is contained sometime in one fillable, sometime in two, or in three at the most: for aboue the *antepenultima* there reacheth no accent (which is chiefe cause of the cadence) vnlesse it be by vsurpation in some English words, to which we giue a sharpe accent vpon the fourth as, *Hónorable*, *mátrimonie*, *pátrimonie*, *míserable*, and such other as would neither make a sweete cadence, nor easily find any word of like quantitie to match them. And the accented fillable with all the rest vnder him make the cadence, and no fillable aboue, as in these words, *Agíllitie*, *facíllitie*, *subiécction*, *dirécction*, and these bissillables, *Ténder*, *slénder*, *trústie*, *iústie*, but alwayes the cadence which falleth vpon the last fillable of a verse is sweetest and most commendable: that vpon the *penultima* more light, and not so pleasant: but falling vpon the *antepenultima* is most vnpleasant of all, because they make your meeter too light and triuiall, and are fitter for the Epigrammatist or Comickall

Poet then for the Lyrick and Elegiack, which are accounted the sweeter Musickes. But though we haue sayd that (to make good concord) your seuerall verses should haue their cadences like, yet must there be some difference in their orthographie, though not in their sound, as if one cadence be [*constraine*] the next [*restraine*] or one [*aspire*] another [*respire*] this maketh no good concord, because they are all one, but if ye will exchange both these consonants of the accented fillable, or voyde but one of them away, then will your cadences be good and your concord to, as to say, *refraine*, *refraine*, *remaine* : *aspire*, *desire*, *retire* : which rule neuerthelesse is not well obserued by many makers for lacke of good iudgement and delicate eare. And this may suffice to shew the vse and nature of your cadences, which are in effect all the sweetnesse and cunning in our vulgar Poesie.

CHAP. VIII. [IX.]

How the good maker will not wrench his word to helpe his rime, either by falsifying his accent, or by vnttrue orthographie.



Now there can not be in a maker a fowler fault, then to falsifie his accent to serue his cadence, or by vnttrue orthographie to wrench his words to helpe his rime, for it is a signe that such a maker is not copious in his owne language, or (as they are wont to say) not halfe his crafts maister: as for example, if one should rime to this word [*Restore*] he may not match him with [*Doore*] or [*Poore*] for neither of both are of like terminant, either by good orthography or in naturall sound, therefore such rime is strained, so is it to this word [*Ram*] to say [*came*] or to [*Beane*] [*Den*] for they sound not nor be written a like, and many other like cadences which were superfluous to recite, and are vsuall with rude rimers who obserue not precisely the rules of [*profodie*] neuerthelesse in all such cases (if necessitie constrained) it is somewhat more tollerable

to help the rime by false orthographie, then to leaue an vnpleasant dissonance to the eare, by keeping trewe orthographie and loosing the rime, as for example it is better to rime [*Dore*] with [*Reflore*] then in his truer orthographie, which is [*Doore*] and to this word [*Defire*] to say [*Fier*] then fyre though it be otherwise better written *fire*. For since the cheife grace of our vulgar Poefie consisteth in the Symphonie, as hath bene already sayd, our maker must not be too licentious in his concords, but see that they go euen, iust and melodious in the eare, and right so in the numerositie or currentnesse of the whole body of his verse, and in euery other of his proportions. For a licentious maker is in truth but a bungler and not a Poet. Such men were in effect the most part of all your old rimers and specially *Gower*, who to make vp his rime would for the most part write his terminant fillable with false orthographie, and many times not sticke to put in a plaine French word for an English, and so by your leaue do many of our common rimers at this day: as he that by all likelyhood, hauing no word at hand to rime to this word [*ioy*] he made his other verse ende in [*Roy*] saying very impudently thus,

O mightie Lord of loue, dame Venus onely ioy

Who art the highest God of any heauenly Roy.

Which word was neuer yet receiued in our language for an English word. Such extreme licentiousnesse is vtterly to be banished from our schoole, and better it might haue bene borne with in old riming writers, because they liued in a barbarous age, and were graue morall men but very homely Poets, such also as made most of their workes by translation out of the Latine and French toung, and few or none of their owne engine as may easely be knownen to them that list to looke vpon the Poemes of both languages.

Finally as ye may ryme with wordes of all fortes, be they of many fillables or few, so neuerthelesse is there a choise by which to make your cadence (before remembred) most commendable, for some wordes of exceeding great length, which haue bene fetched from the

Latine inkhorne or borrowed of strangers, the vse of them in ryme is nothing pleasant, sauing perchaunce to the common people, who reioyse much to be at playes and enterludes, and besides their naturall ignoraunce, haue at all such times their eares so attentiuē to the matter, and their eyes vpon the shewes of the stage, that they take little heede to the cunning of the rime, and therefore be as well satisfied with that which is grosse, as with any other finer and more delicate.

CHAP. IX. [X.]

Of concorde in long and short measures, and by neare or farre distaunces, and which of them is most commendable.



Vt this ye must obserue withall, that bycause your concordes containe the chief part of Musicke in your meetre, their distaunces may not be too wide or farre a funder, lest th'eare should loose the tune, and be defrauded of his delight, and whensoever ye see any maker vse large and extraordinary distaunces, ye must thinke he doth intende to shew himselfe more artificiall then popular, and yet therein is not to be discommended, for respects that shalbe remembred in some other place of this booke.

Note also that rime or concorde is not commendably vsed both in the end and middle of a verse, vnlesse it be in toyes and trifling Poesies, for it sheweth a certaine lightnesse either of the matter or of the makers head, albeit these common rimers vse it much, for as I sayd before, like as the Symphonie in a verse of great length, is (as it were) lost by looking after him, and yet may the meetre be very graue and flatly: so on the other side doth the ouer busie and too speedy returne of one manner of tune, too much annoy and as it were glut the eare, vnlesse it be in small and popular Musickes song by these *Cantabanqui* vpon benches and barrells heads where they haue none other audience then boys or countrey fellowes that passe by them in the streete, or

else by blind harpers or such like tauerne minstrels that giue a fit of mirth for a groat, and their matters being for the most part stories of old time, as the tale of Sir *Topas*, the reportes of *Beuis* of *Southampton*, *Guy* of *Warwicke*, *Adam Bell*, and *Clymme* of the *Clough* and such other old Romances or historicall rimes, made purposely for recreation of the common people at Christmasse diners and brideales, and in tauernes and alehouses and such other places of base resort, also they be vsed in Carols and rounds and such light or lasciuious Poemes, which are commonly more commodiously vttered by these buffons or vices in playes then by any other person. Such were the rimes of *Skelton* (vsurping the name of a Poet Laureat) being in deede but a rude rayling rimer and all his doings ridiculous, he vsed both short distaunces and short measures pleasing onely the popular eare: in our courtly maker we banish them vtterly. Now also haue ye in euery song or ditty concorde by compasse and concorde entangled and a mixt of both, what that is and how they be vsed shalbe declared in the chapter of proportion by *situation*.

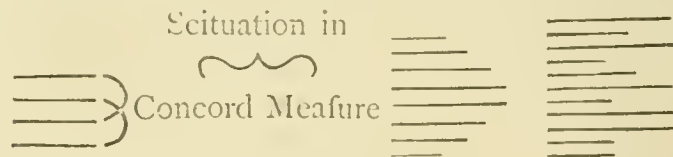
CHAP. X. [XI.]

Of proportion by situation.



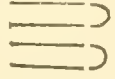
His proportion consisteth in placing of euery verse in a staffe or ditty by such reasonable distaunces, as may best serue the eare for delight, and also to shew the Poets art and variety of Musick, and the proportion is double. One by marshalling the meetres, and limiting their distaunces hauing regard to the rime or concorde how they go and returne: another by placing euery verse, hauing a regard to his measure and quantitie onely, and not to his concorde as to set one short meetre to three long, or foure short and two long, or a short measure and a long, or of diuers lengthes with relation one to another, which maner of *Situation*, euen without respect of the rime, doth alter the nature of

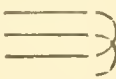
the Poësie, and make it either lighter or graver, or more merry, or mournfull, and many wayes passionate to the eare and hart of the hearer, seeming for this point that our maker by his measures and concordes of fundry proportions doth counterfait the harmonicall tunes of the vocall and instrumentall Musickes. As the *Dorien* because his falls, fallyes and compasse be diuers from those of the *Phrigien*, the *Phrigien* likewise from the *Lydien*, and all three from the *Eolien*, *Miolidien* and *Ionien*, mounting and falling from note to note such as be to them peculiar, and with more or lesse leasure or precipitation. Euen so by diuersitie of placing and scituation of your measures and concordes, a short with a long, and by narrow or wide distances, or thicker or thinner bestowing of them your proportions differ, and breedeth a variable and strange harmonie not onely in the eare, but also in the conceit of them that heare it : whereof this may be an ocular example.

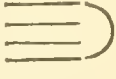




Where ye see the concord or rime in the third distance, and the measure in the fourth, sixth or second distaunces, whereof ye may deuise as many other as ye list, so the staffe be able to beare it. And I set you downe an ocular example : because ye may the better conceine it. Likewise it so falleth out most times your ocular proportion doeth declare the nature of the audible : for if it please the eare well, the same represented by delineation to the view pleaseth the eye well and *è conuerso* : and this is by a naturall *sympathie*, betweene the eare and the eye, and betweene tunes and colours, even as there is the like betweene the other senses and their obiects of which it apperteineth not here to speake. Now for the distances vsually obserued in our vulgar Poësie, they be in the first second

third and fourth verse, or if the verse be very short in the fift and sixt and in some maner of Musickes farre aboue.

And the first distance for the most part goeth all by *distick* or couples of verses agreeing in one cadence, and do passe so speedily away and so often returne agayne, as their tunes are neuer lost, nor out of the eare, one couple supplying another so nye and so suddenly, and this is the most vulgar proportion of distance or situation, such as vsed *Chaucer* in his *Canterbury tales*, and *Gower* in all his workes. 

Second distance is, when ye passe ouer one verse, an l ioyne the first and the third, and so continue  on till an other like distance fall in, and this is also vsuall and common, as

Third distaunce is, when your rime falleth vpon the first and fourth verse ouerleaping two, this maner is not so common but pleasant and allowable inough. 

In which case the two verses ye leaue out are ready to receiue their concord by the same distaunce or any other ye like better. The fourth distaunce is by ouerskipping three verses and lighting vpon the fift, this maner is rare and more artificiall then popular, vnlesse it be in some speciall case, as when the meetres be so little and short as they make no shew of any great delay before they returne, ye shall haue example of both.  

And these ten litle meeters make but one *Exampler* at length.

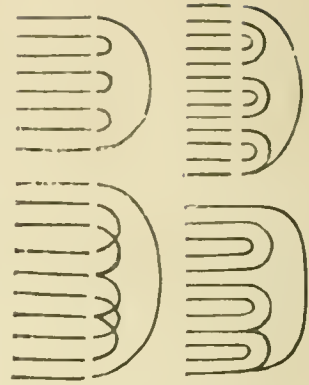
--, --, --, --, --, --, --, --, --, --,

There be larger distances also, as when the first concord falleth vpon the sixt verse, and is very pleasant if they be ioyned with other distances not so large, as



There be also, of the seuenth, eight, tenth, and twelfth distance, but then they may not go thicke. but two or three such distances serue to proportion a

whole song, and all betweene must be of other lesse distances, and these wide distaunces serue for coupling of staues, or for to declare high and passionate or graue matter, and also for art: *Petrarch* hath giuen vs examples hereof in his *Canzoni*, and we by lines of sundry lengths and distances as followeth,




And all that can be obiected against this wide distance is to say that the eare by loosing his concord is not satisfied. So is in deede the rude and popular eare but not the learned, and therefore the Poet must know to whose eare he maketh his rime, and accommodate himselfe thereto, and not giue such musicke to the rude and barbarous, as he would to the learned and delicate eare.

There is another sort of proportion vsed by *Petrarche* called the *Seizino*, not riming as other songs do, but by chusing fixe wordes out of which all the whole dittie is made, euery of those fixe commencing and ending his verse by course, which restraint to make the dittie sensible will try the makers cunning, as thus.



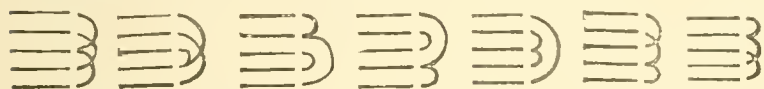
Besides all this there is in *Situation* of the concords two other points, one that it go by plaine and cleere compasse not intangled: another by enterweauing one with another by knots, or as it were by band, which is more or lesse busie and curious, ail as the maker will double or redouble his rime or concords, and set his distances farre or nigh, of all which I will giue you ocular examples, as thus.

Concord in

Plaine compasse  Entertangle.

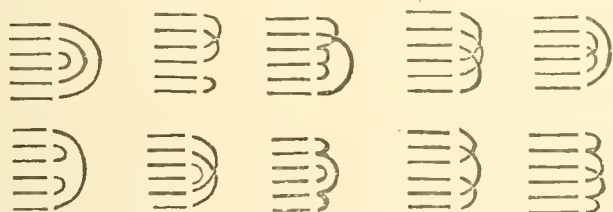
And first in a *Quadreine* there are but two proportions, for foure verses in this last fort coupled, are but two *Diflicks*, and not a staffe *quadreine* or of foure.

The staffe of five hath feuen proportions as,

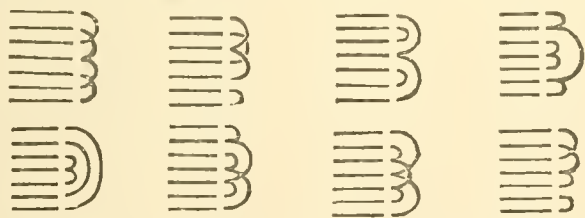


whereof some of them be harsher and vnpleasaunter to the eare then other some be.

The *Sixaine* or staffe of sixe hath ten proportions, wherof some be vsuall, some not vsuall, and not so sweet one as another.



The staffe of feuen verses hath feuen proportions, whereof one onely is the vsuall of our vulgar, and kept by our old Poets *Chaucer* and other in their historicall reports and other ditties: as in the last part of them that follow next.



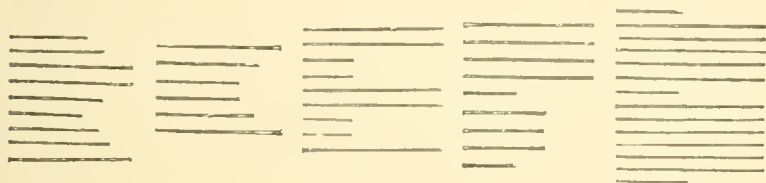
The *huitain* or staffe of eight verses. hath eight proportions such as the former staffe, and because he is longer, he hath one more than the *fettaine*.

The staffe of nine verses hath yet moe then the eight, and the staffe of ten more then the ninth and the twelfth, if such were allowable in ditties, more

then any of them all, by reason of his largenesse receivinge moe compasses and enterweavings, alwayes considered that the very large distances be more artificiall, then popularly pleasant, and yet do giue great grace and grautie, and moue passion and affections more vehemently, as it is well to be obserued by *Petrarcha* his *Canzoni*.

Now ye may perceiue by these proportions before described, that there is a band to be giuen euery verse in a stasse, so as none fall out alone or vncoupled, and this band maketh that the stasse is sayd fast and not loose: euen as ye see in buildings of stone or bricke the mason giueth a band, that is a length to two breadths, and vpon necessitie diuers other sorts of bands to hold in the worke fast and maintaine the perpendicularitie of the wall: so in any stasse of seuen or eight or more verses, the coupling of the moe meeters by rime or concord, is the faster band: the fewer the looser band, and therefore in a *huitaine* he that putteth foure verses in one concord and foure in another concord, and in a *dizaine* fise, sheweth himselfe more cunning, and also more copious in his owne language. For he that can find two words of concord, can not find foure or fise or fixe, vnlesse he haue his owne language at will. Sometime also ye are driuen of necessitie to close and make band more then ye would, lest otherwise the stasse should fall afunder and seeme two staves: and this is in a stasse of eight and ten verses: whereas without a band in the middle, it would seeme two *quadriens* or two *quintaines*, which is an error that many makers slide away with. Yet *Chaucer* and others in the stasse of seuen and fixe do almost as much a misse, for they shut vp the stasse with a *dislicke*, concurring with none other verse that went before, and maketh but a loose rime, and yet bycause of the double cadence in the last two verses ferue the eare well inough. And as there is in euery stasse, band, giuen to the verses by concord more or lesse busie: so is there in some cases a band

giuen to euery flaffe, and that is by one whole verse running alone throughout the ditty or ballade, either in the middle or end of euery flaffe. The Greekes called such vncoupled verse *Epimonic*, the Latines *Versus intercalaris*. Now touching the situation of measures, there are as manie or more proportions of them which I referre to the makers phantasie and choise, contented with two or three ocular examples and no moe.



Which maner of proportion by situation of measures giueth more efficacie to the matter oftentimes then the concords them selues, and both proportions concurring together as they needes must, it is of much more beautie and force to the hearers mind.

To finish the learning of this diuision, I will set you downe one example of a ditty written extempore with this deuise, shewing not onely much promptnesse of wit in the maker, but also great arte and a notable memorie. Make me faith this writer to one of the companie, so many strokes or lines with your pen as ye would haue your song containe verses: and let euery line beare his feuerall length, euen as ye would haue your verse of measure. Suppose of foure, five, fixe or eight or more fillables, and set a figure of euerie number at th'end of the line, whereby ye may knowe his measure. Then where you will haue your rime or concord to fall, marke it with a compast stroke or semicircle passing ouer those lines, be they farre or neare in distance, as ye haue seene before described. And bycause ye shall not thinke the maker hath premeditated beforehand any such fashioned ditty, do ye your selfe make one verse whether it be of perfect or imperfect sense, and giue it him for a theame to

make all the rest vpon : if ye shall perceiue the maker do keepe the measures and rime as ye haue appointed him, and besides do make his dittie sensible and en-
fuant to the first verse in good reason, then may ye say he is his crafts maister. For if he were not of a plentiful discourse, he could not vpon the sudden shape an entire dittie vpon your imperfect theame or proposition in one verse. And if he were not copious in his language, he could not haue such store of wordes at commaundement, as should supply your concords. And if he were not of a maruelous good memory he could not obserue the rime and measures after the distances of your limitation, keeping with all grauitie and good sense in the whole dittie.

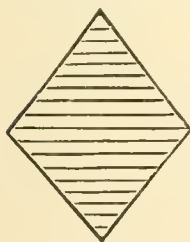
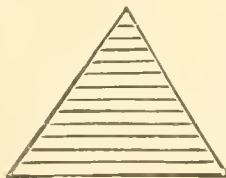
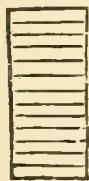
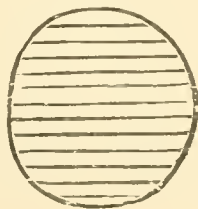
CHAP. XI. [XII.]

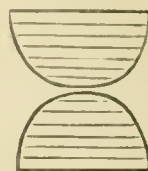
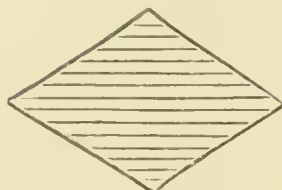
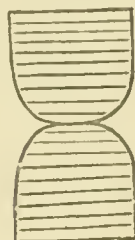
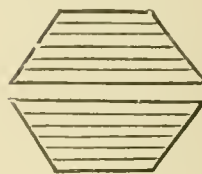
Of Proportion in figure.



Our last proportion is that of figure, so called for that it yelds an ocular representation, your meeters being by good symmetrie reduced into certaine Geometricall figures, whereby the maker is restrained to keepe him within his bounds, and sheweth not onely more art, but serueth also much better for brieseness and subtiltie of deuice. And for the same respect are also fittest for the pretie amourets in Court to entertaine their seruants and the time withall, their delicate wits requiring some commendable exercise to keepe them from idleness. I find not of this proportion vsed by any of the Greeke or Latine Poets, or in any vulgar writer, sauing of that one forme which they cal *Anacreens egge*. But being in Italie conuersant with a certaine gentleman, who had long trauailed the Orientall parts of the world, and seene the Courts of the great Princes of China and Tartarie. I being very inquisitiue to know of the subtilties of those countreyes, and especially in matter of learning and of their vulgar Poesie, he told me that they are in all their inuentions most wittie, and haue the vse of Poesie or riming, but

do not delight so much as we do in long tedious descriptions, and therefore when they will vtter any pretie conceit, they reduce it into metricall feet. and put it in forme of a *Lozange* or square, or such other figure, and so engrauen in gold, siluer or iuorie, and sometimes with letters of ametist. rubie. emeralde or topas curiously cemented and peececd together. they sende them in chaines, bracelets, collars and girdles to their mistresses to weare for a remembrance. Some fewe measures composcd in this sort this gentleman gaue me, which I translated word for word and as neere as I could followed both the phrase and the figure, which is somewhat hard to performe. because of the restraint of the figure from which ye may not digresse. At the beginning they wil seeme nothing pleasant to an English eare, but time and vsage wil make them acceptable inough, as it doth in all other new guises. be it for wearing of apparell or otherwise. The formes of your Geometricall figures be hereunder represented.

The Lozange
called RombusThe Fuzie or
spindle. called
RomboidesThe Tri-
angle. or
TricquetThe Square or
quadrangleThe Pillafter,
or CillinderThe Spire or
taper, called
piramisThe Ronde!
or SphereThe egge or
figure ouall

The Triequet
reuerstThe Triequet
displayedThe Taper
reuerstThe Rondel
displayedThe Lozange
reuerstThe egge
displayedThe Lozange
rabbated*Of the Lozange.*

The *Lozange* is a most beautifull figure, and fit for this purpose, being in his kind a quadrangle reuerst, with his point vpward like to a quarrell of glasse the Greekes and Latines both call it *Rombus* which may be the cause as I suppose why they also gaue that name to the fish commonly called the *Turbot*, who beareth iustly that figure, it ought not to containe about thirteene or fifteene or one and twentie meetres, and the longest furnisheth the middle angle, the rest passe vpward and downward, still abating their lengths by one or two sillables till they come to the point: the Fuzie is of the same nature but that he is sharper and slenderer. I will giue you an example or two of those which my Italian friend bestowed vpon me, which as neare as I could I translated into the same figure observing the phraze of the Orientall speech word for word.

A great Emperor in Tartary whom they cal *Can*, for his good fortune in the wars and many notable

conquests he had made, was furnamed *Temir Cutzclewe*, this man loued the Lady *Kermefine*, who presented him returning from the conquest of *Corafoon* (a great kingdom adioyning) with this *Lozange* made in letters of rubies and diamants enterningled thus

Sound
O Harpe
Shril lie out
Temir the stout
Rider who with sharpe
Trenchingblade of bright Steele
Hath made his fiercest foes to feele
All such as wrought him shame or harme
The strength of his braue right arme,
Cleauing hard downe vnto the eyes
The raw skulles of his enemies,
Much honor hath he wonne
By doughtie deedes done
In Cora soon
And all the
Worlde
Round.

To which Can Temir answered in Fuzie, with letters of Emeralds and Ametists artificially cut and enterningled, thus

Fine
Sore batailles
Manfully fought
In bloudy fichte
With bright blade in hand
Hath Temir won & forst to yeld
Many a Captaine strong & stoute
And many a king his Crowne to wayle,
Conquering large countreys and land,
Yet ne uer wanne I vi ctorie,
I speake it to my greate glo rie,
So deare and ioy full vn to me,
As when I did first con quere thee
O Kerme sine, of all myne foes
The most cruell, of all myne woos
The smartest, the sweetest
My proude Con quest
My ri chest pray
O once a daye
Lend me thy sight
Whose only light
Keepes me
Alive.

Of the Triangle or Triquet.

The Triangle is an halfe square, *Lozange* or *Fuzie* parted vpon the crosse angles: and so his base being brode and his top narrow, it receaueth meetres of

many fizes one shorter then another: and ye may vse this figure standing or reuerfed, as thus.

A certaine great Sultan of Persia called *Ribuska*, entertaynes in loue the Lady *Sclamour*, sent her this triquet reueft pitiously bemoning his estate, all fet in merquetry with letters of blew Saphire and Topas artificially cut and entermingled.

*Sciamour dearer than his owne life,
To thy di tressed wretch captiue,
Ri buska whome late ly erst
Most cru el ly thou perst
With thy dead ly dart,
That paire of starres
Shi ning a farre
Turne from me, to me
That I may and may not see
The smile, the loure
That lead and drine
Me to die to line
Twice yea thrise
In one
houre.*

To which *Sclamour* to make the match egall, and the figure entire, answered in a standing Triquet richly engrauen with letters of like fluffe.

*Power
Of death
Nor of life
Hath Sclamour,
With Gods it is riye
To geue and bereue breath,
I may for pitie perchaunce
Thy lost libertie re store,
Vpon thine othe with this penance,
That while thou liuest thou neuer loue no more.*

This condition seeming to Sultan *Ribuska* very hard to performe, and cruell to be enioyned him, doeth by another figure in Taper, signifying hope, answere the Lady *Sclamour*, which dittie for lack of time I translated not.

Of the Spire or Taper called Pyramis.

The Taper is the longest and sharpest triangle that is, and while he mounts vpward he waxeth continually more slender, taking both his figure and name of the fire, whose flame if ye marke it, is alwaies pointed, and naturally by his forme couets to clymbe: the Greekes

call him Pyramis of $\pi\upsilon\rho$. The Latines in vse of Architecture called him *Obeliscus*, it holdeth the altitude of six ordinary triangles, and in metrising his base can not well be larger then a meetre of six, therefore in his altitude he wil require diuers rabates to hold so many sizes of meetres as shall serue for his composition, for neare the toppe there wilbe roome litle inough for a meetre of two fillables, and sometimes of one to finish the point. I haue set you downe one or two examples to try how ye can digest the maner of the deuise.

Her Maiestie, for many parts in her most noble and vertuous nature to be found, resembled to the spire. Ye must begin beneath according to the nature of the deuise

From God the fountaine of all good, are deriued into the world all good things: and vpon her maiestie all the good fortunes any worldly creature can be furnisht with. Reade downward according to the nature of the deuise.

Skie. 1
Azurd 2
in the
assurde,
And better, [3]
And richer,
Muchgreter,
Crown and empir
After an hier
For to aspire 4
Like flame of fire
In forme of spire
To mount on hie,
Con ti nu al ly
With trauel and teen
Most gracious queen
Ye haue made a vow 5
Shew vs plainly how
Not fained but true,
To enery mans vew,
Shining cleere in you
Of so bright an hewe,
Euen thus vertewe
Vanish out of our sight
Till his fine top be quite
To Taper in the uyre 6
Endeuors soft and faire
By his kindly nature
Of tall comely stature
Like as this faire figure

1 God
On
Hie
2 From
Above
Sends loue,
Wisedome,
In stice
Cou rage,
Boun tie,
[3] And doth geue
Al that liue.
Life and breath
Harts ese helth
Children, welth
Beauty strength
Restfull age,
And at length
A mild death,
4 He doeth bestow
All mens fortunes
Both high and low
And the best things
That earth can haue
Or mankind craue,
Good queens and kings
Fi nally is the same
Whogae you madam)
Seyson of this Crowne
With poure soueraigne
5 Impug nable right.
Redoubtable might,
Most prosperous raigne
Eternall re nowme,
And that your chiefest is
Sure hope of heauens blis.

[The figures at the side, represent the number of syllables. ED.]

The Piller, Pillaster or Cillinder.

The Piller is a figure among all the rest of the Geometricall most beautifull, in respect that he is tall and vpright and of one bignesse from the bottom to the toppe. In Architecture he is considered with two accessarie parts, a pedestall or base, and a chapter or head, the body is the shaft. By this figure is signified stay, support, rest, state and magnificence, your dittie then being reduced into the forme of the Piller, his base will require to beare the breath of a meetre of six or seuen or eight fillables: the shaft of foure: the chapter egall with the base, of this proportion I will giue you one or two examples which may suffice.

Her Maiestie resembled to the crowned piller. Ye must read upward.

*Is blisse with immortalitie.
Her trymest top of allye see,
Garnish the crowne
Her iust renowne
Chapter and head,
Part that maintain
And womanhead
Her mayden raighe
In te gri tie:
In ho nour and
With ve ri tie:
Her roundnes stand
Strengthen the state.
By their increase
With out de bate
Concord and peace
Of her sup port,
They be the base
With stedfastnesse
Vertue and grace
Stay and comfort
Of Albi ons rest,
The sounde Pillar
And scene a farre
Is plainly exprest
Tall stately and strait
By this no ble pour trayt*

Philo to the Lady Calia, sendeth this Odolet of her prayse in forme of a Piller, which ye must read downward.

*Thy Princely port and Maiestie
Is my ter rene dei tie,
Thy wit and sence
The streame & source
Of e lo quence
And deepe discours,
The faire eyes are
My bright loadstarre.
Thy speache a darte
Percing my harte,
Thy face a las,
My loo king glasse,
Thy loue ly lookes
My prayer bookes,
Thy pleasant cheare
My sunshine cleare,
Thy ru full sight
My darke midnight.
Thy will the stent
Of my con tent,
Thy glo rye flour
Of myne ho nour,
Thy loue doth giue
The lyfe I lyue,
Thy lyfe it is
Mine earthly blisse:
But grace & fauour in thine eyes
My bodies soule & soules paradise.*

The Roundell or Spheare.

The most excellent of all the figures Geometrical is the round for his many perfections. First becaufe he is euen and smooth, without any angle, or inter-

ruption, most voluble and apt to turne, and to continue motion, which is the author of life : he conteyneth in him the commodious description of euery other figure, and for his ample capacitie doth resemble the world or vniuers, and for his indefinitenesse hauing no speciall place of beginning nor end, beareth a similitude with God and eternitie. This figure hath three principall partes in his nature and vse much considerable : the circle, the beame, and the center. The circle is his largest compasse or circumference : the center is his middle and indiuisible point : the beame is a line stretching directly from the circle to the center, and contrariwise from the center to the circle. By this description our maker may fashion his meetre in Roundell, either with the circumference, and that is circlewise, or from the circumference. that is, like a beame, or by the circumference, and that is ouerthwart and dyamettrally from one side of the circle to the other.

*A generall resemblance of the Roundell to God, the world
and the Queene.*

All and whole, and euer, and one,
Single, simple, eche where, alone,
These be counted as Clerkes can tell,
True properties, of the Roundell.
His still turning by consequence
And change, doe breede both life and fence.
Time, measure of stirre and rest,
Is also by his course exprest.
How swift the circle stirre aboue,
His center point doeth neuer moue :
All things that euer were or be,
Are closde in his concantie.
And though he be, still turnde and tost,
No roome there wants nor none is lost.
The Roundell hath no bonch nor angle,
Which may his course stay or entangle.
The furthest part of all his spheare,
Is equally both farre and neare.

*So doth none other figure fare
 Where natures chattels closed are :
 And beyond his wide compasse,
 There is no body nor no place,
 Nor any wit that comprehends,
 Where it begins, or where it ends :
 And therefore all men doe agree,
 That it purports eternitie.
 God aboute the heaucens so hie
 Is this Roundell, in world the skie,
 Upon earth she, who beares the bell
 Of maydes and Queenes, is this Roundell :
 All and whole and cuer alone,
 Single, sans peere, simple, and one.*

A speciall and particular resemblance of her Maiestie
 to the Roundell.

*F*irst her authoritie regall
 Is the circle compassing all :
 The dominion great and large
 Which God hath geuen to her charge :
 Within which most spacious bound
 She enuirones her people round,
 Retaining them by oth and liegeance.
 Within the pale of true obeyfance :
 Holding imparked as it were,
 Her people like to herds of deere.
 Sitting among them in the middes
 Where she allowes and bannes and bids
 In what fashion she list and when,
 The seruices of all her men.
 Out of her breast as from an eye,
 Issue the rayes incessantly
 Of her iustice, bountie and might
 Spreading abroad their beames so bright,
 And reflect not, till they attaine
 The fardest part of her domaine.
 And makes eche subiect clearly see,
 What he is bounden for to be

*To God his Prince and common wealth,
 His neighbour, kinred and to himfelfe.
 The fame centre and middle pricke,
 Whereto our deedes are drest fo thicke,
 From all the parts and outmoſt ſide
 Of her Monarchie large and wide,
 Alſo fro whence reflect theſe rayes,
 Twentie hundred maner of wayes
 Where her will is them to conuey
 Within the circle of her ſuruey.
 So is the Queene of Briton ground,
 Beame, circle, center of all my round.*

Of the ſquare or quadrangle equilater.

The ſquare is of all other accompted the figure of moſt ſolliditie and ſtedaſtneſſe, and for his owne ſtay and firmitie requireth none other baſe then himſelfe. and therefore as the roundell or Spheare is appropriat to the heauens, the Spire to the element of the fire : the Triangle to the ayre, and the Lozange to the water : ſo is the ſquare for his inconcuſſable ſteadineſſe likened to the earth, which perchaunce might be the reaſon that the Prince of Philoſophers in his firſt booke of the *Ethicks*, termeth a conſtant minded man, euen egal and direct on all ſides, and not eaſily ouerthrowne by euery litle aduerſitie, *hominem quadratum*, a ſquare man. Into this figure may ye reduce your ditties by vſing no moe verſes then your verſe is of ſyllables. which will make him fall out ſquare, if ye go aboue it will grow into the figure *Trapezion*, which is ſome portion longer then ſquare. I neede not giue you any example, by-cause in good arte all your ditties, Odes and Epigrammes ſhould keepe and not excede the number of twelue verſes, and the longeſt verſe to be of twelue ſyllables and not aboue, but vnder that number as much as ye will.

The figure Ouall.

This figure taketh his name of an egge, and alſo as it is thought his firſt origine, and is as it were a baſtard or imperfekt rounde declining toward a longitude, and

yet keeping within one line for his periferie or compasse as the rounde, and it seemeth that he receiueth this forme not as an imperfection by any impediment vn-naturally hindring his rotunditie, but by the wisdom and prouidence of nature for the commoditie of generation, in such of her creatures as bring not forth a liuely body (as do foure footed beasts) but in stead thereof a certaine quantitie of shapelesse matter contained in a vessell, which after it is sequestred from the dames body receiueth life and perfection, as in the egges of birdes, fishes, and serpents: for the matter being of some quantitie, and to issue out at a narrow place, for the easie passage thereof, it must of necessitie beare such shape as might not be sharpe and greuous to passe as an angle, nor so large or obtuse as might not essay some issue out with one part moe then other as the rounde, therefore it must be slenderer in some part, and yet not without a rotunditie and smoothnesse to giue the rest an easie deliuerie. Such is the figure Ouall whom for his antiquitie, dignitie and vse, I place among the rest of the figures to embellish our proportions: of this sort are diuers of *Anacreons* ditties, and those other of the Grecian Liricks, who wrate wanton amorous deuises, to solace their witts with all, and many times they would (to giue it right shape of an egge) deuide a word in the midst, and peece out the next verse with the other halfe, as ye may see by perusing their meetres.

There are two copies of *The Arte of English Poesie* in the British Museum: one in the general library, and the other in the Grenville collection. At the beginning of the Grenville copy is written as follows:—

This Copy, which had belonged to Ben Jonson and has his autograph on the Title-Page, is likewise remarkable for containing after p. 84 four cancelled leaves of text which, as far as I am informed, are not to be found in any other Copy of the book: yet, those leaves being cancelled, the 85th page certainly does not carry on the sentence which terminates p. 84.

The reason of this last observation is that the cancelled leaves contained *exactly* 8 pp.; which however did not begin at the top and so be imposed as so many separate pages, but at 14 lines from the bottom; the text running on as in other parts of the book. When these pages were withdrawn there were a *corresponding* number of lines uncanceled, commencing 'When I wrate,' as on p. 124, at the bottom of the last of them; so that page 84 of ordinary copies was easily completed by the addition of these lines. The cancelled pages are unnumbered.

EIGHT CANCELLED PAGES, IN BEN JONSON'S COPY,
IN THE GRENVILLE COLLECTION,
BRITISH MUSEUM.

*Of the deuice or embleme, and that other which the Greekes
call Anagramma, and we the Posie transposed.*



And besides all the remembred points of Metricall proportion, ye haue yet two other sorts of some affinitie with them, which also first issued out of the Poets head, and whereof the Courtly maker was the principall artificer, hauing many high conceites and curious imaginations, with leasure inough to attend his idle inuentions: and these be the short, quicke and sententious propositions, such as be at these dayes all your deuices of armes and other amorous inscriptions which courtiers vse to giue and also to weare in liuerie for the honour of their ladies, and commonly containe but two or three words of wittie sentence or secrete conceit till they vnfolded or explaned by some interpretation. For which cause they be commonly accompanied with a figure or purtraict of ocular representation, the words so aptly corresponding to the subtiltie of the figure, that aswel the eye is therwith recreated as the eare or the mind. The Greekes call it *Emblema*, the Italiens *Impresa*, and we, a Deuice, such as a man may put into letters of gold and sende to his mistresses for a token, or cause to be embrodered in scutchions of armes, or in any bordure of a rich garment to giue by his noueltie maruell to the beholder. Such were the figures and inscriptions the Romane Emperours gaue in their money and coignes of largesse, and in other great medailles of siluer and gold, as that of the Emperour *Augustus*, an arrow entangled by the fish *Remora*, with these words, *Festina lento*, signifying that celeritie is to be vsed with deliberation: all great enterprises being for the most part either ouerthrowen with hast or hindred by delay, in which case leasure in

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th'aduice, and speed in th'execution make a very good match for a glorious successe.

Th'Emperour *Heliogabalus* by his name alluding to the sunne, which in Greeke is *Helios*, gaue for his deuice, the cœlestial sunne, with these words [*Soli inuictō*] the subtiltie lyeth in the word [*soli*] which hath a double sence, viz. to the Sunne, and to him onely.

We our selues attributing that most excellent figure, for his incomparable beauty and light, to the person of our Soueraigne lady altring the mot, made it farre passe that of Th'Emperour *Heliogabalus* both for subtiltie and multiplictie of sence, thus, [*Soli nunquam deficiente*] to her onely that neuer failes, viz. in bountie and munificence toward all hers that deserue, or else thus, To her onely whose glorie and good fortune may neuer decay or wane. And so it inureth as a wish by way of resemblance in [*Simile diffimile*] which is also a subtiltie, likening her Maiestie to the Sunne for his brightnesse, but not to him for his passion, which is ordinarily to go to glade, and sometime to suffer eclypse.

King *Edwarde* the thirde, her Maiesties most noble progenitour, first founder of the famous order of the Garter, gaue this posie with it. *Hony soit qui mal y pense*, commonly thus Englished, Ill be to him that thinketh ill, but in mine opinion better thus, Dishonored be he, who meanes vn honorably. There can not be a more excellent deuise, nor that could containe larger intendment, nor greater subtiltie, nor (as a man may say) more vertue or Princely generositie. For first he did by it mildly and grauely reprove the peruers construction of such noble men in his court. as imputed the kings wearing about his neck the garter of the lady with whom he danced, to some amorous alliance betwixt them, which was not true. He also iustly defended his owne integritie, faued the noble womans good renowme, which by licentious speeches might haue bene empaired, and liberally recompenced her in-

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iurie with an honor, such as none could haue bin deuised greater nor more glorious or permanent vpon her and all the posteritie of her house. It inureth also as a worthy lesson and discipline for all Princely personages. whose actions, imaginations. countenances and speeches, should euermore correspond in all trueth and honorable simplicitie.

Charles the fift Emperour, euen in his yong yeares shewing his valour and honorable ambition, gaue for his new order, the golden Fleece, vsurping it vpon Prince Iason and his Argonauts rich spoile brought from *Cholcos*. But for his deuice two pillers with this mot *Plus ultra*, as one not content to be restrained within the limits that *Hercules* had set for an vttermost bound to all his trauailes, viz. two pillers in the mouth of the straight *Gibraltare*, but would go further : which came fortunately to passe, and whereof the good successe gaue great commendation to his deuice : for by the valiancy of his Captaines before he died he conquered great part of the west Indias, neuer knowen to *Hercules* or any of our world before.

In the same time (seeming that the heauens and starres had conspired to replenish the earth with Princes and gouernours of great courage, and most famous conquerours) *Selim* Emperour of Turkie gaue for his deuice a croissant or new moone, promising to himself increase of glory and enlargement of empire, til he had brought all Asia vnder his subiection, which he reasonably well accomplished. For in lesse then eight yeres which he raigned, he conquered all Syria and Egypt, and layd it to his dominion. This deuice afterward was vsurped by *Henry* the second French king, with this mot *Donec totum compleat orbem*, till he be at his full : meaning it not so largely as did *Selim*, but onely that his friendes should knowe how vnable he was to do them good, and to shew beneficence vntil he attained the crowne of France vnto which he aspired as next successeur.

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King *Lævis* the twelfth, a valiant and magnanimous prince, who because hee was on euery side enuironed with mightie neighbours, and most of them his enemies, to let them perceiue that they should not finde him vnable or vnfurnished (incase they should offer any vnlawfull hostilitie) of sufficient forces of his owne, aswell to offende as to defend, and to reuenge an iniurie as to repulse it. He gaue for his deuice the Porkepick with this posie *pres et ligni*, both farre and neare. For the Purpentine's nature is, to such as stand aloofe, to dart her prickles from her, and if they come neare her, with the same as they flicke fast to wound them that hurt her.

But of late yeares in the ransacke of the Cities of *Cartagena* and *S. Dominico* in the West Indias, manfully put in execution by the prowesse of her Maiesties men, there was found a deuice made peraduenture without King *Philips* knowledge, wrought al in masse copper, a king sitting on horsebacke vpon a *monde* or world, the horse praucing forward with his forelegges as if he would leape of, with this inscription, *Non sufficit orbis*, meaning, as it is to be conceaued, that one whole world could not content him. This immeasurable ambition of the Spaniards, if her Maiestie by Gods prouidence, had not with her forces, prouidently stayed and retranchd, no man knoweth what inconuenience might in time haue insued to all the Princes and common wealthes in Christendome, who haue founde them selues long annoyed with his excessive greatnesse.

Atila king of the Huns, inuading France with an army of 300000. fighting men, as it is reported, thinking vtterly to abbase the glory of the Romane Empire, gaue for his deuice of armes, a sword with a fire point and these words, *Ferro et flamma*, with sword and fire. This very deuice being as ye see onely accommodate to a king or conquerour and not a coillen or any meane

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'ouldier, a certaine base man of England being knowen euen at that time a bricklayer or mason by his science, gaue for his crest: whom it had better become to beare a truell full of mortar then a sword and fire, which is onely the reuenge of a Prince, and lieth not in any other mans abilitie to performe, vnlesse yo^e will allow it to euery poore knaue that is able to set fire on a thacht house. The heraldes ought to vse great discretion in such matters: for neither any rule of their arte doth warrant such absurdities, nor though such a coat or crest were gained by a prisoner taken in the field, or by a flag found in some ditch and neuer fought for (as many times happens) yet is it no more allowable then it were to beare the deuice of *Tamerlan* an Emperour in Tartary, who gaue the lightning of heauen, with a posie in that language purporting these words, *Ira Dei*, which also appeared well to answer his fortune. For from a sturdie shepeheard he became a most mighty Emperour, and with his innumerable great armies desolated so many countreyes and people, as he might iustly be called [*the wrath of God.*] It appeared also by his strange ende: for in the midst of his greatnesse and prosperitie he died sodainly, and left no child or kinred for a succeffour to so large an Empire, nor any memory after him more then of his great puissance and crueltie.

But that of the king of China in the fardest part of the Orient, though it be not so terrible is no lesse admirable, and of much sharpnesse and good implication, worthy for the greatest king and conqueror: and it is, two strange serpents entangled in their amorous congresse, the lesser creeping with his head into the greater's mouth, with words purporting [*ama et time*] loue and feare. Which posie with maruellous much reason and subtility implieth the dutie of euery subiect to his Prince, and of euery Prince to his subiect, and that without either of them both, no subiect could be sayd entirely to performe his liegeance

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nor the Prince his part of lawfull gouernement. For without feare and loue the foueraigne authority could not be vpholden, nor without iustice and mercy the Prince be renowned and honored of his subiect. All which parts are discouered in this figure: loue by the serpents amorous entertangling: obedience and feare by putting the inferiours head into the others mouth hauing puissance to destroy. On th'other side, iustice in the greater to prepare and manace death and destruction to offenders. And if he spare it, then betokeneth it mercie, and a grateful recompence of the loue and obedience which the foueraigne receaueth.

It is also worth the telling, how the king vieth the same in pollicie, he giueth it in his ordinarie liueries to be worne in euery vpper garment of all his noblest men and greatest Magistrats and the rest of his officers and seruants, which are either embrodered vpon the breast and the back with siluer or gold or pearle or stone more or lesse richly, according to euery mans dignitie and calling, and they may not presume to be seene in publick without them: nor also in any place where by the kings commission they vse to sit in iustice, or any other publike affaire, wherby the king is highly both honored and serued, the common people retained in dutie and admiration of his greatnesse: the noblemen, magistrats and officers euery one in his degree so much esteemed and reuerenced, as in their good and loyall seruice they want vnto their persons litle lesse honour for the kings sake, then can be almost due or exhibited to the king him selfe.

I could not forbear to adde this forraine example to accomplish our discourse touching deuices. For the beauty and gallantnesse of it, besides the subtiltie of the conceit, and princely pollicy in the vse, more exact then can be remembred in any other of any *European* Prince, whose deuises I will not say but many of them be loftie and ingenious, many of them louely and

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beautifull, many other ambitious and arrogant, and the chiefeft of them terrible and ful of horror to the nature of man, but that any of them be comparable with it, for wit, vertue, grauitie, and if ye list brauerie, honour and magnificence, not vſurping vpon the peculiars of the gods. In my conceipt there is none to be found.

This may ſuffice for deuices. a terme which includes in his generality all thoſe other, viz. lueries, cognizances, emblemes, enſeigns and imprefes. For though the termes be diuers, the vſe and intent is but one whether they reſt in colour or figure or both, or in word or in muet ſhew, and that is to inſinuat ſome ſecret, wittie, morall and braue purpoſe preſented to the beholder, either to recreate his eye, or pleaſe his phantaſie, or examine his iudgement or occupie his braine or to manage his will either by hope or by dread, euery of which reſpectes be of no litle moment to the intereſt and ornament of the ciuill life: and therefore giue them no little commendation. Then hauing produced ſo many worthy and wiſe founders of theſe deuices, and ſo many uiſſant patrons and protectours of them, I feare no reproch in this diſcourſe, which otherwiſe the venomous appetite of enuie by detraction or ſcorne would peraduenture not ſlicke to offer me.

Of the Anagrame, or poſie tranſpoſed.



Ne other pretie conceit we will impart vnto you and then trouble you with no more, and is alſo borrowed primitiuely of the Poet, or courtly maker, we may terme him, the [*poſie tranſpoſed*] or in one word [*a tranſpoſe*] a thing if it be done for paſtime and exerciſe of the wit without ſuperſtition commendable inough and a meete ſtudy for Ladies, neither bringing them any great gayne nor any great loſſe vnleſſe it be of idle time. They that vſe it for pleaſure is to breed one word

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out of another not altering any letter nor the number of them, but onely transposing of the same, wherupon many times is produced some grateful newes or matter to them for whose pleasure and seruice it was intended : and bicause there is much difficultie in it, and altogether standeth upon hap hazard, it is compted for a courtly conceit no lesse then the deuice before remembered. *Lycophron* one of the seuen Greeke Lyrickes, who when they met together (as many times they did) for their excellencie and louely concorde, were called the seuen starres [*pleiades*] this man was very perfit and fortunat in these transposes, and for his delicate wit and other good parts was greatly fauoured by *Ptolome* king of Egypt and Queene *Arfinoe* his wife. He after such sort called the king ἀπομειλίχης which is letter for letter *Ptolomæus* and Queene *Arfinoe*, he called ἰὼν ῥέαν, which is *Arfinoe*, now the subtiltie lyeth not in the conuersion but in the fence in this that *Apomelitos*, signifieth in Greeke [*honey sweet*] so was *Ptolome* the sweetest natured man in the world both for countenance and conditions, and *Ióneras*, signifieth the the violet or flower of *Iuno* a stile among the Greekes for a woman endued with all bewtie and magnificence, which construction falling out grateful and so truly, exceedingly well pleased the King and the Queene, and got *Lycophron* no litle thanke and benefite at both their hands.

The French Gentlemen haue very sharpe witts and withall a delicate language, which may very easly be wrestled to any alteration of words sententious, and they of late yeares haue taken this pastime vp among them many times gratifying their Ladies, and often times the Princes of the Realme, with some such thankfull noueltie. Whereof one made by *François de Vallois*, thus *De façon suis Roy*, who in deede was of fashion countenance and stature, besides his regall vertues a very king, for in a world there could not be seene a goodlier man of person. Another found this

EIGHT CANCELLED PAGES, IN BEN JONSON'S COPY.

by *Henry de Vallois* [*Roy de nulz hay*] a king hated of no man, and was apparant in his conditions and nature, for there was not a Prince of greater affabilitie and mansuetude than he.

I my selfe seeing this conceit so well allowed of in Fraunce and Italie, and being informed that her Maiestie tooke pleasure sometimes in desciphring of names, and hearing how diuers Gentlemen of her Court had essayed but with no great felicitie to make some delectable transpofe of her Maiesties name, I would needs try my luck, for cunning I now not why I should call it, vnlesse it be for the many and variable applications of sence, which requireth peraduenture some wit and discretion more then of euery vnlearned man and for the purpose I tooke me these three wordes (if any other in the world) containing in my conceit greatest mysterie, and most importing good to all them that now be aliue, vnder her noble gouernement.

Eliffabet Anglorum Regina.

Which orthographie (because ye shall not be abused) is true and not mistaken, for the letter *zeta*, of the Hebrewes and Greeke and of all other touns is in truth but a double *ff*. hardly vttered, and *H*. is but a note of aspiration onely and no letter, which therefore is by the Greeks omitted. Vpon the transposition I found this to redound.

Multa regnabis ense gloria.

By thy fword shalt thou raigne in great renowne.

Then transposing the word [*ense*] it came to be

Multa regnabis fene gloria.

Aged and in much glorie shall ye raigne.

Both which resultes falling out vpon the very first marshalling of the letters, without any darknesse or difficultie, and so sensibly and well appropriat to her Maiesties person and estate, and finally so effectually to mine own wish (which is a matter of much moment in such cases) I took them both for a good boding, and very

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fatalitie to her Maiestie appointed by Gods prouidence for all our comfortes. Also I imputed it for no litle good luck and glorie to my selfe, to haue pronounced to her so good and prosperous a fortune, and so thankefull newes to all England, which though it cannot be said by this euent any destinie or fatal necessitie, yet surely is it by all probabilitie of reason, so likely to come to passe, as any other worldly euent of things that be vncertaine, her Maiestie continuing the course of her most regal proceedings and vertuous life in all earnest zeale and godly contemplation of his word, and in the sincere administration of his terrene iustice, assigned ouer to her execution as his Lieutenant vpon earth within the compasse of her dominions.

This also is worth the noting, and I will assure you of it, that after the first search whereupon this transpote was fashioned. The same letters being by me tossed and tranlaced fise hundreth times, I could neuer make any other, at least of some sence and conformitie to her Maiesties estate and the case. If any other man by triall happen vpon a better omination, or what soeuer els ye will call it, I will reioyse to be ouermatched in my deuise, and renounce him all the thanks and profite of my trauaile.

END OF THE CANCELLED PAGES.

The text then immediately follows on thus:—

When I wrote of these deuices, I smiled with my selfe, thinking that the readers would do so to, and many of them say, that such trifles as these might well haue bene spared, considering the world is full inough of them, and that it is pitie mens heades should be fedde with such vanities as are to none edification nor instruction, either of morall vertue, or otherwise behooffull for the common wealth, to whose seruice (say they) we are all borne, and not to fill and replenish a whole world full of idle toyes. To which sort of reprehension

dours, being either all holy and mortified to the world, and therefore esteeming nothing that fauoureth not of Theologie, or altogether graue and worldly, and therefore caring for nothing but matters of pollicie, and discourses of estate, or all giuen to thrift and passing for none art that is not gainefull and lucratiue, as the sciences of the Law, Phisicke and marchaundise: to these I will giue none other answer then referre them to the many trifling poemes of *Homer*, *Ouid*, *Virgill*, *Catullus* and other notable writers of former ages, which were not of any grauitie or feriousnesse, and many of them full of impudicitie and ribaudrie, as are not these of ours, nor for any good in the world should haue bene: and yet those trifles are come from many former siecles vnto our times, vncontrolled or condemned or suppressed by any Pope or Patriarch or other seuerer censor of the ciuill maners of men, but haue bene in all ages permitted as the conuenient folaces and recreations of mans wit. And as I can not denie but these conceits of mine be trifles: no lesse in very deede be all the most serious studies of man, if we shall measure grauitie and lightnesse by the wise mans ballance who after he had considered of all the profoundest artes and studies among men, in th'ende cryed out with this Epyphoneme, *Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas*. Whose authoritie if it were not sufficient to make me beleue so, I could be content with *Democritus* rather to condemne the vanities of our life by derision, then as *Heraclitus* with teares, saying with that merrie Greeke thus,

Omnia sunt risus, sunt puluis, et omnia nil sunt.

Res hominum cunctæ, nam ratione carent.

Thus Englished,

All is but a iest, all dust, all not worth two peason:

For why in mans matters is neither rime nor reason.

Now passing from these courtly trifles, let vs talke of our scholastical toyes, that is of the Grammaticall versifying of the Greeks and Latines and see whether it might be reduced into our English arte or no.

CHAP. XII. [XIII.]

How if all maner of fodaine innouations were not very scandalous, specially in the lawes of any langage or arte, the vse of the Greeke and Latine feete might be brought into our vulgar Poesie, and with good grace inough.



Now neuerthelesse albeit we haue before alledged that our vulgar *Saxon English* standing most vpon wordes *monosyllable*, and little vpon *polysyllables* doth hardly admit the vse of those fine inuented feete of the Greeks and Latines, and that for the most part wise and graue men doe naturally mislike with all fodaine innouations specially of lawes (and this the law of our auncient English Poesie) and therefore lately before we imputed it to a nice and scholasticall curiositie in such makers as haue sought to bring into our vulgar Poesie some of the auncient feete, to wit the *Dactile* into verses *exameters*, as he that translated certaine bookes of *Virgils Eneidos* in such measures and not vncommendably: if I should now say otherwise it would make me seeme contradictorie to my selfe, yet for the information of our yong makers, and pleasure of all others who be delighted in noueltie, and to th'intent we may not seeme by ignorance or ouersight to omit any point of subtiltie, materiall or necessarie to our vulgar arte, we will in this present chapter and by our own idle obseruations shew how one may easily and commodiously lead all those feete of the auncients into our vulgar langage. And if mens cares were not perchance to daintie, or their iudgements ouer partiall, would peraduenture nothing at all misbecome our arte, but make in our meetres a more pleasant numerositie then now is. Thus farre therefore we will aduenture and not beyond, to th'intent to shew some singularitie in our arte that euery man hath not heretofore obserued, and (her maiesty good liking always had) whether we make the common readers to laugh or to lowre, all is

a matter, since our intent is not so exactlie to prosecute the purpose, nor so earnestly, as to thinke it should by authority of our owne iudgement be generally applauded at to the discredit of our forefathers maner of vulgar Poesie, or to the alteration or peradventure totall destruction of the same, which could not stand with any good discretion or curtesie in vs to attempt, but thus much I say, that by some leasurable trauell it were no hard matter to induce all their auncient feete into vs with vs, and that it should proue very agreable to the eare and well according with our ordinary times and pronounciation, which no man could then iustly mislike, and that is to allow euery word *polifillable* one long time of necessitie, which should be where his sharpe accent falls in our owne *ydiome* most aptly and naturally. wherein we would not follow the licence of the Greeks and Latines, who made not their sharpe accent any necessary prolongation of their times, but vsed such fillable sometimes long sometimes short at their pleasure. The other fillables of any word where the sharpe accent fell not, to be accompted of such time and quantitie as his *ortographie* would best beare hauing regard to himselfe, or to his next neighbour, word, bounding him on either side, namely to the smoothnes and hardnesse of the fillable in his vtterance, which is occasioned altogether by his *ortographie* and scituation as in this word [*dáyly*] the first fillable for his vsuall and sharpe accent takes to be alwayes long, the second for his flat accents sake to be alwayes short, and the rather for his *ortographie*, bycause if he goe before another word commencing with a vowell not letting him to be eclipsed, his vtterance is easie and currant, in this trit-fillable [*daūngěrōns*] the first to be long, th'other two short for the same causes. In this word [*dāngěrōūfnēssē*] the first and last to be both long, bycause they receiue both of them the sharpe accent, and the two middlemost to be short, in these words [*remedie*] and [*remedieffe*] the time to follow also the accent, so as if it please better to set the sharpe accent vpon [*re*] then vpon [*dye*]

that fillable should be made long and è *conuerſo*, but in this word [*remedileſſe*] bycauſe many like better to accent the fillable [*me*] then the fillable [*les*] therefore I leaue him for a common fillable to be able to receiue both a long and a ſhort time as occaſion ſhall ſerue. The like law I ſet in theſe wordes [*renocable*] [*recouerable*] [*irrenocable*] [*irrecouerable*] for ſometime it ſounds better to ſay *rēuō cāblē* then *rēuōcāblē*, *rēcōuēr āblē* then *rēcōuēr āblē* for this one thing ye muſt alwayes marke that if your time fall either by reaſon of his ſharpe accent or otherwiſe vpon the *penultima*, ye ſhal finde many other words to rime with him, bycauſe ſuch terminations are not geazon, but if the long time fall vpon the *antepenultima* ye ſhall not finde many wordes to match him in his termination, which is the cauſe of his concord or rime, but if you would let your long time by his ſharpe accent fall aboue the *antepenultima* as to ſay [*cōuērāblē*] ye ſhall ſeldome or perchance neuer find one to make vp rime with him vnleſſe it be badly and by abuſe, and therefore in all ſuch long *polifillables* ye doe commonly giue two ſharpe accents, and thereby reduce him into two ſeete as in this word [*rēmū nīrātīōn*] which makes a couple of good *Daſtills*, and in this word [*cōntribūtīōn*] which makes a good *ſpondens* and a good *daſtill*, and in this word [*recāpitulātīōn*] it makes two *daſtills* and a fillable ouerplus to annexe to the word precedent to helpe peece vp another foote. But for wordes *monofillables* (as be moſt of ours) becauſe in pronouncing them they do of neceſſitie retaine a ſharpe accent, ye may iuſtly allow them to be all long if they will ſo beſt ſerue your turne, and if they be tailed one to another, or th'one to a *diffillable* or *polyſfillable* ye ought to allow them that time that beſt ſerues your purpoſe and pleaſeth your eare moſt, and trulieſt aunſweres the nature of the *orthographie* in which I would as neare as I could obſerue and keepe the lawes of the Greeke and Latine verſifiers, that is to prolong the fillable which is written with double conſonants or by diphthong or with ſingle conſonants that run hard and harſhly vpon the tongue :

and to shorten all fillables that stand vpon vowels, if there were no cause of *elision* and single consonants and such of them as are most flowing and slipper vpon the tounge as. *n.r.t.d.l.* and for this purpose to take away all aspirations, and many times the last consonant of a word as the Latine Poetes vsed to do, specially *Lucretius* and *Ennius* as to say [*finibu*] for [*finibus*] and so would not I stick to say thus [*delite*] for [*delight*] [*hye*] for [*high*] and such like, and doth nothing at all impugne the rule I gaue before against the wresting of wordes by false *ortographie* to make vp rime, which may not be falsified. But this omission of letters in the midst of a meetre to make him the more slipper, helps the numerositie and hinders not the rime. But generally the shortning or prolonging of the *monosyllables* dependes much vpon the nature of their *ortographie* which the Latin Gram-mariens call the rule of position, as for example if I shall say thus.

Nōt māñe dayēs pāst. Twentie dayes after,
This makes a good *Daḥtil* and a good *spondeus*, but if ye turne them backward it would not do so, as.

Many dayes, not pāst.

And the *distick* made all of *monosyllables*.

Būt nōne ōf ūs trēe mēn ānd frēe,
Could finde so great good lucke as he.

Which words serue well to make the verse all *spondiacke* or *iambicke*, but not in *daḥtil*, as other words or the same otherwise placed would do, for it were an illfaured *daḥtil* to say.

Būt nōne ōf, ūs āll trēwe.

Therefore whensoever your words will not make a smooth *daḥtil*, ye must alter them or their situations, or else turne them to other feete that may better beare their maner of sound and orthographie: or if the word be *polyfillable* to deuide him, and to make him serue by peeces, that he could not do whole and entierly. And no doubt by like consideration did the Greeke and Latine versifiers fashion all their feete at the first to be of fundry times, and the selfe same fillable to be some-

time long and sometime short for the eares better satisfaction as hath bene before remembred. Now also whereas I said before that our old Saxon English for his many *monosyllables* did not naturally admit the vse of the ancient feete in our vulgar measures so aptly as in those languages which stood most vpon *polysyllables*, I sayd it in a sort truly, but now I must recant and confesse that our Normane English which hath growen since *William* the Conquerour doth admit any of the auncient feete, by reason of the many *polysyllables* euen to fixe and seauen in one word, which we at this day vse in our most ordinarie language: and which corruption hath bene occasioned chiefly by the peeuisish affectation not of the Normans them selues, but of clerks and scholers or secretaries long since, who not content with the vsual Normane or Saxon word, would conuert the very Latine and Greeke word into vulgar French, as to say innumerable for innumbrable, reuocable, irreuocable, irradiation, depopulation and such like, which are not naturall Normans nor yet French, but altered Latines, and without any imitation at all: which therefore were long time despised for inkehorne termes, and now be reputed the best and most delicat of any other. Of which and many other causes of corruption of our speach we haue in another place more amply discoursed, but by this meane we may at this day very well receiue the auncient feete *metricall* of the Greeks and Latines sauing those that be superfluous as be all the feete aboue the *trissyllable*, which the old Grammarians idly inuented and distinguisht by speciall names, whereas in deede the same do stand compounded with the inferiour feete, and therefore some of them were called by the names of *didactilus*, *dispondeus* and *disiambus*: all which feete as I say we may be allowed to vse with good discretion and precise choise of wordes and with the fauorable approbation of readers, and so shall our plat in this one point be larger and much surmount that which *Stanhurst* first tooke in hand by his *exameters daclilicke* and *spondeuicke* in the translation of *Virgills Eneidos*, and

such as for a great number of them my stomacke can hardly digest for the ill shapen found of many of his wordes *polifillable* and also his copulation of *monofillables* supplying the quantitie of a *trissillable* to his intent. And right so in promoting this deuise of ours being (I feare me) much more nyce and affected, and therefore more misliked then his, we are to bespeake fauour, first of the delicate eares, then of the rigorous and seuerer dispositions, lastly to craue pardon of the learned and auncient makers in our vulgar, for if we should seeke in euery point to egall our speach with the Greeke and Latin in their *metricall* obseruations it could not possible be by vs perfourmed, because their fillables came to be timed some of them long, some of them short not by reason of any euident or apparant cause in writing or sounde remaining vpon one more then another, for many times they shortned the fillable of sharpe accent and made long that of the flat, and therefore we must needes say, it was in many of their wordes done by preelection in the first Poetes, not hauing regard altogether to the *ortographie*, and hardnesse or softnesse of a fillable, consonant, vowell or diphthong, but at their pleasure, or as it fell out: so as he that first put in a verse this word [*Penelope*] which might be *Homer* or some other of his antiquitie, where he made [*pē*] in both places long and [*nē*] and [*lō*] short, he might haue made them otherwise and with as good reason, nothing in the world appearing that might moue them to make such (preelection) more in th'one fillable then in the other for *pe. ne.* and *lo.* being fillables vocals be egally smoth and currant vpon the toung, and might beare aswel the long as the short time, but it pleased the Poet otherwise: so he that first shortned, *ai.* in this word *cano*, and made long *tro*, in *troia*, and *o*, in *oris*, might haue aswell done the contrary, but because he that first put them into a verse, found as it is to be supposed a more sweetnesse in his owne eare to haue them so tymed, therefore all other Poets who followed, were fayne to doe the like, which made

that *Virgill* who came many yeares after the first reception of wordes in their severall times, was driven of necessitie to accept them in such quantities as they were left him and therefore said.

*ārmā ū rūmqūe cā nō trō ī quī
primū āb ōrīs.*

Neither truly doe I see any other reason in that lawe (though in other rules of shortning and prolonging a syllable there may be reason) but that it stands vpon bare tradition. Such as the *Cabalists* auouch in their mysticall constructions Theologicall and others, saying that they receaued the same from hand to hand from the first parent *Adam*, *Abraham* and others, which I will giue them leaue alone both to say and beleue for me, thinking rather that they haue bene the idle occupations, or perchaunce the malicious and craftie constructions of the *Talmudists*, and others of the Hebrew clerks to bring the world into admiration of their lawes and Religion. Now peraduenture with vs Englishmen it be somewhat too late to admit a new inuention of feete and times that our forefathers neuer vsed nor neuer obserued till this day, either in their measures or in their pronuntiation, and perchaunce will seeme in vs a presumptuous part to attempt, considering also it would be hard to find many men to like of one mans choise in the limitation of times and quantities of words, with which not one, but euery eare is to be pleased and made a particular iudge, being most truly sayd, that a multitude or comminalltie is hard to please and easie to offend, and therefore I intend not to proceed any further in this curiositie then to shew some small subtility that any other hath not yet done, and not by imitation but by obseruation, nor to th'intent to haue it put in execution in our vulgar Poesie, but to be pleasantly scanned vpon, as are all nouelties so friuolous and ridiculous as it.

CHAP. XIII. [XIV.]

A more particular declaration of the metricall feete of the ancient Poets Greeke and Latine and chiegly of the feete of two times.



Heir Grammarians made a great multitude of feete, I wot not to what huge number, and of so many fizes as their wordes were of length, namely fixe fizes, whereas in deede, the metricall feete are but twelue in number, wherof foure only be of two times, and eight of three times, the rest compounds of the premised two forts, euen as the Arithmetical numbers aboue three are made of two and three. And if ye will know how many of these feete will be commodiously receiued with vs, I say all the whole twelue, for first for the foote *spondeus* of two long times ye haue these English wordes *mōrnīng*, *mīdnīght*, *mīschāunce*, and a number moe whose ortographie may direct your iudgement in this point: for your *Trocheus* of a long and short ye haue these wordes *mānēr*, *brōkēn*, *tākēn*, *bōdiē*, *mēmber*, and a great many moe if their last fillables abut not vpon the consonant in the beginning of another word, and in these whether they do abut or no *wīttie*, *dīttie*, *sōrrōw*, *mōrrōw*, and such like, which end in a vowell for your *Iambus* of a short and a long, ye haue these wordes [*rēflōre*] [*rēmōrse*] [*dēsīre*] [*ēndūre*] and a thousand besides. For your foote *pirrichius* or of two short silables ye haue these words [*māntē*] [*mōnēy*] [*pēnē*] [*sīlīē*] and others of that constitution or the like: for your feete of three times and first your *dactill*, ye haue these wordes and a number moe *pātīence*, *tēmpérance*, *wōmānheād*, *iōlītīe*, *dāungērōus*, *dūctīfūll* and others. For your *moloffus*, of all three long, ye haue a member [number?] of wordes also and specially most of your participles actiue, as *pērsīstīng*, *dēspōīlīng*, *ēndēntīng*, and such like in ortographie: for your *anapestus* of two short and a long ye haue these words but not many moe, as *mānīfōld*, *mōnīlēffe*, *rēmānēt*, *hōlīnēffe*. For your foote *tribracchus* of all three

short, ye haue very few *trissyllables*, becaufe the sharpe accent will always make one of them long by pronun-
 ciation, which els would be by ortographie short as,
 [*mēritly*] [*minion*] and such like. For your foote *bac-*
chius of a short and two long ye haue these and the
 like words *trissyllables* [*lāmēnting*] [*rēquēsting*] [*rēnoūnc-*
ing] [*rēpēntānce*] [*ēnūrīng*]. For your foote *antibacchius*,
 of two long and a short ye haue these wordes [*fōrsākēn*]
 [*impūgnēd*] and others many: For your *amphimacer*
 that is a long a short and a long ye haue these wordes
 and many moe [*éxcellēt*] [*īmīnēt*] and specially such
 as be propre names of persons or townes or other things
 and namely Welsh wordes: for your foote *amphibrac-*
chus, of a short, a long and a short, ye haue these wordes
 and many like to these [*rēsīflēd*] [*dēlightfūll*] [*rēprīsāl*]
 [*īnāūntēr*] [*ēnāmīll*] so as for want of English wordes if
 your eare be not to daintie and your rules to precise,
 ye neede not be without the *metricall* secte of the an-
 cient Poets such as be most pertinent and not superflu-
 ous. This is (ye will perchaunce say) my singular
 opinion: then ye shall see how well I can maintaine it.
 First the quantitie of a word comes either by (preelec-
 tion) without reason or force as hath bene alledged,
 and as the auncient Greekes and Latines did in many
 wordes, but not in all, or by (election) with reason as
 they did in some, and not a few. And a sound is
 drawn at length either by the infirmitie of the tounge,
 becaufe the word or syllable is of such letters as hangs
 long in the palate or lippes ere he will come forth, or
 becaufe he is accented and tuned hier and sharper then
 another, whereby he somewhat obscureth the other sil-
 lables in the same word that be not accented so high,
 in both these cases we will establishe our syllable long,
 contrariwise the shortning of a syllable is, when his
 founde or accent happens to be heauy and flat, that is
 to fall away speedily, and as it were inaudible, or when
 he is made of such letters as be by nature slipper and
 voluble and smoothly passe from the mouth. And the
 vowell is alwayes more easily deliuered then the con-

fonant: and of conſonants, the liquide more then the mute, and a ſingle conſonant more then a double, and one more then twayne coupled together: all which points were obſerued by the Greekes and Latines, and allowed for *maximes* in verſifying. Now if ye will examine theſe foure *biſſillables* [*rēm̄nānt*] [*rēm̄aine*] [*rēndēr*] [*rēnēt*] for an example by which ye may make a generall rule, and ye ſhall finde, that they aunſwere our firſt reſolution. Firſt in [*remnant*] [*rem*] bearing the ſharpe accent and hauing his conſonant abbut vpon another, foundes long. The ſillable [*nant*] being written with two conſonants muſt needs be accompted the ſame, beſides that [*nant*] by his Latin originall is long, viz [*remanēns*.] Take this word [*remainē*] becauſe the laſt ſillable beares the ſharpe accent, he is long in the eare, and [*rē*] being the firſt ſillable, paſſing obſcurely away with a flat accent is ſhort, beſides that [*rē*] by his Latine originall and alſo by his ortographie is ſhort. This word [*render*] bearing the ſharpe accent vpon [*ren*] makes it long, the ſillable [*dēr*] falling away ſwiftly and being alſo written with a ſingle conſonant or liquide is ſhort and makes the *trocheus*. This word [*rēnēt*] hauing both ſillables ſliding and flipper make the foote *Pirrichius*, becauſe if he be truly vttered, he beares in maner no ſharper accent vpon the one then the other ſillable, but be in effect egall in time and tune, as is alſo the *Spondeus*. And becauſe they be not written with any hard or harſh conſonants, I do allow them both for ſhort ſillables, or to be vſed for common, according as their ſituation and place with other words ſhall be: and as I haue named to you but onely foure words for an example, ſo may ye find out by diligent obſeruation foure hundred if ye will. But of all your words *biſſillables* the moſt part naturally do make the foote *Iambus*, many the *Trocheus*, fewer the *Spondeus*, feweſt of all the *Pirrichius*, becauſe in him the ſharpe accent (if ye follow the rules of your accent, as we haue preſuppoſed) doth make a litle oddes: and ye ſhall find verſes made all of *monofillables*, and do

very well, but lightly they be *Iambickes*, bycause for the more part the accent falles sharpe vpon euery second word rather then contrariwise, as this of Sir *Thomas Wiats*.

*I finde nō pāce ānd yēt mīc wārre īs dōne,
I feare and hope, and burne and freese like īfe.*

And some verses where the sharpe accent falles vpon the first and third, and so make the verse wholly *Trochaicke*, as thus,

*Worke not, no nor, wīsh thy friend or foes harme
Try but, trust not, all that speake thee so faire.*

And some verses made of *monosyllables* and *bissyllables* enterlaced as this of th'Earles,

When raging loue with extreme paine

And this

A fairer beast of fresher huc beheld I neuer none.

And some verses made all of *bissyllables* and others all of *trissyllables*, and others of *polisyllables* egally increasing and of diuers quantities, and sundry situations, as in this of our owne, made to daunt the insolence of a beautifull woman.

*Brittle beauty blossome daily fading
Morne, noone, and eue in age and eke in eld
Dangerous disdainefull pleasantly perswading
Easie to gripe but combrous to weld
For slender bottome hard and heauy lading
Gay for a while, but little while durable
Suspicious, incertaine, irreuocable,
O since thou art by triall not to trust
Wisedome it is, and it is also iust
To sound the flemme before the tree be feld
That is, since death will driue vs all to dust
To leaue thy loue ere that we be compeld.*

In which ye haue your first verse all of *bissyllables* and of the foote *trocheus*. The second all of *monosyllables*, and all of the foote *Iambus*, the third all of *trissyllables*, and all of the foote *daclilus*, your fourth of one *bissyllable*. and two *monosyllables* interlarded, the fift of one *monosyllable* and two *bissyllables* enterlaced, and the

rest of other sortes and scituations, some by degrees encreasing, some diminishing: which example I haue set downe to let you perceiue what pleasant numerosity in the measure and disposition of your words in a meetre may be contriued by curious wits and these with other like were the obseruations of the Greeke and Latine versifiers.

CHAP. XIII. [XV.]

Of your feet of three times, and first of the Daſtil.



Our feete of three times by prescription of the Latine Grammariens are of eight sundry proportions, for some notable difference appearing in euery fillable of three falling in a word of that size: but because about the *antepenultima* there was (among the Latines) none accent audible in any long word, therefore to deuise any foote of longer measure then of three times was to them but superfluous: because all about the number of three are but compounded of their inferiours. Omitting therefore to speake of these larger feete, we say that of all your feete of three times the *Daſtil* is most vsuall and fit for our vulgar meeter, and most agreeable to the eare, specially if ye overlade not your verse with too many of them but here and there enterlace a *Iambus* or some other foote of two times to giue him grauitie and stay, as in this *quadrein Trimeter* or of three measures.

*Rendër ägaïne mîe libërtîe
änd sēt yoür cāptîue frëe
Glōrîous is the victōrie
Cōquërrours üse wîth lënîttie*

Where ye see euery verse is all of a measure, and yet vnegall in number of fillables: for the second verse is but of fixe fillables, where the rest are of eight. But the reason is for that in three of the same verses are two *Daſtils* a peece, which abridge two fillables in euery verse: and so maketh the longest euen with the shortest. Ye may note besides by the first verse, how

much better some *bisyllable* becommeth to peece out an other longer foote then another word doth: for in place of [*render*] if ye had sayd [*reflore*] it had marred the *Daſtil*, and of neceſſitie driuen him out at length to be a verſe *Iambic* of foure feete, becauſe [*render*] is naturally a *Trocheus* and makes the firſt two times of a *daſtil*. [*Reſlore*] is naturally a *Iambus*, and in this place could not poſſibly haue made a pleaſant *daſtil*.

Now againe if ye will ſay to me that theſe two words [*libertie*] and [*conquerours*] be not precise *Daſtils* by the Latine rule. So much will I confeſſe to, but ſince they go currant inough vpon the tongue, and be ſo vſually pronounced, they may paſſe wel inough for *Daſtils* in our vulgar meeters, and that is inough for me, ſeeking but to faſhion an art, and not to finiſh it: which time only and cuſtom haue authoritie to do, ſpecially in all caſes of language as the Poet hath wittily remembered in this verſe

-ſi volet vſus,
Quem penes arbitrium eſt et vis et norma loquendi.

The Earle of Surrey vpon the death of Sir *Thomas Wiat* made among other this verſe *Pentameter* and of ten fillables,

What holy graue (alas) what ſepulcher

But if I had the making of him, he ſhould haue bene of eleuen fillables and kept his meaſure of ſixe ſtill, and would ſo haue runne more pleaſantly a great deale: for as he is now, though he be euen he ſeemes odde and defective, for not well obſeruing the natural accent of enery word, and this would haue bene ſoone holpen by inserting one *monosyllable* in the middle of the verſe, and drawing another fillable in the beginning into a *Daſtil*, this word [*holy*] being a good [*Pirrichius*] and very well ſeruing the turne, thus,

Whāt hōlē grāue ā lās whāt fīt ſēpŭlchēr.

Which verſe if ye peruſe throughout ye ſhall finde him after the firſt *daſtil* all *Trochaick* and not *Iambic*, nor of any other foot of two times. But perchance if ye would ſeeme yet more curious, in place of theſe foure *Trocheus* ye might induce other feete of three times, as

to make the three fillables next following the *daſſil*, the foote [*amphimacer*] the laſt word [*Sepulcher*] the foote [*amphibracus*] leauing the other midle word for a [*Iambus*] thus.

Whāt hōlie grāue ā lās whāt fīt ſēpūlchēr.

If ye aske me further why I make (*whāt*) firſt long and after ſhort in one verſe. to that I ſatiſfied you before, that it is by reaſon of his accent ſharpe in one place and flat in another, being a common *monofyllable*, that is, apt to receiue either accent, and ſo in the firſt place receiuing aptly the ſharpe accent he is made long: afterward receiuing the flat accent more aptly then the ſharpe, becauſe the fillable precedent [*lās*] vtterly diſtaines him, he is made ſhort and not long, and that with very good melodie, but to haue giuen him the ſharpe accent and plucked it from the fillable [*lās*] it had bene to any mans eare a great diſcord: for euermore this word [*alās*] is accented vpon the laſt, and that lowdly and notoriously as appeareth by all our exclamations vſed vnder that terme. The ſame Earle of Surrey and Sir *Thomas Wyat* the firſt reformers and poliſhers of our vulgar Poefie much affecting the ſtile and meaſures of the Italian *Petrarcha*, vſed the foote *daſſil* very often but not many in one verſe, as in theſe,

Fūll mānē that in preſence of thy liuelie hēd,

Shed Cæſars teares vpon Pōmpēiūs hēd.

Thēnēmie to life deſtroi er of all kinde,

If āmō rōus faith in an hart vn fayned,

Myne old deēre cñē my my froward maſter.

Thē fūrī ous gone in his moſt ra ging ire.

And many moe which if ye would not allow for *dactiſ* the verſe would halt vnleſſe ye would ſeeme to helpe it contracting a fillable by vertue of the figure *Synereſis* which I thinke was neuer their meaning, nor in deede would haue bred any pleaſure to the eare, but hindred the flowing of the verſe. Howſoeuer ye take it the *daſſil* is commendable inough in our vulgar meetres, but moſt plauſible of all when he is founded vpon the ſtage, as in theſe comicall verſes ſhewing how well it becommeth all noble men and great perſonages to be

temperat and modeſt, yea more then any meaner man, thus.

*Let nō nobilitie richis or heritāge
Honour or empire or carthlie dōminion
Breed in your head ānie pēuigh opīnion
That yē māy sāfēr auouch ānie outrāge.*

And in this distique taxing the Prelate symoniake standing all vpon perfect *daſtils*.

*Nōw mānē bīe mōnēy pūruēy prōmōtion
For mony mooues any hart to deuotion.*

But this aduertisement I will giue you withall, that if ye vse too many *daſtils* together ye make your musike too light and of no solemne grauitie such as the amorous *Elegies* in court naturally require, being alwaies either very dolefull or passionate as the affections of loue enforce, in which busines ye must make your choise of very few words *daſtilique*, or them that ye can not refuse, to dissolue and breake them into other feete by such meanes as it shall be taught hereafter: but chiefly in your courtly ditties take heede ye vse not these maner of long *polisillables* and specially that ye finish not your verse with them as [*retribution*] *restitution* [*remuneration*] [*recapitulation*] and such like: for they smatch more the schoole of common players than of any delicate Poet *Lyricke* or *Elegiacke*.

CHAP. XV. [XVI.]

*Oall fyour other secte of three times and howv vvell they
would fashion a metre in our vulgar.*



All your other feete of three times I find no vse of them in our vulgar meeters nor no sweetenes at all, and yet words inough to serue their proportions. So as though they haue not hitherto bene made artificiall, yet nowe by more curious obseruation they might be. Since all artes grew first by obseruation of natures proceedings and custome. And first your [*Moloffus*] being of all three long is evidently discovered by this word [*pērmittīng*] The [*Anapestus*] of two short and a long by this word [*fūriōus*] if the next

word beginne with a consonant. The foote [*Bacchius*] of a short and two long by this word [*rēsistance*] the foote [*Antibacchius*] of two long a short by this word [*cōquēring*] the foote [*Amphimacer*] of a long a short and a long by this word [*cōquēring*] the foote of [*Amphibrachus*] of a short a long and a short by this word [*rēmēmbēr*] if a vowell follow. The foote [*Tribrachus*] of three short times is very hard to be made by any of our *trissyllables* vnles they be compounded of the smoothest sort of consonants or syllables vocals, or of three smooth *monosyllables*, or of some peece of a long *polysyllable* and after that sort we may with wresting of words shape the foot [*Tribrachus*] rather by vsurpation then by rule, which neuertheles is allowed in euery primitiue arte and inuention: and so it was by the Greekes and Latines in their first verifying, as if a rule should be set downe that from henceforth these words should be counted al *Tribrachus*. [*ēnēmē*] *rēmēdie*] *sālīnēs*] *mōnīlēs*] *pēnīlēs*] *crūēllīē*] and such like, or a peece of this long word [*rēcōnērāblē*] *innūmērāblē* *reādlīē*] and others. Of all which manner of apt wordes to make these stranger feet of three times which go not so currant with our eare as the *daētil*, the maker should haue a good iudgement to know them by their manner of orthographie and by their accent which serue most fitly for euery foote, or else he shoulde haue alwaies a little calender of them apart to vse readily when he shall neede them. But because in very truth I thinke them but vaine and superstitious obseruations nothing at all furthering the pleasant melody of our English meeter, I leaue to speake any more of them and rather wish the continuance of our old maner of Poetrie, scanning our verse by syllables rather than by feete, and vsing most commonly the word *Iambique* and sometime the *Trochaike* which ye shall discerne by their accents, and now and then a *daētil* keeping precisely our symphony or rime without any other mincing measures, which an idle inuentiue head could easily deuise, as the former examples teach.

CHAP. XVI. [XVII.]

*Of your verses perfect and defective, and that which the
Grecians called the halfe foote.*



He Greekes and Latines vsed verses in the odde fillable of two sortes, which they called *Catalecticke* and *Acatalecticke*, that is odde vnder and odde ouer the iust measure of their verse, and we in our vulgar finde many of the like, and specially in the rimes of Sir Thomas Wiat, strained perchaunce out of their originall, made first by *Francis Petrarcha*: as these

*Like vnto these, immeasurable mountaines,
So is my painefull life the burden of ire:
For hie be they, and hie is my desire*

And I of teares, and they are full of fountaines.

Where in your first second and fourth verse, ye may finde a fillable superfluous, and though in the first ye will seeme to helpe it, by drawing these three fillables, (*im mē sū*) into a *daçtil*, in the rest it can not be so excused, wherefore we must thinke he did it of purpose, by the odde fillable to giue greater grace to his meetre, and we finde in our old rimes, this odde fillable, sometime placed in the beginning and sometimes in the middle of a verse, and is allowed to go alone and to hang to any other fillable. But this odde fillable in our meetres is not the halfe foote as the Greekes and Latines vsed him in their verses, and called such measure *pentimimeris* and *eptamimeris*, but rather is that, which they called the *catalectik* or maymed verse. Their *hemimeris* or halfe foote serued not by licence Poeticall or necessitie of words, but to bewtifie and exornate the verse by placing one such halfe foote in the middle *Cesure*, and one other in the end of the verse, as they vsed all their *pentameters elegiack*: and not by coupling them together, but by account to make their verse of a iust measure and not defective or superfluous: our odde fillable is not altogether of that nature, but is in a maner drowned and suppressed

by the flat accent, and shrinks away as it were inaudible and by that meane the odde verse comes almost to be an euen in euery mans hearing. The halfe foote of the auncients was referued purposely to an vse, and therefore they gaue such odde fillable, wherefoeuer he fell the sharper accent, and made by him a notorious pause as in this *pentameter*.

Nīl mī hī rēscribās āttāmēn īpsē vē nū.

Which in all make fīue whole feete, or the verse *Pentameter*. We in our vulgar haue not the vse of the like halfe foote.

CHAP. XIII. [XVIII.]

Of the breaking your bisyllables and polysyllables and when it is to be vsed.



Vt whether ye suffer your fillable to receiue his quantitie by his accent, or by his orthography, or whether ye keepe your *bisyllable* whole or whether ye breake him, all is one to his quantitie. and his time will appeare the selfe same still and ought not to be altered by our makers, vnlesse it be when such fillable is allowed to be common and to receiue any of both times, as in the *dimeter*, made of two fillables entier.

ēxtrāme dēsire

The first is a good *spondeus*, the second a good *iambus*, and if the same wordes be broken thus it is not so pleasant.

īn ēx trāme dē fire

And yet the first makes a *iambus*, and the second a *trocheus* ech fillable retayning still his former quantities. And alwaies ye must haue regard to the sweetenes of the meetre, so as if your word *polysyllable* would not found pleasantly whole, ye should for the nonce breake him, which ye may easily doo by inserting here and there one *monosyllable* among your *polysyllables*, or by chaunging your word into another place then where he foundes vnpleasantly, and by breaking, turne a *trocheus* to a *iambus*, or contrariwise: as thus:

Hōllōw vāllēis ūndēr hiċſt mōūntāines

Crāggie clifſes brīng fōōrth thē faīrēſt fōūntāines

Theſe verſes be *trochaick*, and in mine care not ſo ſweete and harmonicall as the *iambicque*, thus :

The hōllōwēſt vāls līe ūndēr hiċſt mōūntāines

The crāggīſt clifſes brīng fōrth thē faīrēſt fōūntāines.

All which verſes bee now become *iambicque* by breaking the firſt *biſſillables*, and yet alters not their quantities though the ſeete be altered : and thus,

Reſtleſſe is the heart in his deſires

Rauing after that reaſon doth denie.

Which being turned thus makes a new harmonie.

The reſtleſſe heart, renues his old deſires

Ay rauing after that reaſon doth it deny.

And following this obſeruation your meetres being builded with *polyſillables* will fall diuerſly out, that is ſome to be *ſpondaick*, ſome *iambick*, others *daſtilick*, others *trochaick*, and of one mingled with another, as in this verſe.

Hēauē īs thē būrdēn of Prīncēs īre

The verſe is *trochaick*, but being altered thus, is *iambicque*.

Fūll hēauē īs thē pāiſe oſ Prīncēs īre

And as Sir *Thomas Wiat* ſong in a verſe wholly *trochaick*, becauſe the wordes do beſt ſhape to that ſoote by their naturall accent, thus,

Fārewēll lōue ānd āll thīe lāwes fōr ēuēr

And in this ditty of th'Erle of Surries, paſſing ſweete and harmonicall, all be *Iambick*.

When raging loue with extreme paine

So cruelly doth ſtrainc my hart,

And that the teares like floods of raine

Beare witneſſe of my wofull ſmart.

Which beyng diſpoſed otherwiſe or not broken. would proue all *trochaick*, but nothing pleaſant.

Now furthermore ye are to note, that al your *monoſyllables* may receiue the ſharp accent, but not ſo aptly one as another, as in this verſe where they ſerue well to make him *iambicque*, but not *trochaick*.

Gōd graūnt this pēace māy lōng ēndūre

Where the sharpe accent falles more tunably vpon
[*graunt*] [*peace*] [*long*] [*dure*] then it would by con-
uerſion, as to accent them thus :

Gōd graūnt-this pēace-māy lōng-ēndūre,

And yet if ye will aske me the reason, I can not tell
it, but that it shapeth so to myne eare, and as I thinke
to euery other mans. And in this meeter where ye
haue whole words *bisfillable* vnbroken, that maintaine
(by reason of their accent) sundry feete, yet going one
with another be very harmonicall.

Where ye see one to be a *trocheus* another the
iambus, and so entermingled not by election but by
constraint of their feuerall accents, which ought not to
be altred, yet comes it to passe that many times ye
must of necessitie alter the accent of a fillable, and put
him from his naturall place, and then one fillable, of a
word *polyfillable*, or one word *monofillable*, will abide
to be made sometimes long, sometimes short, as in this
quadreyne of ours playd in a mery moode.

Geue me mine owne and when I do desire

Geue others theirs, and nothing that is mine

Nor giue me that, wherto all men aspire

Then neither gold, nor faire women nor wine.

Where in your first verse these two words [*giue*] and
[*me*] are accented one high th'other low, in the third
verse the same words are accented contrary, and the
reason of this exchange is manifest, because the maker
playes with these two clausies of sundry relations [*giue*
me] and [*giue others*] so as the *monofillable* [*me*] being
respectiue to the word [*others*] and inferring a subtilitie
or wittie implication, ought not to haue the same accent,
as when he hath no such respect, as in this *distick* of
ours.

I rōue mē (Madame) ere ye rēprōue

Meeke minds should excuse not accuse.

In which verse ye see this word [*reprooue*,] the
fillable [*prooue*] alters his sharpe accent into a flat, for
naturally it is long in all his singles and compoundes

[*reproue*][*approoue*][*disprooue*] and so is the fillable [*cuse*] in [*excuse*][*accuse*][*recuse*] yet in these verses by reason one of them doth as it were nicke another, and haue a certaine extraordinary fence with all, it behoueth to remoue the sharpe accents from whence they are most naturall, to place them where the nicke may be more expressely discovered, and therefore in this verse where no such implication is, nor no relation it is otherwise, as thus.

*If ye rēprōue my confancie
I will excūse you curtesly.*

For in this word [*reprooue*] because there is no extraordinary fence to be inferred, he keepeth his sharpe accent vpon the fillable [*prooue*] but in the former verses because they seeme to encounter ech other, they do thereby merite an audible and pleasant alteration of their accents in those fillables that cause the subtiltie. Of these maner of niceties ye shal finde in many places of our booke, but specially where we treat of ornament, vnto which we referre you, sauing that we thought good to set down one example more to solace your mindes with mirth after all these scholasticall preceptes, which can not but bring with them (specially to Courtiers) much tediousnesse, and so to end. In our Comedie intituled *Ginecocratia*: the king was supposed to be a person very amorous and effeminate, and therefore most ruled his ordinary affaires by the aduise of women either for the loue he bare to their persons or liking he had to their pleasant ready witts and vtterance. Comes me to the Court one *Polemon* an honest plaine man of the country, but rich: and hauing a suite to the king, met by chaunce with one *Philino*, a louer of wine and a merry companion in Court, and praied him in that he was a stranger that he would vouchsafe to tell him which way he were best to worke to get his suite, and who were most in credit and fauour about the king, that he might seeke to them to furder his attempt. *Philino* perceyuing the plainnesse of the man, and that there would be some good done with him, told *Polemon*

that if he would well confider him for his labor he would bring him where he should know the truth of all his demaundes by the sentence of the Oracle. *Polemon* gaue him twentie crownes, *Philino* brings him into a place where behind an arras cloth hee himfelfe fpake in manner of an Oracle in thefe meeters, for fo did all the Sybils and fothfaiers in old times giue their anfwers.

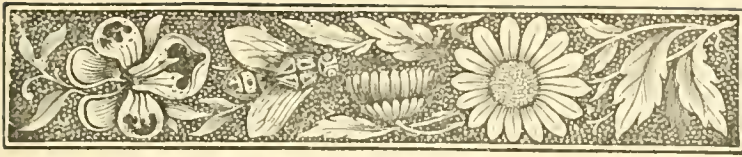
*Your beſt way to worke - and marke my words well,
Not money : nor many,
Nor any : but any,
Not weemen, but weemen beare the bell.*

Polemon wiſt not what to make of this doubtful ſpeech, and not being lawfull to importune the oracle more then once in one matter, conceyued in his head the pleaſanter conſtruction, and ſlacke to it : and hauing at home a fayre young damſell of eightene yeares old to his daughter, that could very well behaue her ſelfe in countenance and alſo in her language, apparelled her as gay as he could, and brought her to the Court, where *Philino* harkning daily after the euent of this matter, met him, and recommended his daughter to the Lords, who perceiuing her great beauty and other good parts, brought her to the King, to whom ſhe exhibited her fathers ſupplication, and found ſo great fauour in his eye, as without any long delay ſhe obtained her fute at his hands. *Polemon* by the diligent ſolliciting of his daughter, wanne his purpoſe : *Philino* gat a good reward and vſed the matter ſo, as howſoeuer the oracle had bene conſtrued, he could not haue receiued blame nor diſcredit by the ſucceſſe, for euery waies it would haue proued true, whether *Polemons* daughter had obtayned the fute, or not obtained it. And the ſubtiltie lay in the accent and Ortographie of theſe two wordes [*any*] and [*weemen*] for [*any*] being deuided founds [*a nie* or neere perſon to the king: and [*weemen*] being diuided foundes *wee men*, and not [*weemen*] and ſo by this meane *Philino* ſerued all turnes and ſhifted himſelfe from blame, not vnlike the tale of the Rattlemouſe who in the warres proclaimed betweene

the foure footed beasts, and the birdes, beyng sent for by the Lyon to be at his musters, excused himselfe for that he was a foule and flew with winges : and beyng sent for by the Eagle to serue him, sayd that he was a foure footed beast, and by that craftie cauill escaped the danger of the warres, and shunned the seruice of both Princes. And euer since sate at home by the fires side, eating vp the poore husbandmans baken, halfe lost for lacke of a good hufwifes looking too.

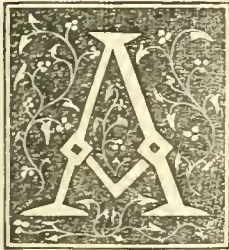
FINIS.





THE THIRD BOOKE, OF ORNAMENT.

CHAP. I. *Of Ornament Poeticall.*



So no doubt the good proportion of any thing doth greatly adorne and commend it and right so our late remembred proportions doe to our vulgar Poetrie : so is there yet requisite to the perfection of this arte, another maner of exornation, which resteth in the fashioning of our makers language and stile, to such purpose as it may delight and allure as well the mynde as the eare of the hearers with a certaine noueltie and strange maner of conueyance, disguising it no litle from the ordinary and accustomed : neuerthelesse making it nothing the more vnseemely or misbecomming, but rather decenter and more agreable to any ciuill eare and vnderstanding. And as we see in these great Madames of honour, be they for personage or otherwise neuer so comely and bewtifull, yet if they want their courtly habillements or at leastwise such other apparell as custome and ciuilitie haue ordained to couer their naked bodies, would be halfe ashamed or greatly out of countenance to be

seen in that fort, and perchance do then thinke themselves more amiable in euery mans eye, when they be in their richest attire, suppose of silkes or tyffewes and costly embroderies, then when they go in cloth or in any other plaine and simple apparell. Euen so cannot our vulgar Poesie shew it selfe either gallant or gorgeous, if any lymme be left naked and bare and not clad in his kindly clothes and coulours, such as may conuey them somewhat out of sight, that is from the common course of ordinary speech and capacitie of the vulgar iudgement, and yet being artificially handled must needes yeld it much more bewtie and commendation. This ornament we speake of is giuen to it by figures and figuratiue speeches, which be the flowers as it were and coulours that a Poet setteth vpon his language of arte, as the embroderer doth his stone and perle, or passements of gold vpon the stufte of a Princely garment, or as th'excellent painter bestoweth the rich Orient coulours vpon his table of pourtraite: so neuertheless as if the same coulours in our arte of Poesie (as well as in those other mechanicall artes) be not well tempered, or not well layd, or be vsed in excesse, or neuer so litle disordered or misplaced, they not onely giue it no maner of grace at all, but rather do disfigure the stufte and spill the whole workmanship taking away all bewtie and good liking from it, no lesse then if the crimson tainte, which should be laid vpon a Ladies lips, or right in the center of her cheekes should by some ouersight or mishap be applied to her forehead or chinne, it would make (ye would say) but a very ridiculous bewtie, wherfore the chief prayse and cunning of our Poet is in the discreet vsing of his figures, as the skilfull painters is in the good conueyance of his coulours and shadowing traits of his pensill, with a delectable varietie, by all measure and iust proportion, and in places most aptly to be bestowed.

CHAP. II.

How our writing and speeches publike ought to be figurative, and if they be not doe greatly disgrace the cause and purpose of the speaker and writer.



Vt as it hath bene alwayes reputed a great fault to vse figuratiue speeches foolishly and indiscretly, so is it esteemed no lesse an imperfection in mans vtterance, to haue none vse of figure at all, specially in our writing and speeches publike, making them but as our ordinary talke, then which nothing can be more vsfaourie and farre from all ciuilitie. I remember in the first yeare of Queenes Maries raigne a Knight of Yorkshire was chosen speaker of the Parliament, a good gentleman and wise, in the affaires of his shire, and not vnlearned in the lawes of the Realme, but as well for some lack of his teeth, as for want of language nothing well spoken, which at that time and businesse was most behooffull for him to haue bene: this man after he had made his Oration to the Queene; which ye know is of course to be done at the first assembly of both houses; a bencher of the Temple both well learned and very eloquent, returning from the Parliament house asked another gentleman his frend how he liked M. Speakers Oration: many quoth th'other, me thinks I heard not a better alehouse tale told this seven yeares. This happened because the good old Knight made no difference betweene an Oration or publike speech to be deliuered to th'eare of a Princes Maiestie and state of a Realme, then he would haue done of an ordinary tale to be told at his table in the countrey, wherein all men know the oddes is very great. And though graue and wise counsellours in their consultations doe not vse much superfluous eloquence, and also in their iudiciall hearings do much mislike all scholasticall rhetoricks: yet in such a case as it may be (and as this Parliament was) if the Lord Chancelour of England or Archbishop of

Canterbury himfelfe were to fpeake, he ought to doe it cunningly and eloquently, which can not be without the vfe of figures : and neuertheleffe none impeachment or blemifh to the grauitie of their perfons or of the caufe : wherein I report me to them that knew Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord keeper of the great Scale, or the now Lord Treafurer of England, and haue bene conuerfant with their fpeeches made in the Parliament houfe and Starrechamber. From whose lippes I haue feene to proceede more graue and naturall eloquence, then from all the Oratours of Oxford or Cambridge, but all is as it is handled, and maketh no matter whether the fame eloquence be naturall to them or artificiall (though I thinke rather naturall) yet were they knownen to be learned and not vnkilfull of th'arte, when they were yonger men : and as learning and arte teacheth a fchollar to fpeake, fo doth it alfo teach a counfellour, and aswell an old man as a yong, and a man in authoritie, aswell as a priuate perfon, and a pleader aswell as a preacher, euery man after his fort and calling as beft becommeth : and that fpeech which becommeth one. doth not become another, for maners of fpeeches, fome ferue to work in exceffe, fome in mediocritie, fome to graue purpofes, fome to light, fome to be fhort and brief, fome to be long, fome to firre vp affections, fome to pacifie and appeafe them, and thefe common defpisers of good viterance, which refleth altogether in figuratiue fpeeches, being well vfed whether it come by nature or by arte or by exercife, they be but certaine groffe ignorance of whom it is truly fpoken *ſcientia non habet inimicum niſi ignorantem*. I haue come to the Lord Keeper Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, and found him fitting in his gallery alone with the works of *Quintilian* before him, in deede he was a moſt eloquent man, and of rare learning and wiſedome, as euer I knew England to breed, and one that ioyed as much in learned men and men of good witts. A Knight of the Queenes priue chamber, once intreated a noble woman of the Court, being in great fauour about her Maieſtie (to th'intent

to remoue her from a certaine displeasure, which by finifter opinion she had conceiued against a gentleman his friend) that it would please her to heare him speake in his own cause, and not to condemne him vpon his aduersaries report : God forbid said she, he is to wife for me to talke with, let him goe and satisfie such a man naming him : why quoth the Knight againe, had your Ladyship rather heare a man talke like a foole or like a wise man ? This was because the Lady was a little peruerse, and not disposed to reforme her selfe by hearing reason, which none other can so well beate into the ignorant head, as the well spoken and eloquent man. And because I am so farre waded into this discourse of eloquence and figuratiue speeches, I will tell you what hapned on a time my selfe being present when certaine Doctours of the ciuil law were heard in a litigious cause betwixt a man and his wife : before a great Magistrat who (as they can tell that knew him) was a man very well learned and graue, but somewhat fowre, and of no plausible vtterance : the gentlemans chaunce, was to say : my Lord the simple woman is not so much to blame as her lewde abbettours, who by violent perswasions haue lead her into this wilfulnesse. Quoth the iudge, what neede such eloquent termes in this place, the gentleman replied, doth your Lordship mislike the terme, [*violent*] and me thinkes I speake it to great purpose : for I am sure she would neuer haue done it, but by force of perswasion : and if perswasions were not very violent, to the minde of man it could not haue wrought so strange an effect as we read that it did once in Ægypt, and would haue told the whole tale at large, if the Magistrate had not passed it ouer very pleasantly. Now to tell you the whole matter as the gentleman intended, thus it was. There came into Ægypt a notable Oratour, whose name was *Hegefas* who inueyed so much against the incommodities of this transitory life, and so highly commended death the dispatcher of all euils ; as a great number of his hearers destroyed themselues, some with weapon,

some with poyson, others by drowning and hanging themselves to be rid out of this vale of misery, in so much as it was feared least many more of the people would haue miscaried by occasion of his perswasions, if king *Ptolome* had not made a publicke proclamation, that the Oratour should auoyde the countrey, and no more be allowed to speake in any matter. Whether now perswasions, may not be said violent and forcible to simple myndes in speciall, I referre it to all mens iudgements that heare the story. At least waies, I finde this opinion, confirmed by a pretie deuise or embleme that *Lucianus* alleageth he saw in the pourtrait of *Hercules* within the Citie of Marfeills in Prouence: where they had figured a lustie old man with a long chayne tyed by one end at his tong, by the other end at the peoples cares, who stood a farre off and seemed to be drawen to him by the force of that chayne fastned to his tong, as who would say, by force of his perswasions. And to shew more plainly that eloquence is of great force (and not as many men thinke amisse) the propertie and gift of yong men onely, but rather of old men, and a thing which better becommeth hory haire then bearded boyes, they seeme to ground it vpon this reason: age (say they and most truly) brings experience, experience bringeth wisedome, long life yeldes long vse and much exercise of speach, exercise and custome with wisedome, make an assured and voluble vtterance: so is it that old men more then any other sort speake most grauely, wisely, assuredly, and plausibly, which partes are all that can be required in perfite eloquence, and so in all deliberations of importance where counsellours are allowed freely to opyne and shew their conceits, good perswasion is no lesse requisite then speach it selfe: for in great purposes to speake and not to be able or likely to perswade, is a vayne thing: now let vs returne backe to say more of this Poeticall ornament.

CHAP. III.

How ornament Poeticall is of two fortes according to the double vertue and efficacie of figures.



His ornament then is of two fortes, one to satisfie and delight th'eare onely by a goodly outward shew set vpon the matter with wordes, and speeches smothly and tunably running: another by certaine intendments or fence of such wordes and speeches inwardly working a stirre to the mynde: that first qualitie the Greeks called *Enargia*, of this word *argos*, because it geueith a glorious lustre and light. This latter they called *Energia* of *argon*, because it wrought with a strong and vertuous operation; and figure breedeth them both, some seruing to giue glosse onely to a language, some to geue it efficacie by fence, and so by that meanes some of them serue th'eare onely, some serue the conceit onely and not th'eare: there be of them also that serue both turnes as common seruitours appointed for th'one and th'other purpose, which shalbe hereafter spoken of in place: but because we haue alleaged before that ornament is but the good or rather bewtifull habite of language or stile, and figuratiue speeches the instrument wherewith we burnish our language fashioning it to this or that measure and proportion, whence finally resulteth a long and continuall phrase or maner of writing or speech, which we call by the name of *stile*: we wil first speake of language, then of stile, lastly of figure, and declare their vertue and differences, and also their vse and best application. and what portion in exornation euery of them bringeth to the bewtifying of this Arte.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Language.

Speech is not naturall to man sauing for his onely habilitie to speake, and that he is by kinde apt to vtter all his conceits with founds and voyces diuerfified many maner of wayes, by meanes of the many and fit instruments he hath by nature to that purpose, as a broad and voluble tong, thinne and mouable lippes, teeth euen and not shagged, thick ranged, a round vaulted pallate, and a long throte, besides an excellent capacitie of wit that maketh him more disciplinable and imitatieue then any other creature : then as to the forme and action of his speech, it commeth to him by arte and teaching, and by vse or exercise. But after a speech is fully fashioned to the common vnderstanding, and accepted by consent of a whole countrey and nation, it is called a language, and receaueth none allowed alteration, but by extraordinary occasions by little and little, as it were insensibly bringing in of many corruptions that creepe along with the time : of all which matters, we haue more largely spoken in our bookes of the originals and pedigree of the English tong. Then when I say language, I meane the speech wherein the Poet or maker writeth be it Greek or Latine, or as our case is the vulgar English, and when it is peculiar vnto a countrey it is called the mother speech of that people : the Greekes terme it *Idioma* : so is ours at this day the Norman English. Before the Conquest of the Normans it was the Anglesaxon. and before that the British, which as some will, is at this day, the Welsh, or as others affirme the Cornish : I for my part thinke neither of both, as they be now spoken and p[r]onounced. This part in our maker or Poet must be heedyly looked vnto, that it be naturall, pure, and the most vsuall of all his countrey : and for the same purpose rather that which is spoken in the kings Court, or in the good townes and Cities within

the land, then in the marches and frontiers, or in port townes, where straungers haunt for traffike sake, or yet in Vniuersities where Schollers vse much peeuishe affectation of words out of the primatiue languages, or finally, in any vplandish village or corner of a Realme, where is no resort but of poore rusticall or vnciuill people : neither shall he follow the speach of a craftes man or carter, or other of the inferiour sort, though he be inhabitant or bred in the best towne and Citie in this Realme, for such persons doe abuse good speaches by strange accents or ill shapen foundes, and false ortographie. But he shall follow generally the better brought vp sort, such as the Greekes call [*charientes*] men ciuill and graciously behauoured and bred. Our maker therfore at these dayes shall not follow *Piers plowman* nor *Gower* nor *Lydgate* nor yet *Chaucer*, for their language is now out of vse with vs : neither shall he take the termes of Northern-men, such as they vse in dayly talke, whether they be noble men or gentlemen, or of their best clarkes all is a matter : nor in effect any speach vsed beyond the riuer of Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our Southerne English is, no more is the far Westerne mans speach : ye shall therefore take the vsuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx. myles, and not much aboue. I say not this but that in euery shyre of England there be gentlemen and others that speake but specially write as good Southerne as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, but not the common people of euery shire, to whom the gentlemen, and also their learned clarkes do for the most part condescend, but herein we are already ruled by th'English Dictionaries and other bookes written by learned men, and therefore it needeth none other direction in that behalfe. Albeit peraduenture some small admonition be not impertinent, for we finde in our English writers many wordes and speaches amendable, and ye shall see in

some many inkhorne termes so ill affected brought in by men of learning as preachers and schoolemasters: and many straunge termes of other languages by Secretaries and Marchaunts and trauailours, and many darke wordes and not vsuall nor well sounding, though they be dayly spoken in Court. Wherefore great heed must be taken by our maker in this point that his choise be good. And peraduenture the writer hereof be in that behalfe no lesse faultie then any other, vsing many straunge and vnaccustomed wordes and borrowed from other languages: and in that respect him selfe no meete Magistrate to reforme the same errors in any other person, but since he is not vnwilling to acknowledge his owne fault, and can the better tell how to amend it, he may seem a more excusable correctour of other mens: he intendeth therefore for an indifferent way and vniuersall benefite to taxe him selfe first and before any others.

These be words vsed by th'author in this present treatise, *scientifique*, but with some reason, for it answereth the word *mechanicall*, which no other word could haue done so properly, for when hee spake of all artificers which rest either in science or in handy craft, it followed necessarilie that *scientifique* should be coupled with *mechanicall*: or els neither of both to haue bene allowed, but in their places: a man of science liberall, and a handicrafts man, which had not bene so cleanly a speech as the other *Maior-domo*: in truth this word is borrowed of the *Spaniard* and *Italian*, and therefore new and not vsuall, but to them that are acquainted with the affaires of Court: and so for his iolly magnificence (as this case is) may be accepted among Courtiers, for whom this is specially written. A man might haue said in steade of *Maior-domo*, the French word (*maistre d'hofell*) but ilfaouredly, or the right English word (*Lord Steward*.) But me thinks for my owne opinion this word *Maior-domo* though he be borrowed, is more acceptable than any of the rest, other men may iudge otherwise. *Politien*, this word also is receiued from the

Frenchmen, but at this day vsuall in Court and with all good Secretaries: and cannot finde an English word to match him, for to haue said a man politique, had not bene so wel: bicause in trueth that had bene no more than to haue said a ciuil person. *Politien* is rather a surueyour of ciuilitie than ciuil, and a publique minister or Counseller in the state. Ye haue also this worde *Conduict*, a French word, but well allowed of vs, and long since vsuall, it foundes somewhat more than this word (leading) for it is applied onely to the leading of a Captaine, and not as a little boy should leade a blinde man, therefore more proper to the case when he saide, *conduict* of whole armies: ye finde also this word *Idiome*, taken from the Greekes, yet seruing aptly, when a man wanteth to expresse so much vnles it be in two words, which surplussage to auoide, we are allowed to draw in other words single, and asmuch significatiue: this word *significatiue* is borrowed of the Latine and French, but to vs brought in first by some Noble-mans Secretarie, as I thinke, yet doth so well serue the turne, as it could not now be spared: and many more like vsurped Latine and French words: as, *Method*, *methodicall*, *placation*, *function*, *assubtiling*, *refining*, *compendious*, *prolix*, *figuratiue*, *inucigle*. A terme borrowed of our common Lawyers. *impression*, also a new terme, but well expressing the matter, and more than our English word. These words, *Numerous*, *numerositee*, *metricall*, *harmonicall*, but they cannot be refused, specially in this place for description of the arte. Also ye finde these words, *penetrate*, *penetrable*, *indignitie*, which I cannot see how we may spare them, whatsoeuer fault wee finde with Ink-horne termes: for our speach wanteth wordes to such fence so well to be vsed: yet in steade of *indignitie*, yee haue vnworthinesse: and for *penetrate*, we may say *peerce*, and that a French terme also, or *broche*, or enter into with violence, but not so well founding as *penetrate*. Item, *savage*, for wilde: *obscure*, for darke. Item these words, *declination*, *de-3-ineation*, *dimention*, are scholasticall termes in deede.

and yet very proper. But peradventure (and I could bring a reason for it) many other like words borrowed out of the Latin and French, were not so well to be allowed by vs, as these words, *audacious*, for bold: *facunditie*, for eloquence: *egregious*, for great or notable: *implete*, for replenished: *attemptat*, for attempt: *compatible*, for agreeable in nature, and many more. But herein the noble Poet *Horace* hath said inough to satisfie vs all in these few verses.

*Multa renascuntur quæ iam cecidere cadent quæ
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula si volet usus
Quem pences arbitrium est et vis et norma loquendi.*

Which I haue thus englished, but nothing with so good grace, nor so briefly as the Poet wrote.

*Many a word yfalne shall est arise
And such as now bene held in hiest prife
Will fall as fast, when use and custome will
Ondly vmpiers of speach, for force and skill.*

CHAP. V.

Of Stile.



Stile is a constant and continual phrase or tenour of speaking and writing, extending to the whole tale or proceffe of the poeme or historie, and not properly to any peece or member of a tale: but is of words speeches and sentences together, a certaine contriued forme and qualitie, many times naturall to the writer, many times his peculier by election and arte, and such as either he keepeth by skill, or holdeth on by ignorance, and will not or peradventure cannot easily alter into any other. So we say that *Ciceroes* stile, and *Salusts* were not one, nor *Cesars* and *Liuius*, nor *Homers* and *Hesiodus*, nor *Herodotus* and *Theucidides*, nor *Euripides* and *Aristophanes*, nor *Erasmus* and *Budeus* stiles. And because this continuall course and manner of writing or speech sheweth the matter and disposition of the writers minde, more than one or few words or sentences can shew, therefore there be that haue called

stile, the image of man [*mentis character*] for man is but his minde, and as his minde is tempered and qualified, so are his speeches and language at large, and his inward conceits be the mettall of his minde, and his manner of vtterance the very warp and woofe of his conceits, more plaine, or busie and intricate, or otherwise affected after the rate. Most men say that not any one point in all *Physiognomy* is so certaine, as to iudge a mans manners by his eye: but more assuredly in mine opinion, by his dayly maner of speech and ordinary writing. For if the man be graue, his speech and stile is graue: if light-headed, his stile and language also light: if the minde be haughtie and hoate, the speech and stile is also vehement and stirring: if it be colde and temperate, the stile is also very modest: if it be humble, or base and meeke, so is also the language and stile. And yet peraduenture not altogether so, but that euery mans stile is for the most part according to the matter and subiect of the writer, or so ought to be, and conformable thereunto. Then againe may it be said as wel, that men doo chuse their subiects according to the mettall of their minds. and therefore a high minded man chuseth him high and lofty matter to write of. The base courage, matter base and lowe, the meane and modest mind, meane and moderate matters after the rate. Howsoever it be. we finde that vnder these three principall complexions (if I may with leaue so terme them) high, meane and base stile, there be contained many other humors or qualities of stile, as the plaine and obscure, the rough and smoth, the facill and hard, the plentifull and barraine, the rude and eloquent, the strong and feeble, the vehement and cold stiles, all which in their euill are to be reformed, and the good to be kept and vsed. But generally to haue the stile decent and comely it behooueth the maker or Poet to follow the nature of his subiect, that is if his matter be high and loftie that the stile be so to, if meane, the stile also to be meane, if base, the stile humble and base accordingly: and

they that do otherwise vse it, applying to meane matter, hie and loftie stile, and to hie matters, stile eyther meane or bafe, and to the bafe matters, the meane or hie stile, do vtterly disgrace their poesie and shew themselues nothing skilfull in their arte, nor hauing regard to the decencie, which is the chiefe praise of any writer. Therefore to ridde all louers o learning from that errour, I will as neere as I can set downe, which matters be hie and loftie, which be but meane, and which be low and bafe, to the intent the stiles may be fashioned to the matters, and keepe their *decorum* and good proportion in euery respect: I am not ignorant that many good clerkes be contrary to mine opinion, and say that the loftie style may be decently vsed in a meane and bafe subiect and contrariwise, which I do in parte acknowledge, but with a reasonable qualification. For *Homer* hath so vsed it in his trisling worke of *Batrachomyomachia*: that is in his treatise of the warre betwixt the frogs and the mice. *Virgill* also in his *bucolickes*, and in his *georgicks*, whereof the one is counted meane, the other bafe, that is the husbandmans discourses and the shepheards, but hereunto serueth a reason in my simple conceite: for first to that trisling poeme of *Homer*, though the frog and the moufe be but litle and ridiculous beasts, yet to treat of warre is an high subiect, and a thing in euery respect terrible and daungerous to them that it alights on: and therefore of learned dutie asketh martiall grandiloquence, if it be set foorth in his kind and nature of warre, euen betwixt the basest creatures that can be imagined: so also is the Ante or pismire, and they be but litle creeping things, not perfect beasts, but *insect*, or wormes: yet in describing their nature and instinct, and their manner of life approaching to the forme of a common-welth, and their properties not vnlike to the vertues of most excellent gouernors and captaines, it asketh a more maiestie of speach then would the description of an other beastes life or nature, and perchance of many matters perteyning vnto the

bafer fort of men, becaufe it refembleth the hiftorie of a ciuill regiment, and of them all the chiefe and moft principall which is *Monarchie*: fo alfo in his *bucolicks*, which are but paftorall fpeeches and the bafeft of any other poeme in their owne proper nature: *Virgill* vfed a fomewhat fwelling ftile when he came to infinuate the birth of *Marcellus* heire apparant to the Emperour *Auguftus*, as child to his fiftter, afpiring by hope and greatnes of the houle, to the fucceffion of the Empire, and eftablifhment thereof in that familie: whereupon *Virgill* could no leffe then to vfe fuch manner of ftile, whatfoeuer condition the poeme were of and this was decent, and no fault or blemifh, to confound the tennors of the ftiles for that caufe. But now when I remember me againe that this *Eglogue*, (for I haue read it fomewhere) was conceiued by *Oclauian* th'Emperour to be written to the honour of *Pollio* a citizen of Rome, and of no great nobilitie, the fame was milliked againe as an implicatiue, nothing decent nor proportionable to *Pollio* his fortunes and calling, in which refpect I might fay likewife the ftile was not to be fuch as if it had bene for the Emperours owne honour, and thofe of the bloud imperiall, then which fubieft there could not be among the *Romane* writers an higher nor grauer to treat vpon: fo can I not be remoued from mine opinion, but ftill me thinks that in all decencie the ftile ought to conforme with the nature of the fubieft, otherwife if a writer will feeme to obferue no *decorum* at all, nor paffe how he fafhion his tale to his matter, who doubteth but he may in the lighteft caufe fpeake like a Pope, and in the graueft matters prate like a parrat, and finde wordes and phrafes ynough to ferue both turnes, and neither of them commendably, for neither is all that may be written of Kings and Princes fuch as ought to keepe a high ftile, nor all that may be written vpon a fhepheard to keepe the low, but according to the matter reported, if that be of high or bafe nature: for euery pety pleasure, and vayne delight of a king are not to [be] accompted high matter for the height of his eftate, but meane and perchaunce very bafe and vile: nor fo a

Poet or historiographer, could decently with a high stile reporte the vanities of *Nero*, the ribaudries of *Caligula*, the idlenes of *Domitian*, and the riots of *Helio-gabalus*. But well the magnanimitie and honorable ambition of *Cesar*, the prosperities of *Augustus*, the grauitie of *Tiberius*, the bountie of *Traiane*, the wisdom of *Aurelius*, and generally all that which concerned the highest honours of Emperours, their birth, alliaunces, gouernement, exploits in warre and peace, and other publike affaires: for they be matter statelie and high, and require a stile to be lift vp and aduanced by choyse of wordes, phrascs, sentences, and figures, high, loftie, eloquent, and magnifick in proportion: so be the meane matters, to be caried with all wordes and speeches of smothnesse and pleasant moderation, and finally the base things to be holden within their teder, by a low, myld, and simple maner of vtterance, creeping rather than clyming, and marching rather then mounting vpwardes, with the wings of the statelie subiects and stile.

CHAP. VI.

Of the high, low, and meane subiect.



He matters therefore that concerne the Gods and diuine things are highest of all other to be couched in writing, next to them the noble gests and great fortunes of Princes, and the notable accidents of time, as the greatest affaires of war and peace, these be all high subiectes, and therefore are deliuered ouer to the Poets *Hymnick* and historicall who be occupied either in diuine laudes, or in *heroicall* reports: the meane matters be those that concerne meane men, their life and busines, as lawyers, gentlemen, and marchants, good householders and honest Citizens, and which sound neither to matters of state nor of warre, nor leagues, nor great alliaunces, but smatch all the common conuersation, as of the ciuiller and better sort of men: the base and low matters be the doings of the common artificer, ser-

uingman, yeoman, groome, husbandman, day-labourer, failer, shepheard, swynard, and such like of homely calling, degree and bringing vp: so that in euery of the sayd three degrees, not the selfe same vertues be egally to be prayfed nor the same vices, egally to be dispraifed, nor their loues, mariages, quarels, contracts and other behauiours, be like high nor do require to be fet fourth with the like stile: but euery one in his degree and decencie, which made that all *hymnes* and histories, and Tragedies, were written in the high stile: all Comedies and Enterludes and other common Poefies of loues, and such like in the meane stile, all *Eglogues* and pastorall poemes in the low and base stile, otherwise they had bene vtterly disproportioned: likewise for the same cause some phrases and figures be onely peculiar to the high stile, some to the base or meane, some common to all three, as shalbe declared more at large hereafter when we come to speake of figure and phrase: also some wordes and speeches and sentences doe become the high stile, that do not become th'other two. And contrariwise, as shalbe said when we talke of words and sentences: finally some kinde of measure and concord, doe not beseeme the high stile, that well become the meane and low, as we haue said speaking of concord and measure. But generally the high stile is disgraced and made foolish and ridiculous by all wordes affected, counterfait, and puffed vp, as it were a windball carrying more countenance then matter, and can not be better resembled then to these midsommer pageants in London, where to make the people wonder are set forth great and vglie Gyants marching as if they were aliue, and armed at all points, but within they are stuffed full of browne paper and tow, which the shrewd boyes vnderpeering, do guilefully discouer and turne to a great derision: also all darke and vnaccustomed wordes, or rusticall and homely, and sentences that hold too much of the mery and light, or infamous and vnshamefast are to be accounted of the same fort, for such speeches become not Princes, nor great estates. nor them that write

of their doings to vtter or report and intermingle with the graue and weightie matters.

CHAP. VII.

Of Figures and figuratiue speeches.



AS figures be the instruments of ornament in every language, so be they also in a sorte abuses or rather trespasses in speach, because they passe the ordinary limits of common vtterance, and be occupied of purpose to deceiue the eare and also the minde, drawing it from plainnesse and simplicitie to a certaine doublenesse, whereby our talke is the more guilefull and abusing. for what els is your *Metaphor* but an inuersion of sence by transport; your *allegorie* by a duplictie of meaning or dissimulation vnder couert and darke intendments: one while speaking obscurely and in riddle called *Enigma*: another while by common prouerbe or Adage called *Premia*: then by merry skoffe called *Ironia*: then by bitter tawnt called *Sarcasmus*: then by periphrase or circumlocution when all might be said in a word or two: then by incredible comparison giuing credit, as by your *Hyperbole*, and many other waies seeking to inueigle and appassionate the mind: which thing made the graue iudges *Arcopagites* (as I find written) to forbid all manner of figuratiue speeches to be vsed before them in their consistorie of Iustice, as meere illusions to the minde, and wrestlers of vpriight iudgement, saying that to allow such manner of forraine and coulored talke to make the iudges affectioned, were all one as if the carpenter before he began to square his timber would make his squire [square?] crooked: in so much as the straite and vpriight mind of a Iudge is the very rule of iustice till it be peruerterd by affection, This no doubt is true and was by them grauely considered: but in this case because our maker or Poet is appointed not for a iudge, but rather for a pleader, and that of pleasant and louely causes and nothing perillous, such as be those for the triall of life, limme, or liuely-

hood; and before iudges neither fower nor feuer, but in the eare of princely dames, yong ladies, gentlewomen and courtiers, beyng all for the most part either meeke of nature, or of pleasant humour, and that all his abuses tende but to dispose the hearers to mirth and follace by pleasant conueyance and efficacy of speach, they are not in truth to be accompted vices but for vertues in the poetical science very commendable. On the other side, such trespasses in speach (whereof there be many) as geue dolour and disliking to the eare and minde, by any foule indecencie or disproportion of sounde, situation, or sence, they be called and not without cause the vicious parts or rather heresies of language: wherefore the matter refleth much in the definition and acceptance of this word [*decorum*] for whatsoeuer is so, cannot iustly be misliked. In which respect it may come to passe that what the Grammarian setteth downe for a viciositee in speach may become a vertue and no vice, contrariwise his commended figure may fall into a reprochfull fault: the best and most assured remedy whereof is, generally to follow the saying of *Bias: ne quid nimis*. So as in keeping measure, and not exceeding nor shewing any defect in the vse of his figures, he cannot lightly do amisse, if he haue besides (as that must needes be) a speciall regard to all circumstances of the person, place, time, cause and purpose he hath in hand, which being well obserued it easily auoideth all the recited inconueniences, and maketh now and then very vice goe for a formall vertue in the exercise of this Arte.

CHAP. VIII.

Sixe points set downe by our learned forefathers for a generall regiment of all good vtterance be it by mouth or by writing.



Vt before there had bene yet any precise obseruation made of figuratiue speeches, the first learned artificers of language considered that the bewtie and good grace of vtterance rested in no [so] many pointes:

and whatsoeuer transgressed those lymits. they counted it for vitious : and thereupon did set downe a manner of regiment in all speech generally to be obserued, consisting in fixe pointes. First they said that there ought to be kept a decent proportion in our writings and speech, which they termed *Analogia*. Secondly, that it ought to be voluble vpon the tongue, and tunable to the eare, which they called *Tâsis*. Thirdly, that it were not tediously long, but briefe and compendious, as the matter might beare, which they called *Syntomia*. Fourthly, that it should cary an orderly and good construction, which they called *Synthesfis*. Fiftly, that it should be a found, proper and naturall speech, which they called *Ciriologia*. Sixtly, that it should be lively and stirring, which they called *Tropus*. So as it appeareth by this order of theirs, that no vice could be committed in speech, keeping within the bounds of that restraint. But sir, all this being by them very well conceiued, there remayned a greater difficultie to know what this proportion, volubilitie, good construction, and the rest were, otherwise we could not be euer the more reliued. It was therefore of necessitie that a more curious and particular description should bee made of euery manner of speech, either transgressing or agreeing with their said generall prescript. Whereupon it came to passe, that all the commendable parts of speech were set foorth by the name of figures, and all the illaudable partes vnder the name of vices, or viciosities, of both which it shall bee spoken in their places.

CHAP. IX.

How the Greeks first, and afterward the Latines, inuented new names for euery figure, which this Author is also enforced to doo in his vulgar.



He Greekes were a happy people for the freedome and liberty of their language, because it was allowed them to inuent any new name that they listed, and to peece many words together to make of

them one entire, much more significatiue than the single word. So among other things did they to their figuratiue speeches deuise certaine names. The Latines came somewhat behind them in that point, and for want of conuenient single wordes to expresse that which the Greeks could do by cobling many words together, they were faine to vse the Greekes still, till after many yeares that the learned Oratours and good Grammarians among the Romaines, as *Cicero*, *Varro*, *Quintilian*, and others strained themselues to giue the Greeke wordes Latin names, and yet nothing so apt and fitty. The same course are we driuen to follow in this description, since we are enforced to cull out for the vse of our Poet or maker all the most commendable figures. Now to make them knowne (as behoueth) either we must do it by th'original Greeke name or by the Latine, or by our owne. But when I consider to what sort of Readers I write, and how ill faring the Greeke terme would found in the English eare, then also how short the Latines come to expresse manie of the Greeke originals. Finally, how well our language serueth to supplie the full signification of them both, I haue thought it no lesse lawfull, yea peraduenture vnder licence of the learned, more laudable to vse our owne naturall, if they be well chofen, and of proper signification, than to borrow theirs. So shall not our English Poets, though they be to seeke of the Greeke and Latin languages; lament for lack of knowledge sufficient to the purpose of this arte. And in case any of these new English names giuen by me to any figure, shall happen to offend. I pray that the learned will beare with me and to thinke the straungenesse thereof proceedes but of noueltie and disaquaintance with our eares, which in proceffe of tyme, and by custome will frame very well: and such others as are not learned in the primitiue languages, if they happen to hit vpon any new name of myne (so ridiculous in their opinion) as may moue them to laughter, let such persons, yet assure themselues that such names go as neare as may

be to their originals, or els serue better to the purpose of the figure then the very originall, reseruing alwayes, that such new name should not be vnpleasant in our vulgar nor harsh vpon the tong: and where it shall happen otherwise, that it may please the reader to thinke that hardly any other name in our English could be found to serue the turne better. Againe if to auoid the hazard of this blame I should haue kept the Greeke or Latin still it would haue appeared a little too scholasticall for our makers, and a peece of worke more fit for clerkes then for Courtiers for whose instruction this trauaile is taken: and if I should haue left out both the Greeke and Latine name, and put in none of our owne neither: well perchance might the rule of the figure haue bene fet downe, but no conuenient name to hold him in memory. It was therefore expedient we deuised for euery figure of importance his vulgar name, and to ioyne the Greeke or Latine originall with them; after that fort much better satisfiing aswel the vulgar as the learned learner, and also the authors owne purpose, which is to make of a rude rimer, a learned and a Courtly Poet.

CHAP. X.

A diuision of figures, and how they serue in exornation of language.



And because our chiefe purpose herein is for the learning of Ladies and young Gentlewomen, or idle Courtiers, desirous to become skilful in their owne mother tongue, and for their priuate recreation to make now and then ditties of pleasure, thinking for our parte none other science so fit for them and the place as that which teacheth *beau semblant*, the chiefe profession aswell of Courting as of poesie: since to such manner of mindes nothing is more comberfome then tedious doctrines and schollarly methodes of discipline, we haue in our owne conceit deuised a new and strange modell of this arte, fitter to please the Court then the schoole,

and yet not vnneceffarie for all fuch as be willing themfelues to become good makers in the vulgar, or to be able to iudge of other mens makings: wherefore, intending to follow the courfe which we haue begun, thus we fay: that though the language of our Poet or maker be pure and clenly, and not difgraced by fuch vicious parts as haue bene before remembred in the Chapter of language, be fufficiently pleafing and commendable for the ordinarie vfe of fpeech; yet is not the fame fo well appointed for all purpofes of the excellent Poet, as when it is gallantly arrayed in all his colours which figure can fet vpon it, therefore we are now further to determine of figures and figuratiue fpeeches. Figuratiue fpeech is a noueltie of language euidently (and yet not abfurdly) eſtranged from the ordinarie habite and manner of our dayly talke and writing and figure it ſelfe is a certaine liuely or good grace fet vpon wordes, fpeeches and ſentences to ſome purpoſe and not in vaine, giuing them ornament or efficacie by many manner of alterations in ſhape, in ſounde, and alſo in ſence, ſometime by way of ſurpluſage, ſometime by defect, ſometime by diſorder, or mutation, and alſo by putting into our ſpeeches more pithe and ſubſtance, ſubtilitie, quickneſſe, efficacie or moderation, in this or that fort tuning and tempring them, by amplification, abridgement, opening, cloſing, enforcing, meekening or otherwiſe diſpoſing them to the beſt purpoſe: whereupon the learned clerks who haue written methodically of this Arte in the two maſter languages, Greeke and Latine, haue ſorted all their figures into three rankes, and the firſt they beſtowed vpon the Poet onely: the ſecond vpon the Poet and Oratour indifferently: the third vpon the Oratour alone. And that firſt fort of figures doth ſerue th'eare onely and may be therefore called *Auricular*: your ſecond ſerues the conceit onely and not th'eare, and may be called *ſenſible*, not ſenſible nor yet ſententious: your third fort ſerues as well th'eare as the conceit and may be called *ſententious figures*, becauſe not only they properly apperteine to full ſentences,

for bewtifying them with a currant and pleasant numerositie, but also giuing them efficacie, and enlarging the whole matter besides with copious amplifications. I doubt not but some busie carpers will scorne at my new deuised termes: *auricular* and *sensable*, saying that I might with better warrant haue vsed in their steads these words, *orthographicall* or *syntacticall*, which the learned Grammarians left ready made to our hands, and do importe as much as th'other that I haue brought, which thing peradventure I deny not in part, and neuerthelesse for some causes thought them not so necessarie: but with these maner of men I do willingly beare, in respect of their laudable endeouour to allow antiquitie and flie innouation: with like beneuolence I trust they will beare with me writing in the vulgar speach and seeking by my nouelties to satisfie not the schoole but the Court: whereas they know very well all old things soone waxe stale and lothsome, and the new deuises are euer dainty and delicate, the vulgar instruction requiring also vulgar and communicable termes, not clerkly or vncouth as are all these of the Greeke and Latine languages primitiuelly receiued, vnlesse they be qualified or by much vse and custome allowed and our eares made acquainted with them. Thus then I say that *auricular* figures be those which worke alteration in th'eare by sound, accent, time, and slipper volubilitie in vtterance, such as for that respect was called by the auncients numerositie of speach. And not onely the whole body of a tale in a poeme or historie may be made in such sort pleasant and agreable to the eare, but also euery clause by it selfe, and euery single word carried in a clause, may haue their pleasant sweetenesse apart. And so long as this qualitie extendeth but to the outward tuning of the speach reaching no higher then th'eare and forcing the mynde little or nothing, it is that vertue which the Greeks call *Enargia* and is the office of the *auricular* figures to performe. Therefore as the members of language at large are whole sentences, and sentences are compact of clauses, and clauses of

words, and euery word of letters and fillables, so is the alteration (be it but of a fillable or letter) much materiall to the sound and sweetenesse of vtterance. Wherefore beginning first at the smallest alterations which rest in letters and fillables, the first sort of our figures *auricular* we do appoint to single words as they lye in language; the second to claufes of speach; the third to perfit sentences and to the whole masse or body of the tale be it poeme or historie written or reported.

CHAP. XI.

Of auricular figures apperteining to single wordes and working by their diuers foundes and audible tunes alteration to the eare onely and not the mynde.



Word as he lieth in course of language is many wayes figured and thereby not a little altered in sound, which consequently alters the tune and harmonie of a meeter as to the eare. And this alteration is sometimes by *adding* sometimes by *rabbating* of a fillable or letter to or from a word either in the beginning, middle or ending ioyning or vnioyning of fillables and letters suppressing or confounding their feuerall foundes, or by misplacing of a letter, or by cleare exchange of one letter for another, or by wrong ranging of the accent. And your figures of addition or surpluse be three, videl. In the beginning, as to say: *I-doen*, for *doon*, *endanger*, for *danger*, *embolden*, for *bolden*.

In the middle, as to say *renuers*, for *reuers*, *mecterly*, for *meetly*, *goldylockes*, for *goldlockes*.

In th'end, as to say [*remembren*] for [*remembre*] [*spoken*] for [*spoke*]. And your figures of *rabbate* be as many, videl.

From the beginning, as to say [*twixt* for *betwixt*] [*gainfay* for *againesay*:] [*ill* for *euill*:]

From the middle, as to say [*paraunter* for *parauenture*] [*poorety* for *pouertie*] [*fouaigne* for *foueraigne*] [*tane* for *taken*.]

From the end, as to say [*morne* for *morning*] [*bet* for *better*] and such like.

Your swallowing or eating vp one letter by another is when two vowels meete, whereof th'ones sound goeth into other, as to say for *to attaine t'attaine*] for *'orrow* and *smart for'* and *smart.*]

Your displacing of a fillable as to say [*desier* for *de-fire.*] *fier* for *fire.*]

By cleare exchange of one letter or fillable for another, as to say *euermare* for *euermore*, *werang* for *wrong*: *gould* for *gold*: *fright* for *fraight* and a hundred moe, which be commonly misused and strained to make rime.

By wrong ranging the accent of a fillable by which meane a short fillable is made long and a long short as to say *fouéraine* for *fouéraise*: *gratious* for *grátious*: *endure* for *endúre*: *Salómon* for *Sálomon*.

These many wayes may our maker alter his wordes, and sometimes it is done for pleasure to giue a better sound, sometimes vpon necessitie, and to make vp the rime. But our maker must take heed that he be not to bold specially in exchange of one letter for another, for vnlesse vsuall speech and custome allow it, it is a fault and no figure, and because these be figures of the smallest importaunce, I forbear to giue them any vulgar name.

CHAP. XII.

Of Auricular figures pertaining to clauses of speech and by them working no little alteration to the eare.



your single wordes may be manywaies transfigured to make the meetre or verse more tunable and melodious, so also may your whole and entire clauses be in such sort contriued by the order of their construction as the eare may receiue a certaine recreation, although the mind for any noueltie of sence be little or nothing affected. And therefore al your figures of *grammaticall* construction, I accompt them but merely *auricular* in that they reach no further then the eare. To which there will appeare some sweete or vsfauery point to

offer you dolour or delight, either by some euident defect, or surplufage, or disorder, or immutation in the fame speeches notably altering either the congruitie *grammaticall*, or the fence, or both. And first of those that worke by defect, if but one word or some little portion of speech be wanting, it may be supplied by ordinary vnderstanding and vertue of the figure *Eclipsis*, as to say, *so early a man*, for *[are ye]* so early a man: he is to be intreated, for he is *[casie]* to be intreated: I

Eclipsis
or the
Figure of de-
fault.

thanke God I am to liue like a Gentleman, for I am *[able]* to liue, and the Spaniard said in his deuise of armes *acuerdo oluido*, I remember I forget whereas in right congruitie of speech it should be. I remember [that I [doo] forget. And in a deuise of our owne *[empchement pur a choison]* a let for a furdurance whereas it should be said *[use]* a let for a furdurance, and a number more like speeches defectiue, and supplied by common vnderstanding.

But if it be to mo clauses then one, that some such word be supplied to perfit the congruitie or fence of them all, it is by the figure *[Zeugma]* we call him the *[single supplie]* because by one word we serue many clauses of one congruitie, and may be likened to the man that serues many maisters at once, but all of one country or kindred: as to say.

Zeugma
or the
Single supply.

Fellowes and friends and kinne forfooke me quite.

Here this word forfooke satisfieth the congruitie and fence of all three clauses, which would require euery of them asmuch. And as we setting forth her Maiesties regall petigree, said in this figure of *[Single supplie.]*

Her graundfires Father and Brother was a King

Her mother a crowned Queene, her Sister and her selfe.

Whereas ye see this one word *[was]* serues them all in that they require but one congruitie and fence.

Yet hath this figure of *[Single supply]* another propertie, occasioning him to change now and then his name: by the order of his supplie, for if it be placed

in the forefront of all the feuerall claufes whom he is to
Prozeugma, ferue as a common feruitour, then is he
 or the called by the Greeks *Prozeugma*, by vs the
 Ringleader. Ringleader: thus

Her beautie perst mine eye, her fpeech mine twofull hart:
Her prefence all the powers of my difcourfe. etc.

Where ye fee that this one word [*perst*] placed in
 the foreward, fatisfieth both in fence and congruitie all
 thofe other claufes that followe him.

And if fuch word of fupplie be placed in
Mezozengma the middle of all fuch claufes as he ferues:
 or the it is by the Greekes called *Mezozengma*, by
 Middle mar- vs the [*Midlemarcher*] thus:

Faire maydes beautie (alack) with yeares it weares away.
And with weether and ficknes. and forroze as they fay.

Where ye fee this word [*weares*] ferues one claufe
 before him, and two claufes behind him, in one and
 the fame fence and congruitie. And in this verfe,

Either the troth or talke nothing at all.

Where this word [*talke*] ferues the claufe before and
 alfo behind. But if fuch fupplie be placed after all

the claufes, and not before nor in the mid-
Hypozeugma dle, then is he called by the Greeks *Hypo-*
 or the zeugma, and by vs the [*Rerewarder*] thus:

My mates that vont, to keepe me companie,
And my neighbours, who dwelt next to my wall,
The friends that fcare, they would not flicke to die
In my quarrell: they are fled from me all.

Where ye fee this word [*fled from me*] ferue all the
 three claufes requiring but one congruitie and fence.
 But if fuch want be in fundrie claufes, and of feuerall
 congruities or fence, and the fupplie be made to ferue
 them all, it is by the figure *Sillepsis*, whom
 or the for that refpect we call the [*double fupplie*]
 Double fupplie. conceiuing, and, as it were, comprehending
 vnder one, a fupplie of two natures, and may be likened
 to the man that ferues many mafters at once, being of
 ftrange Countries or kinreds, as in thefe verfes, where
 the lamenting widow fhewed the Pilgrim the graues in
 which her husband and children lay buried.

*Here my sweete sonnes and daughters all my blisse,
Yonder mine owne deere husband buried is.*

Where ye see one verbe singular supplyeth the plural and singular, and thus

*Iudge ye louers, if it be strange or no :
My Ladie laughs for ioy, and I for two.*

Where ye see a third person supplie himselfe and a first person. And thus,

*Madame ye neuer shewed your selfe vntrue,
Nor my deserts would euer suffer you.*

Viz. to show. Where ye see the moode Indicatiue supply him selfe and an Infinitive. And the like in these other.

*I neuer yet failde you in constancie,
Nor neuer doo intend vntill I die.*

Viz. [to show.] Thus much for the congruitie, now for the fence. One wrote thus of a young man, who slew a villaine that had killed his father, and rauished his mother.

*Thus valiantly and with a manly minde,
And by one feate of euerlasting fame,
This lustie lañ fully requited kinde,
His fathers death, and eke his mothers shame.*

Where ye see this word [requite] serue a double fence: that is to say, to reuenge, and to fatisfie. For the parents iniurie was reuenged, and the duetie of nature performed or fatisfied by the childe. But if this supplie be made to fundrie claufes, or to one claufe fundrie times iterated, and by feuerall words, so as euery claufe hath his owne supplie: then is it called by the Greekes *Hypozeuxis*, we call him the substitute after his originall, and is a supplie with iteration, as thus:

Hypozeuxis.
or the
Substitute.

*Vnto the king she went, and to the king she said,
Mine owne liege Lord behold thy poore handmaid.*

Here [went to the king] and [said to the king] be but one claufe iterated with words of fundrie supply. Or as in these verses following.

My Ladie gaue me, my Ladie wiſt not what,

*Geeuing me leaue to be her Soueraigne :
For by such gift my Ladie hath done that,
Which whilest she liues she may not call againe.*

Here [*my Ladie gaue*] and [*my Ladie wiſt*] be supplies with iteration, by vertue of this figure.

Ye haue another *auricular* figure of defect, and is when we begin to speake a thing, and breake of in the middle way, as if either it needed no further to be spoken of, or that we were ashamed, or afraide to speake it out. It is also sometimes done by way of threatening, and to shew a moderation of anger. The Greekes call him *Aposiopesis*.
Aposiopesis.
or the
Figure of silence. I, the figure of silence, or of interruption, indifferently.

If we doo interrupt our speech for feare, this may be an example, where as one durst not make the true report as it was, but flaid halfe way for feare of offence, thus :

*He said you were, I dare not tell you plaine :
For words once out, neuer returne againe.*

If it be for shame, or that the speaker suppose it would be indecent to tell all, then thus : as he that said to his sweete hart, whom he checked for secretly whispering with a suspected person.

*And did ye not come by his chamber dore ?
And tell him that : goe to, I say no more.*

If it be for anger or by way of manace or to show a moderation of wrath as the graue and discreeter sort of men do, then thus.

*If I take you with such another cast
I sweare by God, but let this be the last.*

Thinking to haue said further viz. I will punish you.

If it be for none of all these causes but vpon some sodaine occasion that moues a man to breake of his tale, then thus.

*He told me all at large : lo yonder is the man
Let himfelse tell the tale that best tell can.*

This figure is fit for phantaſticall heads and such as be sodaine or lacke memorie. I know one of good

learning that greatly blemisheth his discretion with this maner of speach : for if he be in the graueſt matter of the world talking, he will vpon the ſodaine for the flying of a bird ouerthwart the way, or ſome other ſuch ſleight cauſe, interrupt his tale and neuer returne to it againe.

Ye haue yet another maner of ſpeech purporting at the firſt bluſh a defect which afterward is ſupplied, the Greekes call him *Prolepsiſ*, we the Propounder, or the Explainer which ye will :
Prolepsiſ.
or the
Propounder.
 becauſe he workes both effectes, as thus, where in certaine verſes we deſcribe the triumphant enter-view of two great Princeſſes thus.

*Theſe two great Queenes, came marching hand in hand,
 Vnto the hall, where ſlore of Princes ſtand :
 And people of all countreys to behold,
 Coronis all clad, in purple cloth of gold :
 Celiar in robes, of ſiluer tiſſew vvhite,
 With rich rubies, and pearles all bedighte.*

Here ye ſee the firſt propoſition in a ſort defectiue and of imperfekt ſence, till ye come by diuiſion to explaine and enlarge it, but if we ſhould follow the originall right, we ought rather to call him the foreſtaller, for like as he that ſtandes in the market way, and takes all vp before it come to the market in groſſe and ſells it by retaile, ſo by this maner of ſpeech our maker ſetts down before all the matter by a brief propoſition, and afterward explaines it by a diuiſion more particularly.

By this other example it appeares alſo.

*Then deare Lady I pray you let it bee,
 That our long loue may lead vs to agree :
 Me ſince I may not vved you to my vvife,
 To ſerue you as a miſtreſſe all my life :
 Ye that may not me for your husband haue,
 To clayme me for your ſeruant and your ſlaue.*

CHAP. XII[I].

Of your figures Auricular working by disorder.

Hiperbaton,
or the
Trespasser.



All their speeches which wrought by disorder the Greekes gaue a general name [*Hiperbaton*] as much to say as the [*trespasser*] and because such disorder may be committed many wayes it receiueth fundry particulars vnder him, whereof some are onely proper to the Greekes and Latines and not to vs, other some ordinarie in our manner of speeches, but so foule and intollerable as I will not seeme to place them among the figures, but do raunge them as they deserue among the vicious or faultie speeches.

Your first figure of tollerable disorder is [*Parenthesis*] or by an English name the [*Insertour*] and is when ye will seeme for larger information or some other purpose, to peece or graffe in the middest of your tale an vnneccessary parcell of speech, which neuerthelesse may be thence without any detriment to the rest. The figure is so common that it needeth none example, neuerthelesse because we are to teache Ladies and Gentlewomen to know their schoole points and termes appertaining to the Art, we may not refuse to yeeld examples euen in the plainest cases, as that of maister *Diars* very aptly.

*But not my Decree (for so my loue makes me to call you still)
That loue I say, that lucklesse loue, that works me all this ill.*

Also in our Eglogue intituled *Elpine*, which we made being but eightene yeares old, to king *Edward* the sixt a Prince of great hope, we surmised that the Pilot of a ship answering the King, being inquisitiue and desirous to know all the parts of the ship and tackle, what they were, and to what vse they serued, vsing this insertion or Parenthesis.

*Soueraigne Lord (for why a greater name
To one on earth no mortall tongue can frame
No statlie stile can gine the praclifd penne:*

To one on earth conuerfant among men.)

And so proceedes to answere the kings question?

The shippe thou seest fayling in sea so large, etc.

This insertion is very long and vtterly impertinent to the principall matter, and makes a great gappe in the tale, neuerthelesse is no disgrace but rather a bewtie and to very good purpose. but you must not vse such insertions often nor to thicke, nor those that bee very long as this of ours, for it will breede great confusion to haue the tale so much interrupted.

Ye haue another manner of disordered speach, when ye misplace your words or clausēs and set that before which should be behind, *et è conuerso*, we call it in English prouerbe, the cart before the horse, the Greeks call it *Histeron proteron*, we name it the Preposterous, and if it be not too much vsed is tollerable inough, and many times scarce perceiueable, vnlesse the sence be thereby made very absurd: as he that described his manner of departure from his mistresse, said thus not much to be misliked.

I kist her cherry lip and tooke my leaue:

For I tooke my leaue and kist her: And yet I cannot well say whether a man vse to kisse before hee take his leaue, or take his leaue before he kisse, or that it be all one busines. It seemes the taking leaue is by vsing some speach, intreating licence of departure: the kisse a knitting vp of the farewell, and as it were a testimoniall of the licence without which here in England one may not presume of courtesie to depart, let yong Courtiers decide this controuersie. One describing his landing vpon a strange coast, sayd thus preposterously.

When we had climbd the cliffs, and were a shore,

Whereas he should haue said by good order.

When we were come a shore and clymed had the cliffs

For one must be on land ere he can clime. And as another said:

My dame that bred me vp and bare me in her wombe.

Whereas the bearing is before the bringing vp. All your other figures of disorder because they rather seeme

deformities then bewties of language, for so many of them as be notoriously vndecent, and make no good harmony, I place them in the Chapter of vices hereafter following.

CHAP. XIII.

Of your figures Auricular that worke by Surplusage.



Our figures *auricular* that worke by surplusage, such of them as be materiall and of importaunce to the sence or bewtie of your language. I referre them to the harmonickall speaches of oratours among the figures rhetoricall, as be those of repetition, and iteration or amplification. All other sorts of surplusage, I accompt rather vicious then figuratiue, and therefore not melodious as shalbe remembred in the chapter of viciosities or faultie speaches.

CHAP. XV.

Of auricular figures working by exchange.

Enallage.
or the
Figure of ex-
change.



Our figures that worke *auricularly* by exchange, were more obseruable to the Greekes and Latines for the brauenesse of their language, ouer that our is, and for the multiplicite of their Grammaticall accidents, or verball affects, as I may terme them, that is to say, their diuers cases, moodes, tenses, genders, with variable terminations, by reason whereof, they changed not the very word, but kept the word, and changed the shape of him onely, vsing one case for another, or tense, or person, or gender, or number, or moode. We, hauing no such varietie of accidents, haue little or no vse of this figure. They called it *Enallage*.

But another sort of exchange which they had, and very prety, we doe likewise vse, not changing one word for another, by their accidents or cases, as the *Enallage*: nor by the places, as the [*Preposterous*] but changing their true construction and application, whereby the sence is quite

Hipallage.
or the
Changeling.

peruerted and made very absurd: as. he that should say, for *tell me troth and lie not, lie me troth and tell not.* For *come dine with me and slay not, come slay with me and dine not.*

A certaine piteous louer, to moue his mistres to compassion, wrote among other amorous verses, this one.

Madame, I fet your eyes before mine woes.

For, mine woes before your eyes, spoken to th'intent to winne fauour in her sight.

But that was pretie of a certaine forrie man of law, that gaue his Client but bad counsell, and yet found fault with his fee, and said: my fee, good frend, hath deserued better counfel. Good master, quoth the Client, if your selfe had not said so, I would neuer haue beleueed it: but now I thinke as you doo. The man of law perceiuing his error, I tell thee (quoth he) my counfel hath deserued a better fee. Yet of all others was that a most ridiculous, but very true exchange, which the yeoman of London vsed with his Sergeant at the Mace, who said he would goe into the countrie, and make merry a day or two, while his man plyed his busines at home: an example of it you shall finde in our Enterlude entituled Lustie London: the Sergeant. for sparing of hors-hire, said he would goe with the Carrier on foote. That is not for your worship, saide his yeoman, whereunto the Sergeant replied.

I vvot vvhat I mcane Iohn, it is for to slay

And company the knaue Carrier, for loosing my vvay.

The yeoman thinking it good manner to foothe his Sergeant, said againe.

I-mcane vvhat I vvot Sir, your best is to hie,

And carrie a knaue vvith you for companie.

Ye see a notorious exchange of the construction, and application of the words in this: *I vvot vvhat I mcane*; and *I mcane vvhat I vvot*, and in the other, *company the knaue Carrier*, and *carrie a knaue in your company*. The Greekes call this figure [*Hipallage*] the Latins *Submutatio*, we in our vulgar may call him the [*vnder-change*] but I had rather haue him called the [*Change-*

ling] nothing at all sweruing from his originall, and much more aptly to the purpose, and pleasanter to beare in memory: specially for your Ladies and pretie mistresses in Court, for whose learning I write, because it is a terme often in their mouthes, and alluding to the opinion of Nurfes, who are wont to say, that the Fayries vse to steale the fairest children out of their cradles, and put other ill fauoured in their places, which they called changelings, or Elfs: so, if ye mark, doeth our Poet, or maker play with his wordes, vsing a wrong construction for a right, and an absurd for a sensible, by manner of exchange.

CHAP. XVI.

Of some other figures which because they serue chiefly to make the meeters tunable and melodious, and affect not the minde but very little, be placed among the auricular.

*Omoioteleton,
or the
Like loose.*



He Greekes vsed a manner of speech or writing in their proses, that went by clauses, finishing the words of like tune, and might be by vsing like cases, tenses, and other points of consonance, which they called *Omoioteleton*, and is that wherein they neereft approached to our vulgar ryme, and may thus be expressed.

*Weeping creeping beseeching I vvan,
The loue at length of Lady Lucian.*

Or thus if we speake in prose and not in meetre.

*Mischaunces ought not to be lamented,
But rather by wisdom in time preuented:
For such mishappes as be remediable,
To sorrow them it is but foolishnesse:
Yet are we all so frail of nature,
As to be greued with euery displeasure.*

The craking Scotts as the Cronicle reportes at a certaine time made this bald rime vpon the English-men.

*Long beards hartlesse,
Painted hoodes vittlese:*

*Gay coates gracelesse,
Make all England thriftlesse.*

Which is no perfit rime in deede, but claufes finishing in the felf fame tune: for a rime of good fimphonie fhould not conclude his concords with one and the fame terminant fillable, as *leff, leff, leff*, but with diuers and like terminants, as *lef, pref, mef*, as was before declared in the chapter of your cadences, and your claufes in profe fhould neither finifh with the fame nor with the like terminants, but with the contrary as hath bene fhewed before in the booke of proportions; yet many vfe it otherwife, neglecting the Poeticall harmonie and skill. And th'Earle of *Surrey* with Syr *Thomas Wyat*, the moft excellent makers of their time, more peraduenture refpecting the fitteffe and ponderofitie of their wordes then the true cadence or fimphonie, were very licencious in this point. We call this figure following the originall, the [*like loofe*] alluding to th'Archers terme who is not faid to finifh the feate of his fhott before he giue the loofe, and deliuer his arrow from his bow, in which refpect we vfe to fay marke the loofe of a thing for marke the end of it.

Ye do by another figure notably affeet th'eare when ye make euery word of the verfe to begin with a like letter, as for example in this verfe written in an *Epithaphe* of our making.

Parimion,
or the
Figure of like
letter.

*Time tried his truth his trauailes and his trust,
And time to late tried his integritie.*

It is a figure much vfed by our common rimers, and doth well if it be not too much vfed, for then it falleth into the vice which fhallbe hereafter fpoken of called *Tautologia*.

Ye haue another fort of fpeach in a maner defectiue becaufe it wants good band or coupling, and is the figure [*Asyndeton*] we call him [*loofe language*] and doth not a litle alter th'eare as thus.

Asyndeton,
or the
Loofe language.

I fawv it, I faid it, I wvill fvveare it.

Cæsar the Dictator vpon the victorie hee obtained against *Pharnax* king of *Bithinia* shewing the celeritie of his conquest, wrate home to the Senate in this tenour of speech no lesse swift and speedy then his victorie.

Veni, vidi, vici,

I came, I saw, I ouercame.

Meaning thus I was no sooner come and beheld them but the victorie fell on my side.

The Prince of Orenge for his deuise of Armes in banner displayed against the Duke of Alua and the Spaniards in the Low-countrie vsed the like maner of speech.

Pro Rege, pro lege, pro grege,

For the king, for the commons, for the countrey lawes.

It is a figure to be vsed when we will seeme to make hast, or to be earnest, and these examples with a number more be spoken by the figure of [*lose language.*]

Quite contrary to this ye haue another maner of construction which they called [*Polisindeton*]
Polisindeton, structure which they called [*Polisindeton*]
 or the we may call him the [*couple clause*] for that
Couple clause. euery clause is knit and coupled together
 with a coniunctiue thus.

And I saw it, and I say it and I

Will sweare it to be true.

So might the Poetic of *Cæsar* haue bene altered thus.

I came, and I saw, and I ouercame.

One wrote these verses after the same sort.

For in her mynde no thought there is,

But how she may be true it wis :

And tenders thee and all thy heale,

And wisheth both thy health and weale :

And is thine owne, and so she sayes,

And cares for thee ten thousand wayes.

Ye haue another maner of speech drawn out at length and going all after one tenure and with an imperfect sence till you come to the last word or verse which concludes the whole premisses with a perfect sence and full periode, the

Irmus,
 or the
Long loose.

Greeks call it *Irmus*, I call him the [*long loose*] thus appearing in a dittie of Sir *Thomas Wyat* where he describes the diuers distempers of his bed.

*The restlesse state renuer of my smart,
The labours falue increasfing my sorrow :
The bodies ease and troubles of my hart,
Quiettour of mynde mine vnquiet foe :
Forgetter of paine remembrer of woe,
The place of sleepe wherein I do but wake :
Besprent with teares my bed I thee forsake.*

Ye see here how ye can gather no perfection of sence in all this dittie till ye come to the last verse in these wordes *my bed I thee forsake*. And in another Sonet of *Petrarcha* which was thus Englished by the same Sir *Thomas Wyat*.

*If weaker care is sodaine pale collour,
If many sighes with little speach to plaine :
Now ioy now woe, if they my ioyes distaine,
For hope of small, is much to feare therefore,
Be signe of loue then do I lone againe.*

Here all the whole sence of the dittie is suspended till ye come to the last three wordes, *then do I lone againe*, which finisheth the song with a full and perfit sence.

When ye will speake giuing euery person or thing besides his proper name a qualitie by way of addition whether it be of good or of bad it is a figuratiue speach of audible alteration, so is it also of sence as to say.

*Epitheton,
or the
Qualifier.*

*Fierce Achilles, wife Nestor wilie Vlyffes,
Diana the chaste and thou louely Venus :
With thy blind boy that almost neuer misses,
But hits our hartes when he leuels at vs.*

Or thus commending the Isle of great Brittain.

*Albion hugest of Westerne Ilands all,
Soyle of sweete ayre and of good flore :
God send we see thy glory neuer fall,
But rather dayly to grow more and more.*

Or as we sang of our Soueraigne Lady giuing her these Attributes besides her proper name.

*Elizabeth regent of the great Brittain Ile,
Honour of all regents and of Queenes.*

But if we speake thus not expressing her proper name *Elizabeth*, videl.

The English Diana, the great Britton mayde.

Then it is not by *Epitheton* or figure of Attribution but by the figures *Antonomasia*, or *Periphrasis*.

Ye haue yet another manner of speech when ye will
Endiadis,
or the
Figure of
Twynnes.
 seeme to make two of one not thereunto constrained, which therefore we call the figure of Twynnes, the Greekes *Endiadis* thus.

Not you coy dame your lowers nor your lookes.

For [*your lowering lookes.*] And as one of our ordinary rimers said.

*Of fortune nor her frowning face,
I am nothing agast.*

In stead, of [*fortunes frowning face.*] One praying the Neapolitans for good men at armes, said by the figure of Twynnes thus.

*A proud people and wise and valiant,
Fiercely fighting with horses and with barbes :
By whose provues the Romain Prince did daunt,
Wild Affricanes and the lavleffe Alarbes :
The Nubiens marching with their armed cartes,
And sleaing a farre with venim and with dartes*

Where ye see this figure of Twynnes twise vsed, once when he said *horses and barbes* for barbd horses : againe when he saith with *venim* and with *dartes* for venomous dartes.

CHAP. XVI[I].

*Of the figures which we call Sensable, because they alter
and affect the minde by alteration of sence,
and first in single wordes.*



He eare hauing receiued his due satisfaction by the *auricular* figures, now must the minde also be serued, with his naturall delight by figures *sensible* such as by alteration of intendmentes affect the cour-

age, and geue a good liking to the conceit. And first, single words haue their sence and vnderstanding altered and figured many wayes, to wit, by transport, abuse, crosse-naming, new naming, change of name. This will seeme very darke to you, vnlesse it be otherwise explained more particularly: and first of *Metaphora*, *Transport*. There is a kinde of wresting ^{or the} *Figure of trans-* of a single word from his owne right signifi- *sporte*, cation, to another not so naturall, but yet of some affinitie or conueniencie with it, as to say, *I cannot digest your unkinde words*, for I cannot take them in good part: or as the man of law said, *I feele you not*, for I vnderstand not your case, because he had not his fee in his hand. Or as another said to a mouthy Aduocate, *why barkest thou at me so fore?* Or to call the top of a tree, or of a hill, the crowne of a tree or of a hill: for in deede *crowne* is the highest ornament of a Princes head, made like a close garland, or els the top of a mans head, where the haire windes about, and because such terme is not applyed naturally to a tree, or to a hill, but is transported from a mans head to a hill or tree, therefore it is called by *metaphore*, or the figure of *transport*. And three causes moues vs to vse this figure, one for necessitie or want of a better word, thus:

*As the drie ground that thirstes after a shower
Seemes to reioyce when it is well iwet,
And speedely brings foorth both grasse and flower,
If lacke of sunne or season doo not let.*

Here for want of an apter and more naturall word to declare the drie temper of the earth, it is said to thirst and to reioyce, which is onely proper to liuing creatures, and yet being so inuerted, doth not so much swerue from the true sence, but that euery man can easilie conceiue the meaning thereof.

Againe, we vse it for pleasure and ornament of our speach, as thus in an Epitaph of our owne making, to the honourable memorie of a deere friend, Sir *John Throgmorton*, knight, Iustice of Chester, and a man of many commendable vertues.

*Whom vertue verde, enuy hath ouerthrowen
And lodged full low, vnder this marble stone:
Ne neuer were his values so well knownen,
Whilest he liued here, as now that he is gone.*

Here these words, *reuerd*, *ouerthrowen*, and *lodged*, are inuerted, and *metaphorically* applyed, not vpon necessitie, but for ornament onely, afterward againe in these verses.

*No sunne by day that euer saw him rest
Free from the toyles of his so busie charge,
No night that harbourd rankor in his breast,
Nor merry moode, made reason runne at large.*

In these verses the inuersion or metaphore, lyeth in these words, *saw*, *harbourd*, *run*: which naturally are applyed to liuing things, and not to insensible: as, the *sunne*, or the *night*: and yet they approach so neere, and so conueniently, as the speech is thereby made more commendable. Againe, in moe verses of the same Epitaph, thus.

*His head a fource of grauitie and sence,
His memory a shop of ciuill arte:
His tongue a streame of sugred eloquence,
Wisdom and meekenes lay mingled in his harte,*

In which verses ye see that these words, *fource*, *shop*, *flud*, *sugred*, are inuerted from their owne signification to another, not altogether so naturall, but of much affinitie with it.

Then also do we it sometimes to enforce a sence and make the word more significatiue: as thus,

*I burne in loue, I freeze in deadly hate
I swimme in hope, and sinke in deepe dispaire.*

These examples I haue the willinger giuen you to set soorth the nature and vse of your figure metaphore, which of any other being choisly made, is the most commendable and most common.

But if for lacke of naturall and proper

Catachresis,
or the
Figure of abuse.
terme or worde we take another, neither naturall nor proper and do vntruly applie it to the thing which we would seeme to expresse, and

without any iust inconuenience, it is not then spoken by this figure *Metaphore* or of *innuerfion* as before, but by plaine abuse, as he that bad his man go into his library and fet him his bowe and arrowes, for in deede there was neuer a booke there to be found, or as one should in reproch say to a poore man, thou raskall knaue. where *raskall* is properly the hunters terme giuen to young deere, leane and out of season, and not to people : or as one said very pretily in this verse.

I lent my loue to losse, and gaged my life in vaine.

Whereas this worde *lent* is properly of mony or some such other thing, as men do commonly borrow, for vse to be repayed againe, and being applied to loue is vtterly abused, and yet very commendably spoken by vertue of this figure. For he that loueth and is not beloued againe, hath no lesse wrong, than he that lendeth and is neuer repayde.

Now doth this vnderstanding or secreet conceyt reach many times to the only nomination of persons or things in their names, as of men, or mountaines, seas, countries and suchlike, in which respect the wrong naming, or otherwise naming of them then is due, carieth not onely an alteration of sence but a necessitie of intendment figuratiuely, as when we cal loue by the name of *Venus*, fleshly lust by the name of *Cupid*, bicause they were supposed by the auncient poets to be authors and kindlers of loue and lust : *Vulcane* for fire, *Ceres* for bread : *Bacchus* for wine by the same reason ; also if one should say to a skilfull craftesman knowen for a glutton or common drunkard, that had spent all his goods on riot and delicate fare.

Thy hands they made thee rich, thy pallat made thee poore.

It is ment, his trauaile and arte made him wealthie, his riotous life had made him a beggar : and as one that boasted of his housekeeping, said that neuer a yeare passed over his head, that he drank not in his house euery moneth foure tonnes of beere, and one hoghead of wine, meaning not the caskes or vessels,

Melanimia,
or the
Misnamer.

but that quantitie which they conteyned. These and such other speeches, where ye take the name of the Author for the thing it selfe; or the thing conteining, for that which is contained, and in many other cases do as it were wrong name the person or the thing. So neuerthelesse as it may be vnderstood, it is by the figure *metonymia*, or misnamer.

And if this manner of naming persons or things be not by way of misnaming as before, but
Antonomasia, by a conuenient difference, and such as is
 or the true or esteemed and likely to be true, it is
 Surnamer. then called not *metonymia*, but *antonomasia*, or the Surnamer, (not the misnamer, which might extend to any other thing aswell as to a person) as he that would say: not king Philip of Spaine, but the Westerne king, because his dominion lieth the furdest West of any Christen prince: and the French king the great *Vallois*, because so is the name of his house, or the Queene of England, *The maiden Queene*, for that is her hiest peculiar among all the Queenes of the world, or as we said in one of our *Partheniades*, the *Bryton mayde*, because she is the most great and famous mayden of all Brittain: thus,

*But in chaste stile, am borne as I weene
 To blazon forth the Brytton mayden Queene.*

So did our forefathers call *Henry the first*, *Beauclerke*, *Edmund Ironside*, *Richard cœur de lion*: *Edward the Confessor*, and we of her Maiestie *Elisabeth* the peafible.

Then also is the sence figuratiue when we deuise a
Onomatopœia, new name to any thing consonant, as neere
 or the as we can to the nature thereof, as to
 New namer. say: *flashing of lightning*, *clashing of blades*, *clinking of fetters*, *chinking of mony*: and as the poet *Virgil* said of the founding a trumpet, *ta-ra-tant*, *tara-tantara*, or as we giue special names to the voices of dombe beasts, as to say, a horse neigheth, a lyon brayes, a swine grunts, a hen cackleth, a dogge howles, and a hundreth mo such new names as any man hath libertie to

deuise, so it be fittie for the thing which he couets to expresse.

Your *Epitheton* or *qualifier*, whereof we spake before, placing him among the figures *auricular*, now because he serues also to alter and enforce the fence, we will say somewhat more of him in this place, and do conclude that he must be apt and proper for the thing he is added vnto, and not disagreeable or repugnant, as one that said: *darke disdaine*, and *miserable pride*, very absurdly, for disdaine or disdained things cannot be said darke, but rather bright and cleere, because they be beholden and much looked vpon, and pride is rather enuied then pitied or miserable, vnlesse it be in Christian charitie, which helpeth not the terme in this case. Some of our vulgar writers take great pleasure in giuing Epithets and do it almost to euery word which may receiue them, and should not be so, yea though they were neuer so propre and apt, for sometimes wordes suffered to go single, do giue greater fence and grace than words qualified by attributions do.

Epitheton,
or the
Qualifier o-
therwise the fi-
gure of Attri-
bution.

But the fence is much altered and the hearers conceit strangely entangled by the figure *Metalepsis*, which I call the *farfet*, as when we had rather fetch a word a great way off then to vse one nerer hand to expresse the matter aswel and plainer. And it seemeth the deuiser of this figure, had a desire to please women rather then men: for we vse to say by manner of Prouerbe: things farrefet and deare bought are good for Ladies: so in this manner of speech we vse it, leaping ouer the heads of a great many words, we take one that is furdest off, to vtter our matter by: as *Medea* cursing hir first acquaintance with prince *Iason*, who had very vnkindly forsaken her, said:

Metalepsis,
or the
Farrefet.

Woe worth the mountaine that the masle bare
Which was the first causer of all my care.

Where she might aswell haue said, woe worth our first meeting, or woe worth the time that *Iason* arriued with his ship at my fathers cittie in *Colchos*, when he

tooke me away with him, and not so farre off as to curse the mountaine that bare the pinetree, that made the mast, that bare the failes, that the ship failed with, which caried her away. A pleasant Gentleman came into a Ladies nursery, and saw her for her owne pleasure rocking of her young child in the cradle, and sayd to her :

*I speake it Madame without any mocke,
Many a such cradell may I see you rocke.*

Gods passion hourson said she, would thou haue me beare mo children yet, no *Madame* quoth the Gentleman, but I would haue you liue long, that ye might the better pleasure your friends, for his meaning was that as euery cradle signified a new borne childe, and euery child the leaseure of one yeares birth, and many yeares a long life : so by wishing her to rocke many cradels of her owne, he wished her long life. *Virgill* said :

Post multas mea regna videns mirabor aristas.

Thus in English.

*After many a stubble shall I come
And wonder at the sight of my kingdome.*

By stubble the Poet vnderstoode yeares, for haruests come but once euery yeare, at least wayes with vs in Europe. This is spoken by the figure of *farre-fet. Metalepsis.*

And one notable meane to affect the minde, is to inforce the fence of any thing by a word of *Emphasis,* more than ordinary efficacie, and neuerthe-
or the
Renforcer. les is not apparant, but as it were, secretly
implied, as he that said thus of a faire Lady.

O rare beautie, ô grace, and curtesie.

And by a very euill man thus.

O sinne it selfe, not wretch, but wretchednes.

Whereas if he had said thus, *O gracious, courteous and beautifull woman:* and, *O sinfull and wretched man.* it had bene all to one effect, yet not with such force and efficacie, to speake by the denominatiue, as by the thing it selfe.

As by the former figure we vse to enforce our fence,

so by another we temper our fence with wordes of such moderation, as in appearaunce it abateth it but not in deede, and is by the figure *Liptote*, which therefore I call the *Moderator*, and becomes vs many times better to speake in that fort quallified, than if we spake it by more forcible termes, and neuertheles is equipolent in fence, thus.

Liptote,
or the
Moderatour.

I know you hate me not, nor wish me any ill.

Meaning in deede that he loued him very well and dearely, and yet the words doe not expresse so much, though they purport so much. Or if you would say, I am not ignorant, for I know well inough. Such a man is no foole, meaning in deede that he is a very wise man.

But if such moderation of words tend to flattery, or footing, or excusing, it is by the figure *Paradiastole*, which therfore nothing improperly we call the *Curry-fauell*, as when we make the best of a bad thing, or turne a signification to the more plaufible fence: as, to call an vnthrif, a liberall Gentleman: the foolish-hardy, valiant or courageous: the niggard, thriftie: a great riot, or outrage, an youthfull pranke, and such like termes: moderating and abating the force of the matter by craft, and for a pleasing purpose, as appeareth by these verses of ours, teaching in what cases it may commendably be vsed by Courtiers.*

Paradiastole,
or the
Curry fauell.

But if you diminish and abbase a thing by way of spight and mallice, as it were to depraue it, such speech is by the figure *Meiosis* or the *disabler* spoken of hereafter in the place of *sententious* figures.

Meiosis,
or the
Disabler.

A great mountaine as bigge as a molehill,

A heauy burthen perdy, as a pound of fethers.

But if ye abase your thing or matter by ignorance or errour in the choise of your word, then is it by vicious maner of speech called *Tapinosis*, whereof ye shall haue examples in the chapter of vices hereafter folowing.

Tapinosis,
or the
Abbaser.

* These verses of the Author do not appear in the Text.—ED.

Then againe if we vse such a word (as many times we doe) by which we driue the hearer to conceiue more or lesse or beyond or otherwise then the letter expressieth, and it be not by vertue of the former figures *Metaphore* and *Abuse* and the rest. the Greeks then call it *Synecdoche*, the Latines *sub intellectu* or vnderstanding. for by part we are enforced to vnderstand the whole, by the whole part, by many things one thing, by one, many, by a thing precedent, a thing consequent, and generally one thing out of another by maner of contrariety to the word which is spoken, *aliud ex alio*, which because it seemeth to aske a good, quick, and pregnant capacitie, and is not for an ordinarie or dull wit so to do, I chose to call him the figure not onely of conceit after the Greeke originall, but also of quick conceite. As for example we will giue none because we will speake of him againe in another place, where he is ranged among the figures *senfable* appertaining to clauses.

CHAP. XVIII.

*Of senfable figures altering and affecting the mynde
by alteration of sence or intendements in
whole clauses or speeches.*



by the last remembred figures the sence of singie wordes is altered, so by these that follow is that of whole and entier speech: and first by the Courtly figure *Allegoria*, which is when we speake one thing and thinke another, and that our wordes and our meanings meete not. The vse of this figure is so large, and his vertue of so great efficacie as it is supposed no man can pleasantly vtter and perswade without it, but in effect is sure neuer or very seldome to thriue and prosper in the world, that cannot skilfully put in vre, in somuch as not onely euery common Courtier, but also the grauest Counsellour, yea and the most noble and wisest Prince of them all are many times enforced to vse it. by example (say they) of the great Emperour

who had it vsually in his mouth to say. *Qui nescit diffimulare nescit regnare.* Of this figure therefore which for his duplicitie we call the figure of [*false semblant or dissimulation*] we will speake first as of the chief ringleader and captaine of all other figures, either in the Poeticall or oratorie science.

And ye shall know that we may disse-
 ble, I meane speake otherwise then we
 thinke, in earnest aswell as in sport, vnder
 couert and darke termes, and in learned and apparant
 speaches, in short sentences, and by long ambage and
 circumstance of wordes, and finally aswell when we
 lye as when we tell truth. To be short euery speach
 wrested from his owne naturall signification to another
 not altogether so naturall is a kinde of dissimulation,
 because the wordes beare contrary countenance to
 th'intent. But properly and in his principall vertue
Allegoria is when we do speake in sence translatiue and
 wrested from the owne signification, neuerthelesse ap-
 plied to another not altogether contrary, but hauing
 much conueniencie with it as before we said of the
 metaphore: as for example if we should call the com-
 mon wealth, a shippe; the Prince a Pilot, the Coun-
 sellours mariners, the stormes warres, the calme and
 [*hauen*] peace, this is spoken all in allegorie: and be-
 cause such inuersion of sence in one single worde is by
 the figure *Metaphore*, of whom we spake before, and
 this manner of inuersion extending to whole and large
 speaches, it maketh the figure *allegorie* to be called a
 long and perpetuall Metaphore. A noble man after a
 whole yeares absence from his ladie, sent to know how
 she did, and whether she remayned affected toward
 him as she was when he left her.

Allegoria,
 or the
 Figure of false
 semblant.

*Louely Lady I long full sore to heare,
 If ye remaine the same, I left you the last yeare.*

To whom she answered in *allegorie* other two verses:

*My louing Lorde I will well that ye twist,
 The thred is spon, that neuer shall untwist.*

Meaning, that her loue was so stedfast and constant

toward him as no time or occasion could alter it. *Virgill* in his shepherdly poemes called *Eglogues* vsed as rusticall but fit *allegorie* for the purpose thus :

Claudite iam riuos pueri sat prata biberunt.

Which I English thus :

[*fill.*

Stop vp your streames (my lads) the meads haue drunk their

As much to say, leaue of now, yee haue talked of the matter inough : for the shepheards guise in many places is by opening certaine sluces to water their pastures, so as when they are wet inough they shut them againe : this application is full Allegoricke.

Ye haue another manner of Allegorie not full, but mixt, as he that wrate thus :

*The cloudes of care haue coured all my coste,
The stormes of strife, do threaten to appeare :
The waues of woe, wherein my ship is toste.
I haue broke the banks, where lay my life so deere.
Chippes of ill chance, are fallen amidst my choise,
To marre the minde that ment for to reioyce.*

I call him not a full Allegorie, but mixt, bicause he discouers withall what the *cloud*, *storme*, *waue*, and the rest are, which in a full allegorie should not be discouered, but left at large to the readers iudgement and coniecture.

We dissemble againe vnder couert and darke speeches, when we speake by way of riddle

Enigma.
or the
Riddle.

(*Enigma*) of which the fence can hardly be picked out, but by the parties owne

affoile, as he that said :

*It is my mother well I wot,
And yet the daughter that I begot.*

Meaning it by the ise which is made of frozen water, the same being molten by the sunne or fire, makes water againe.

My mother had an old woman in her nurserie, who in the winter nights would put vs forth many prety riddles, whereof this is one :

*I haue a thing and rough it is
And in the midst a hole I wis :*

*There came a yong man with his ginne,
And he put it a handfull in.*

The good old Gentlewoman would tell vs that were children how it was meant by a furd glooue. Some other naughtie body would peraduenture haue construed it not halfe so mannerly. The riddle is pretie but that it holdes too much of the *Cachemphaton* or foule speach and may be drawn to a reprobate fence.

We dissemble after a sort, when we speake
by common prouerbs, or, as we vse to call
them, old said sawes, as thus :

*Parimia,
or
Prouerb.*

*As the olde cocke crows so doeth the chick :
A bad Cooke that cannot his owne fingers lick.*

Meaning by the first, that the young learne by the olde, either to be good or euill in their behauiours : by the second, that he is not to be counted a wise man, who being in authority, and hauing the administration of many good and great things, will not serue his owne turne and his friends whilest he may, and many such prouerbiall speeches : as *Totnesse is turned French*, for a strange alteration : *Skarborow warning*, for a sodaine commandement, allowing no respect or delay to be thinke a man of his busines. Note neuerthelesse a diuerfitie, for the two last examples be prouerbs, the two first prouerbiall speeches.

Ye doe likewise dissemble, when ye speake in derision or mockerie, and that may be many waies : as sometime in sport, sometime in earnest, and priuily, and apertly, and pleasantly, and bitterly : but first by the figure *Ironia*, which we call the *drye mock* : as he that said to a bragging Ruffian, that threatened he would kill and slay, no doubt you are a good man of your hands : or, as it was said by a French king, to one that praide his reward, shewing how he had bene cut in the face at a certain battell fought in his seruice : ye may see, quoth the king, what it is to runne away and looke backwards. And as *Alphonso* king of Naples, said to one that profred to take his ring when he washt before dinner,

*Ironia,
or the
Drie mock.*

this wil serue another well: meaning that the Gentlemen had another time taken them, and because the king forgot to aske for them, neuer restored his ring againe.

Or when we deride with a certaine feueritie, we may call it the bitter taunt [*Sarcasmus*, or the Bitter taunt. *sarcasmus*] as *Charles* the fift Emperour answered the Duke of Arskot, beseeching him recompence of seruice done at the siege of Renty, against *Henry* the French king, where the Duke was taken prisoner, and afterward escaped clad like a Colliar. Thou wert taken, quoth the Emperour, like a coward, and scapedst like a Colliar, wherefore get thee home and liue vpon thine owne. Or as king *Henry* the eight said to one of his priuy chamber, who sued for Sir *Anthony Rowe*, a knight of Norfolke that his Maiestie would be good vnto him, for that he was an ill begger. Quoth the king againe, if he be ashamed to beg, we are ashamed to geue. Or as *Charles* the fift Emperour, hauing taken in battaile *John Frederike* Duke of Saxon, with the Lantgraue of Hessen and others: this Duke being a man of monstrous bignesse and corpulence, after the Emperour had seene the prisoners, said to those that were about him, I haue gone a hunting many times, yet neuer tooke I such a swine before.

Or when we speake by manner of pleasure, or mery skoffe, that is by a kinde of mock, whereof the fence is farre fet, and without any gall or offence. The Greekes call it [*Asteismus*] we may terme it the ciuill iest, because it is a mirth very full of ciuilitie, and such as the most ciuill men doo vse. As *Cato* said to one that had geuen him a good knock on the head with a long peece of timber he bare on his shoulder, and then bad him beware: what (quoth *Cato*) wilt thou strike me againe? for ye know, a warning should be geuen before a man haue receiued harme, and not after. And as king *Edward* the sixt, being of young yeres, but olde in wit, saide to one of his priue chamber, who sued for a pardon for one that was condemned for a robberie,

telling the king that it was but a small trifle. not past fixteene shillings matter which he had taken : quoth the king againe, but I warrant you the fellow was forrie it had not bene fixteene pound : meaning how the malefactors intent was as euill in that trifle, as if it had bene a greater summe of money. In these examples if ye marke there is no griepe or offence ministred as in those other before, and yet are very wittie, and spoken in plaine derision.

The Emperor *Charles* the fift was a man of very few words, and delighted little in talke. His brother king *Ferdinando* being a man of more pleasant discourse, sitting at the table with him, said, I pray your Maiestie be not so silent, but let vs talke a little. What neede that brother, quoth the Emperor, since you haue words enough for vs both.

Or when we giue a mocke with a scornfull countenance as in some smiling sort looking aside or by drawing the lippe awry, or shrinking vp the nose ; the Greeks called it *Micterismus*, we may terme it a fleering frumpe, as he that said to one whose wordes he beleued not, no doubt Sir of that. This fleering frumpe is one of the Courtly graces of *hicke the scerner*.

Or when we deride by plaine and flat contradiction, as he that saw a dwarfe go in the streete said to his companion that walked with him : See yonder gyant : and to a Negro or woman blackemoore, in good footh ye are a faire one, we may call it the broad floute.

Or when ye giue a mocke vnder smooth and lowly wordes as he that hard one call him all to nought and say, thou art sure to be hanged ere thou dye : quoth th'other very soberly. Sir I know your maistership speakes but in iest, the Greeks call it (*charientismus*) we may call it the priuy nippe, or a myld and appeasing mockery : all these be souldiers to the figure *allegoria* and fight vnder the banner of dissimulation.

Micterismus.
or the
Fleering frumpe.

Antiphrasis.
or the
Broad floute.

Charientismus.
or the
Priuy nippe.

Neuerthelesse ye haue yet two or three other figures that
Hyperbole.
or the
Ouer reacher,
otherwise
called the loud
lyer. smatch a spice of the same *false semblant*,
but in another sort and maner of phrase,
whereof one is when we speake in the su-
perlatiue and beyond the limites of credit,
that is by the figure which the Greeks call
Hyperbole, the Latines *Dementiens* or the lying figure. I
for his immoderate excesse cal him the ouer reacher right
with his originall or [*loud lyar*] and me thinks not
amisse: now when I speake that which neither I my
selfe thinke to be true, nor would haue any other body
belecue, it must needs be a great dissimulation, be-
cause I meane nothing lesse then that I speake, and this
maner of speach is vsed, when either we would greatly
aduance or greatly abase the reputation of any thing or
person, and must be vsed very discretely, or els it will
seeme odious, for although a prayse or other report
may be allowed beyond credit, it may not be beyond
all measure, specially in the profeman, as he that was
speaker in a Parliament of king *Henry* the eights
raigne, in his Oration which ye know is of ordinary to
be made before the Prince at the first assembly of both
houses, [sh]ould seeme to prayse his Maiestie thus. What
should I go about to recite your Maiesties innumerable
vertues, euen as much as if I tooke vpon me to num-
ber the starres of the skie, or to tell the sands of the
sea. This *Hyperbole* was both *ultra fidem* and also *ultra*
modum, and therefore of a graue and wise Counsellour
made the speaker to be accompted a grosse flattering
foole: peradventure if he had vsed it thus, it had bene
better and neuerthelesse a lye too, but a more moderate
iye and no lesse to the purpose of the kings commen-
dation, thus. I am not able with any wordes sufficiently
to expresse your Maiesties regall vertues, your kingly
merites also towards vs your people and realme are so
exceeding many, as your prayses therefore are infinite,
your honour and renowne euerlasting: And yet all
this if we shall measure it by the rule of exact veritie,
is but an vntruth, yet a more cleanly commendation

then was maister Speakers. Neuerthelesse as I said before if we fall a praying, specially of our mistresses vertue, bewtie, or other good parts, we be allowed now and then to ouer-reach a little by way of comparison as he that said thus in prayse of his Lady.

*Giue place ye louers here before,
That spent your boasts and braggs in vaine :
My Ladies bewtie passeth more,
The best of your I dare well sayne :
Then doth the sunne the candle light,
Or brightest day the darkest night.*

And as a certaine noble Gentlewomen lamenting at the vnkindnesse of her louer said very pretily in this figure.

*But since it will no better be,
My teares shall neuer blin :
To moist the earth in such degree,
That I may drowne therein :
That by my death all men may say,
Lo weemen are as true as they.*

Then haue ye the figure *Periphrasis*, holding somewhat of the dissembler, by reason of a secret intent not appearing by the words, as when we go about the bush, and will not in one or a few words expresse that thing which we desire to haue knowen, but do chose rather to do it by many words, as we our selues wrote of our Soueraigne Lady thus :

*Whom Princes serue, and Realmes obey,
And greatest of Bryton kings begot :
She came abroad euen yesterday,
When such as saw her, knew her not.*

And the rest that followeth, meaning her Maiesties person, which we would seeme to hide leauing her name vnspoken, to the intent the reader should gesse at it : neuerthelesse vpon the matter did so manifestly disclose it, as any simple iudgement might easily perceiue by whom it was ment, that is by Lady *Elizabeth*, *Queene of England* and daughter to king *Henry the eight*,

Periphrasis,
or the
Figure of am-
bage.

and therein reſteth the diſſimulation. It is one of the gallanteſt figures among the poetes ſo it be vſed diſcretely and in his right kinde, but many of theſe makers that be not halfe their craſtes maiſters, do very often abuſe it and alſo many waies. For if the thing or perſon they go about to deſcribe by circumſtance, be by the writers improuidence otherwiſe bewrayed, it looſeth the grace of a figure, as he that ſaid :

*The tenth of March when Aries receiued,
Dan Phæbus raies into his horned hed.*

Intending to deſcribe the ſpring of the yeare, which euery man knoweth of himſelfe, hearing the day of March named: the verſes be very good the figure nought worth, if it were meant in Periphræſe for the matter, that is the ſeaſon of the yeare which ſhould haue bene couertly diſcloſed by ambage, was by and by blabbed out by naming the day of the moneth, and ſo the purpoſe of the figure diſappointed, peraduenture it had bin better to haue ſaid thus :

*The month and daie when Aries receiud,
Dan Phæbus raies into his horned head.*

For now there remaineth for the Reader ſomewhat to ſtudie and geſſe vpon, and yet the ſpring time to the learned iudgement ſufficiently expreſſed.

The Noble Earle of Surrey wrote thus :

*In winters iuſt returne, when Borcas gan his raigne,
And euery tree vnclothed him faſt as nature taught them
plaine.*

I would faine learne of ſome good maker, whether the Earle ſpake this in figure of *Periphræſe* or not, for mine owne opinion I thinke that if he ment to deſcribe the winter ſeaſon, he would not haue diſcloſed it ſo broadly, as to ſay winter at the firſt worde, for that had bene againſt the rules of arte, and without any good iudgement: which in ſo learned and excellent a perſonage we ought not to ſuſpect, we ſay therefore that for winter it is no *Periphræſe* but language at large: we ſay for all that, hauing regard to the ſeconde verſe that followeth it is a *Periphræſe*, ſeeming that thereby he

intended to shew in what part of the winter his loues gaue him anguish, that is in the time which we call the fall of the leafe, which begins in the moneth of October, and stands very well with the figure to be vttered in that fort notwithstanding winter be named before, for winter hath many parts: such namely as do not shake of the leafe, nor vncloth the trees as here is mencioned: thus may ye iudge as I do, that this noble Erle wrate excellently well and to purpose. Morconer, when a maker will seeme to vse circumlocution to set forth any thing pleasantly and figuratiuely, yet no lesse plaine to a ripe reader, then if it were named expresly, and when all is done, no man can perceyue it to be the thing intended. This is a foule ouersight in any writer as did a good fellow, who weening to shew his cunning, would needs by periphrase expresse the realme of Scotland in no lesse then eight verses, and when he had said all, no man could imagine it to be spoken of Scotland: and did besides many other faults in his verse, so deadly belie the matter by his description, as it would pitie any good maker to heare it.

Now for the shutting vp of this Chapter, *Synecdoche*, will I remember you farther of that manner ^{or the} of speech which the Greekes call *Synecdoche*, ^{Figure of quick conceite.} and we the figure of [*quicke conceite*] who for the reasons before alledged, may be put vnder the speeches *allegoricall*, because of the darkenes and duplictie of his sence: as when one would tell me how the French king was ouerthrowen at Saint Quintans, I am enforced to think that it was not the king himselfe in person, but the Constable of Fraunce with the French kings power. Or if one would say, the towne of Andwerpe were famished, it is not so to be taken, but of the people of the towne of Andwerp, and this conceit being drawn aside, and (as it were) from one thing to another, it encombers the minde with a certaine imagination what it may be that is meant, and not expressed: as he that said to a young gentlewoman, who was in her chamber making her selfe vnready.

Mistresse will ye geue me leaue to vnlace your peticote, meaning (perchance) the other thing that might follow such vnlaſing. In the olde time, whoſoeuer was allowed to vndoe his Ladies girdle, he might lie with her all night : wherefore, the taking of a womans maydenhead away, was ſaid to vndoo her girdle. *Virgineam diſſoluit zonam*, ſaith the Poet, conceiuing out of a thing precedent, a thing ſubſequent. This may ſuffice for the knowledge of this figure [*quicke conceit.*]

CHAP. XIX.

Of Figures ſententious, otherwiſe called Rhetoricall.



Now if our preſuppoſall be true, that the Poet is of all other the moſt auncient Orator, as he that by good and pleaſant perſwaſions firſt reduced the wilde and beaſtly people into publicke ſocieties and ciuilitie of life, inſinuating vnto them, vnder ſictions with ſweete and coloured ſpeeches, many wholeſome leſſons and doctrines, then no doubt there is nothing ſo fitte for him, as to be furniſhed with all the figures that be *Rhetoricall*, and ſuch as do moſt beautifie language with eloquence and ſententiouſnes. Therfore, ſince we haue already allowed to our maker his *auricular* figures, and alſo his *ſenſable*, by which all the words and clauſes of his meeters are made as well tunable to the eare, as ſtirring to the minde, we are now by order to beſtow vpon him thoſe other figures which may execute both offices, and all at once to beautifie and geue ſence and ſententiouſnes to the whole language at large. So as if we ſhould intreate our maker to play alſo the Orator, and whether it be to pleade, or to praiſe, or to aduiſe, that in all three caſes he may vtter, and alſo perſwade both copiouſly and vehemently.

And your figures rhethoricall, beſides their remembered ordinarie vertues, that is, ſententiouſnes, and copious amplification, or enlargement of language, doe alſo containe a certaine ſweet and melodious manner of ſpeech, in which reſpect, they may, after a ſort, be ſaid

auricular: because the eare is no lesse ravished with their currant tune, than the mind is with their sententiousnes. For the eare is properly but an instrument of conueyance for the minde, to apprehend the sence by the sound. And our speech is made melodious or harmonically, not onely by strayned tunes, as those of *Musick*, but also by choise of smoothe words: and thus, or thus, marshalling them in their comeliest construction and order, and aswell by sometimes sparing, sometimes spending them more or lesse liberally, and carrying or transporting of them farther off or neerer, setting them with sundry relations, and variable formes, in the ministry and vse of words, doe breede no little alteration in man. For to say truly, what els is man but his minde? which, whosoever haue skil to compasse, and make yeelding and flexible, what may not he command the body to perfourme? He therefore that hath vanquished the minde of man, hath made the greatest and most glorious conquest. But the minde is not assailable vnlesse it be by sensible approaches, whereof the audible is of greatest force for instruction or discipline: the visible, for apprehension of exterior knowledges as the Philosopher saith. Therefore the well tuning of your words and clauses to the delight of the eare, maketh your information no lesse plausible to the minde than to the eare: no though you filled them with neuer so much sence and sententiousnes. Then also must the whole tale (if it tende to perswasion) beare his iust and reasonable measure, being rather with the largest, than with the scarcest. For like as one or two drops of water perce not the flint stone, but many and often droppings doo: so cannot a few words (be they neuer so pithie or sententious) in all cases and to all manner of mindes, make so deepe an impression, as a more multitude of words to the purpose discretely, and without superfluitie vttered: the minde being no lesse vanquished with large loades of speech, than the limmes are with heauie burden. Sweetenes of speech, sentence, and amplification, are therefore necessarie to an

excellent Orator and Poet, he may in no wise be spared from any of them.

And first of all others your figure that worketh by iteration or repetition of one word or clause doth much alter and affect the eare and also the mynde of the hearer, and therefore is counted a very braue figure both with the Poets and rhetoriciens, and this repetition may be in seuen sortes.

Repetition in the first degree we call the figure of *Anaphora*, *Report* according to the Greeke originall, or the and is when we make one word begin, Figure of Re- and as they are wont to say, lead the daunce port. to many verses in sute, as thus.

To thinke on death it is a miserie,
To think on life it is a vanitie:
To thinke on the world verily it is,
To thinke that heare man hath no perfit blisse.

And this written by Sir *Walter Raleigh* of his greatest mistresse in most excellent verses.

In vayne mine eyes in vaine you wast your teares,
In vayne my sighs the smokes of my despair:
In vayne you search th'earth and heauens about,
In vayne ye seeke, for fortune keeps my loue.

Or as the buffon in our enterlude called *Luslie London* said very knauishly and like himselfe.

Many a faire lasse in London towne,
Many a bawdie basket borne vp and downe:
Many a broker in a thridbare gowne.
Many a bankrowte scarce worth a crowne.

In London.

Ye haue another sort of repetition quite contrary to the former when ye make one word finish many verses in sute, and that which is harder, to finish many clauses in the midst of your verses or dittie (for to make them finish the verse in our vulgar it should hinder the rime) and because I do finde few of our English makers vse this figure, I haue set you down two litle ditties which our selues in our yonger yeares played vpon the *Antistrophe*, for so is

Antistrophe,
 or the
 Counter turne.

the figures name in Greeke: one vpon the mutable loue of a Lady, another vpon the meritorious loue of Christ our Sauour, thus.

*Her lowly lookes, that gaue life to my loue,
With spitefull speech, curstnesse and crueltie:
She kild my loue, let her rigour remoue,
Her cherefull lights and speeches of pitie
Reuiue my loue: anone with great disdain,
She shunnes my loue, and after by a traine
She seekes my loue, and faith she loues me most,
But seeing her loue, so lightly wonne and lost:
I longd not for her loue, for well I thought,
Firme is the loue, if it be as it ought.*

The second vpon the merites of Christes passion toward mankind, thus,

*Our Christ the founte of God, chief authour of all good,
Was he by his allmight, that first created man:
And with the costly price, of his most precious bloud,
He that redeemed man: and by his instance vran
Grace in the sight of God, his onely father deare,
And reconciled man: and to make man his peere
Made him selfe very man: briefe to conclude the case,
This Christ both God and man, he all and onely is:
The man brings man to God and to all heauens blisse.*

The Greekes call this figure *Antistrophe*, the Latines, *conuersio*, I following the originall call him the *counterturne*, because he turnes counter in the midst of euery meetre.

Take me the two former figures and put them into one, and it is that which the Greekes call *symploche*, the Latines *complexio*, or *conduplicatio*, and is a maner of repetition, when one and the selfe word doth begin and end many verses in suite and so wrappes vp both the former figures in one, as he that sportingly complained of his vntrustie mistresse, thus.

*Who made me shent for her loues sake?
Myne owne mistresse.
Who would not seeme my part to take.
Myne owne mistresse.*

*What made me first so well content
Her curtesie.
What makes me now so fore repent
Her crueltie.*

The Greekes name this figure *Symploche*, the Latins *Complexio*, perchaunce for that he seemes to hold in and to wrap vp the verses by reduplication, so as nothing can fall out. I had rather call him the figure of replie.

Anadiplosis,
or the
Redouble. Ye haue another sort of repetition when with the worde by which you finish your verse, ye beginne the next verse with the same, as thus:

*Comforte it is for man to haue a wife,
Wife chaste, and wife, and lowly all her life.*

Or thus:

*Your beutie was the cause of my first loue,
Looue while I liue, that I may fore repent.*

The Greeks call this figure *Anadiplosis*, I call him the *Redouble* as the originall beares.

Epanalepsis,
or the
Eccho sound.
otherwise,
the slow return. Ye haue an other sorte of repetition, when ye make one worde both beginne and end your verse, which therefore I call the slow retourne, otherwise the Eccho found, as thus:

*Much must he be beloued, that loueth much,
Feare many must he needs, whom many feare.*

Vnlesse I called him the *eccho found*, I could not tell what name to giue him, vnlesse it were the slow retourne.

Epizeuxis,
the
Vnderlay,
or
Coocko-spel. Ye haue another sort of repetition when in one verse or clause of a verse, ye iterate one word without any intermission, as thus:

*It was Maryne, Maryne that wrought mine woe.
And this bemoaning the departure of a deere friend.
The chiefest flasse of mine assured stay,
With no small griepe, is gon, is gon away.
And that of Sir Walter Raleighs very sweet.
With wisdomes eyes had but blind fortune scene,
Than had my looue, my looue for euer beene.*

The Greeks call him *Episcuxis*, the Latines *Subiunctio*, we may call him the *underlay*, me thinks if we regard his manner of iteration, and would depart from the originall, we might very properly, in our vulgar and for pleasure call him the *cuckowyspell*, for right as the cuckow repeats his lay, which is but one manner of note, and doth not insert any other tune betwixt, and sometimes for hast flammers out two or three of them one immediatly after another, as *cuck, cuck. cuckow*, so doth the figure *Episcuxis* in the former verses, *Maryne, Maryne*, without any intermission at all.

Yet haue ye one sorte of repetition, which we call the *doubler*, and is as the next before, a speedie iteration of one word, but with some little intermission by inserting one or two words betweene, as in a most excellent dittie written by Sir *Walter Raleigh* these two closing verses:

Floche,
or the
Doubler.

*Yet when I sawe my selfe to you was true,
I loued my selfe, bycause my selfe loued you.*

And this spoken in common Prouerbe.

*An ape wilbe an ape, by kinde as they say,
Though that ye clad him all in purple array.*

Or as we once sported vpon a fellowes name who was called *Woodcock*, and for an ill part he had plaid entreated fauour by his friend.

*I praie you intreate no more for the man,
Woodcocke wilbe a woodcocke do what ye can.*

Now also be there many other sortes of repetition if a man would vse them, but are nothing commendable, and therefore are not obserued in good poesie, as a vulgar rimer who doubled one word in the end of euery verse, thus:

*adieu, adieu,
my face, my face.*

And an other that did the like in the beginning of his verse, thus:

To loue him and loue him, as finners should doo.

These repetitions be not figuratiue but phantastical, for a figure is euer vfed to a purpose, either of beautie or of efficacie: and these last recited be to no purpose,

for neither can ye say that it vrges affection, nor that it beautifieth or enforceeth the sence, nor hath any other subtiltie in it, and therefore is a very foolish impertinency of speech, and not a figure.

Ye haue a figure by which ye play with a couple of words or names much resembling, and because the one seemes to answere th'other by manner of illusion, and doth, as it were, nick him, I call him the *Nicknamer*. If any other man can geue him a fitter English name, I will not be angrie, but I am sure mine is very neere the originall sence of the *Prosonomasia*, and is rather a by-name geuen in sport, than a surname geuen of any earnest purpose. As, *Tiberius* the Emperor, because he was a great drinker of wine, they called him by way of derision to his owne name, *Caldius Biberius Nero*, in steade of *Claudius Tiberius Nero*: and so a iesting frier that wrate against *Erasmus*, called him by resemblance to his own name, *Errans mus*, and are maintained by this figure *Prosonomasia*, or the *Nicknamer*. But euery name geuen in iest or by way of a surname, if it do not resemble the true, is not by this figure, as, the Emperor of Greece, who was surnamed *Constantinus Ceronimus*, because he beshit the soont at the time he was christened: and so ye may see the difference betwixt the figures *Antonomasia* and *Prosonomatia*. Now when such resemblance happens betweene words of another nature, and not vpon mens names, yet doeth the Poet or maker finde prety sport to play with them in his verse. specially the Comical Poet and the Epigrammatist. Sir *Philip Sidner* in a dittie plaide very pretily with these two words, *Loue and liue*, thus.

*And all my life I will confesse,
The lesse I loue, I liue the lesse.*

And we in our Enterlude called the woer, plaid with these two words, *lubber* and *louer*, thus, the countrey clowne came and woed a young maide of the Citie, and being agreeued to come so oft, and not to haue his answere, said to the old nurse very impatiently.

Iche pray you good mother tell our young Woer.
dame,

Whence I am come and what is my name,
I cannot come a twining euery day.

Quoth the nurse.

They be lubbers not louers that fo use to say. Nurse.

Or as one replyed to his mistresse charging him with
 some disloyaltie towards her.

Proue me madame ere ye fall to reproue,

Meeke mindes should rather excuse than accuse.

Here the words proue and reproue, excuse and ac-
 cuse, do pleasantly encounter, and (as it were) mock
 one another by their much resemblance: and this is
 by the figure *Profonomatia*, as wel as if they were
 mens proper names, alluding to each other.

Then haue ye a figure which the Latines
 call *Traductio*, and I the tranlacer: which
 is when ye turne and tranlace a word into
 many fundry shapes as the Tailor doth his garment,
 and after that sort do play with him in your dittie: as
 thus,

Traductio,
 or the
Tranlacer.

Who liues in loue his life is full of feares,

To lose his loue, liuelode or libertie

But liuely sprites that young and recklesse be,

Thinke that there is no living like to theirs.

Or as one who much gloried in his owne wit, whom
Perfius taxed in a verse very pithily and pleasantly,
 thus.

Scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire, hoc sciat alter.

Which I haue turned into English, not so briefly,
 but more at large of purpose the better to declare the
 nature of the figure: as thus,

Thou vceenest thy vvit nought vworth if other
vreet it not

As vvel as thou thy felse, but o thing vwell I vvot,

Who so in carnest vveenes, he doth in mine aduise,

Shewv himselfe vvittlesse, or more vvittie than vvise.

Here ye see how in the former rime this word life
 is tranlaced into liue, liuing, liuely, liuelode: and in

the latter rime this word wit is translated into weete, weene, wotte, witleffe, witty and wise : which come all from one originall.

Antipophora, Ye haue a figuratiue speech which the
^{or}
 Figure of re- *Greeks cal Antipophora,* I name him the
 sponce. *Responce,* and is when we will seeme to
 aske a question to th'intent we will aunswere it our
 selues, and is a figure of argument and also of ampli-
 fication. Of argument, because proponing such matter
 as our aduerfarie might object and then to answere it
 our selues, we do vnfurnish and preuent him of such
 helpe as he would otherwise haue vsed for himselfe :
 then because such obiection and answere spend much
 language it serues as well to amplifie and enlarge our
 tale. Thus for example.

*Wylie worlulling come tell me I thee pray,
 Whercin hopest thou, that makes thee so to fxevell?
 Riches? alack it taries not a day,
 But where fortune the fickle list to dwell:
 In thy children? how hardlie shalt thou finde,
 Them all at once, good and thriftie and kinde:
 Thy wise? ô faire but fraile mettall to trust,
 Seruants? what theeues? what treachours and iniust?
 Honour perchance? it resles in other men:
 Glorie? a smoake: but wherein hopest thou then?
 In Gods iustice? and by what merite tell?
 In his mercy? ô now thou speakest wel,
 But thy lewd life hath lost his loue and grace,
 Daunting all hope to put dispaire in place.*

We read that *Crates* the Philosopher *Cinicke* in
 respect of the manifold discommodities of mans life,
 held opinion that it was best for man neuer to haue
 bene borne or soone after to dye, [*Optimum non nasci
 vel citò mori*] of whom certaine verses are left written
 in Greeke which I haue Englished, thus.

*What life is the liefest? the needy is full of woe and awe,
 The wealthie full of brawle and brabbles of the law:
 To be a married man? how much art thou beguild,
 Seeking thy rest by carke, for household wife and child:*

*To till it is a toyle, to grafe some honest gaine,
 But fuch as gotten is with great hazard and paine :
 The fayler of his shippe, the marchant of his ware,
 The fouldier in armes, how full of dread and care ?
 A fhrewd wife brings thee bate, wine not and neuer thriue,
 Children a charge, childleffe the greatest lacke aliuē :
 Youth witteffe is and fraile, age ficklie and forlorne,
 Then better to dye foone, or neuer to be borne.*

Metrodorus the Philosopher Stoick was of a contrary opinion reuerfing all the former fuppositions againft Crates, thus.

*What life lift ye to lead ? in good Citie and towne
 Is wonne both wit and wealth, Court gets vs great re-
 nowne :*

*Countrey keepes vs in heale, and quietneffe of mynd, [find :
 Where holefome aires and exercife and pretie fports we
 Traffick it turnes to gaine, by land and eke by fea,
 The land-borne liues fafe, the forreine at his eafe :
 Houfholder hath his home, the roge romes with delight,
 And makes moe merry meales, then doth the Lordly wight :
 Wed and thou haft a bed, of folace and of ioy,
 Wed not and haue a bed, of rest without annoy :
 The fetled loue is fafe, fweete is the loue at large,
 Children they are a ftore, no children are no charge,
 Luftie and gay is youth, old age honourd and wife :
 Then not to dye or be vnborne, is beft in myne aduife.*

Edward Earle of Oxford a moft noble and learned Gentleman made in this figure of refponce an emble of defire otherwife called Cupide which from his excellencie and wit, I fet downe fome part of the verfes, for example.

*When wert thou borne defire ?
 In pompe and pryde of May,
 By whom fweete boy wert thou begot ?
 By good conceit men fay,
 Tell me who was thy nurfe ?
 Fresh youth in fugged ioy.
 What was thy meate and dayly foode ?
 Sad fighes with great annoy.*

*What hadst thou then to drinke?
 Unfayned louers teares.
 What cradle wert thou rocked in?
 In hope deuoyde of feares.*

Ye haue another figure which me thinkes may well be called (not much fweruing from his originall in sence) the *Crosse-couple*, because it takes me two contrary words, and tieth them as it were in a paire of couples, and so makes them agree like good fellowes, as I saw once in Fraunce a wolfe coupled with a mastiffe, and a foxe with a hounde. Thus it is.

*The niggards fault and the vnthrifts is all one,
 For neither of them both knoweth how to vse his owne.*
 Or thus.

*The couctous miser, of all his goods ill got,
 Aswell wants that he hath, as that he hath not.*

In this figure of the *Crosse-couple* we wrate for a forlorne louer complaining of his mistresse crueltie these verses among other.

*Thus for your sake I dayly dye,
 And do but seeme to liue in deede:
 Thus is my blisse but miserie,
 My lucre losse without your meede.*

Ye haue another figure which by his nature we may call the *Rebound*, alluding to the tennis ball which being smitten with the racket reboundes backe againe, and where the last figure before played with two wordes somewhat like, this playeth with one word written all alike but carrying diuers fences as thus.

The maide that foone married is, foone marred is.

Or thus better because *married* and *marred* be different in one letter.

*To pray for you euer I cannot refuse,
 To pray vpon you I should you much abuse.*

Or as we once sported vpon a countrey fellow who came to runne for the best game, and was by his occupation a dyer and had very bigge swelling legges.

*He is but course to runne a course,
Whose shankes are bigger then his thye:
Yet is his lucke a little worfe,
That often dyes before he dye.*

Where ye see this word *course* and *dye*. vsed in diuers fences, one giuing the *Rebounde* vpon th'other.

Ye haue a figure which as well by his Greeke and Latine originals, and also by allusion to the maner of a mans gate or going may be called the *marching figure*, for after the first steppe all the rest proceede by double the space, and so in our speach one word proceedes double to the first that was spoken, and goeth as it were by strides or paces; it may aswell be called the *clyming figure*, for *Clymax* is as much *Clymax.* to say as a ladder, as in one of our Epi- *or the* taphes shewing how a very meane man by *Marching fi-* his wisdom and good fortune came to great estate *gure.* and dignitie.

*His vertue made him wise, his wisdom brought him
wealth,*

*His wealth wan many friends, his friends made much
supply:*

*Of aides in weale and woe in sicknesse and in health,
Thus came he from a low, to sit in seate so hye.*

Or as *Ihean de Mehune* the French Poet.

*Peace makes plentie, plentie makes pride,
Pride breeds quarrell, and quarrell brings warre:
Warre brings spoile, and spoile pouertie,
Pouertie pacience, and pacience peace:
So peace brings warre, and warre brings peace.*

Ye haue a figure which takes a couple *Antimetabole* of words to play with in a verse, and by *or the* making them to chaunge and shifte one into *Counterchange.* others place they do very pretily exchange and shifte the fence, as thus.

*We dwell not here to build vs boures,
And halles for pleasure and good cheare:
But halles we build for vs and ours,
To dwell in them whilst we are here.*

Meaning that we dwell not here to build, but we build to dwel, as we liue not to cate, but cate to liue, or thus.

*We wiſh not peace to maintaine cruell warre,
But wee make warre to maintaine vs in peace.*

Or thus,

*If Poefie be, as ſome haue ſaid,
A ſpeaking picture to the eye:
Then is a picture not denaid,
To be a muet Poefie.*

Or as the Philoſopher *Mufonius* wrote.

*With pleaſure if wee worke vnhoneſtly and ill,
The pleaſure paſſeth, the bad it bideth ſtill:
Well if wee worke with trauaile and with paines,
The paine paſſeth and ſtill the good remaines.*

A wittie fellow in Rome wrate under the Image of *Cæſar* the Dictator theſe two verſes in Latine, which becauſe they are ſpoken by this figure of *Counter-change* I haue turned into a couple of Engliſh verſes very well keeping the grace of the figure.

*Brutus for caſting out of kings, was firſt of Conſuls paſt,
Cæſar for caſting Conſuls out, is of our kings the laſt.*

Cato of any Senatour not onely the graueſt but alſo the prompteſt and wittieſt in any ciuill ſcoffe, miſliking greatly the engroſſing of offices in Rome that one man ſhould haue many at once, and a great number goe without that were as able men, ſaid thus by *Counter-change*.

*It ſeemes your offices are very little worth,
Or very few of you worthy of offices.*

Againe:

*In trifles earneſt as any man can bee,
In earneſt matters no ſuch triſler as hee.*

Insultatio,
or the
Disdainefull.

Yee haue another figure much like to the *Sarcaſmus*, or bitter taunt wee ſpake of before: and is when with proud and inſolent words, we doo vpbraide a man, or ride him as we terme it: for which cauſe the Latines alſo call it *Infultatio*, I chooſe to name him the *Retrochfull* or

scorner, as when Queene *Dido* saw, that for all her great loue and entertainements bestowed vpon *Aeneas*, he would needs depart, and follow the *Oracle* of his destinies, she brake out in a great rage and said very disdainefully.

*Hye thee, and by the wild waues and the wind,
Seeke Italie and Realmes for thee to raigne,
If pitious Gods haue power amidst the mayne,
On ragged rocks thy penance thou maist finde.*

Or as the poet *Iuuenall* reproched the couetous Merchant, who for lucrees sake passed on no perill either by land or sea, thus :

*Goe now and giue thy life vnto the winde,
Trusting vnto a piece of bruckle wood,
Foure inches from thy death or seauen good
The thickest planke for shipboord that we finde.*

Ye haue another figure very pleasant and fit for amplification, which to answer the Greeke terme, we may call the encounter, but following the Latine name by reason of his *Antitheton,*
or the
The renconter. contentious nature, we may call him the Quarreller, for so be al such persons as delight in taking the contrary part of whatsoeuer shalbe spoken : when I was a scholler at Oxford they called euery such one *Iohannes ad oppositum*.

*Good haue I doone you, much, harme did I neuer none,
Ready to ioy your gaines, your losses to bemone,
Why therefore should you grutch so fore at my welfare:
Who onely bred your blisse, and neuer causid your care.*

Or as it is in these two verses where one speaking of *Cupids* bowe, deciphered thereby the nature of sensual loue, whose beginning is more pleasant than the end, thus allegorically and by *antitheton*.

*His bent is sweete, his loose is somewhat fowre,
In ioy begunne, ends oft in wofull howre.*

Maister *Diar* in this quarrelling figure.

*Nor loue hath now the force, on me which it ones had,
Your frownes can neither make me mourne, nor fauors
make me glad.*

Isocrates the Greek Oratour was a litle too full of this figure, and so was the Spaniard that wrote the life of *Marcus Aur. lius*, and many of our moderne writers in vulgar, vse it in excesse and incurre the vice of fond affectation: otherwise the figure is very commendable.

In this quarrelling figure we once plaid this merry Epigrame of an importune and shrewd wise, thus :

*My neighbour hath a wife, not fit to make him thrive,
But good to kill a quicke man, or make a dead revivie.
So shrewd she is for God, so cunning and so wise,
To counter with her goodman, and all by contraries.
For when he is merry, she lurcheth and she loures,
When he is sad she sings, or laughs it out by houres.
Bid her be still her tongue to talke shall neuer cease, [peace,
When she should speake and please. for spight she holds her
Bid spare and she will spend, bid spend she spares as fast,
What first ye would have done, be sure it shalbe last.
Say go, she comes, say come, she goes, and leaues him all
alone,*

Her husband (as I thinke) calles her ouerthwart Ione.

There is a kinde of figuratiue speach when we aske
Erotema. many questions and looke for none
or the answere, speaking indeed by interrogation,
Questioner. which we might as well say by affirmation.

This figure I call the *Questioner* or inquisitiue, as whan *Medea* excusing her great crueltie vsed in the murder of her owne children which she had by *Iason*, said :

*Was I able to make them I praie you tell,
And am I not able to marre them all afevell?*

Or as another wrote very commendably.

*Why strive I with the streame, or hoppe against the hill,
Or search that neuer can be found, and loose my labour still?*

Cato vnderstanding that the Senate had appointed three citizens of Rome for embassadours to the king of *Bithinia*, whereof one had the Gowte, another the Meigrim, the third very little courage or discretion to be employd in any such businesse, said by way of skoffe in this figure.

*Must not (trouwe ye) this message be well sped,
That hath neither heart, nor heeles, nor lied?*

And as a great Princeſſe aunſwered her ſeruitour, who diſtruſting in her fauours toward him, praized his owne conſtancie in theſe verſes.

No fortune baſe or frayle can alter me :

To whome ſhe in this figure repeting his words :

No fortune baſe or frayle can alter thee.

And can ſo blind a witch ſo conquere mee?

The figure of exclamation, I call him [*the outerie*] becauſe it vtters our minde by all ſuch words as do ſhew any extreme paſſion, *Ecphonisis.*
or the
Outcry. whether it be by way of exclamation or crying out, admiration or wondering, imprecation or curſing, obteſtation or taking God and the world to witneſs, or any ſuch like as declare an impotent affection, as *Chaucer* of the Lady *Creſſeida* by exclamation.

O ſoppe of ſorrow ſoonken into care,

O caytiſe Creſſeid, for now and euermore.

Or as *Gaſcoigne* wrote very paſſionatly and well to purpoſe.

Ay me the dayes that I in dole conſume,

Alas the nights which witneſſe vll mine vroe :

O vrongfull world which makeſt my fancie fume,

Fie ſickle fortune, fie, fie thou art my foe :

Out and alas ſo froward is my chance,

No nights nor daies, nor worldees can me auance.

Petrarche in a ſonet which *Sir Thomas Wyatt* Engliſhed excellently well, ſaid in this figure by way of imprecation and obteſtation : thus,

Perdie I ſaid it not,

Nor neuer thought to doo :

Aſwell as I ye wot,

I haue no power thereto :

“ *And if I did the lot*

That firſt did me enchain,

May neuer ſlake the knot

But ſtraite it to my paine.

“ *And if I did each thing,
That may do harme or woe :
Continually may tiring,
My harte where so I goe.*
“ *Report may alwaies ring :
Of shame on me for aye,
If in my hart did spring,
The wordes that you doo say.*
“ *And if I did each starre,
That is in heauen above.*

And so forth, &c.

We vse sometimes to proceede all by single words, without any close or coupling, sauing that a little pause or comma is geuen to euery word. This figure for pleasure may be called in our vulgar the cutted comma, for that there cannot be a shorter diuision then at euery words end. The Greekes in their language call it short language, as thus.

*Enuy, malice, flattery, disdainie,
Auarice, deccit, falsshed, filthy gaine.*

If this loose language be vsed. not in single words, but in long clauses, it is called *Afindeton*, and in both cases we vtter in that fashion, when either we be earnest, or would seeme to make hast.

Ye haue another figure which we may call the figure of euen, because it goeth by clauses of egall quantitie, and not very long, but yet not so short as the cutted comma: and they geue good grace to a dittie, but specially to a prose. In this figure we once wrote in a melancholike humor these verses.

*The good is geason, and short is his abode,
The bad bides long, and easie to be found :
Our life is loathsome, our sinnes a heauy lode,
Conscience a curst iudge, remorse a priuie goade.
Disease, age and death still in our care they round,
That hence we must the sickly and the found :
Treading the steps that our forefathers troad,
Rich, poore, holy, wijs, all flesh it goes to ground.*

In a prose there should not be vsed at once of such euen claufes past three or foure at the most.

When so euer we multiply our speech by many words or claufes of one fence, the Greekes call it *Sinonimia*, as who would say, <sup>*Sinonimia,*
or the</sup> like or consenting names: the Latines ^{Figure of store.} hauing no fitte terme to giue him, called it by a name of euent, for (said they) many words of one nature and fence, one of them doth expound another. And therefore they called this figure the [*Interpreter*] I for my part had rather call him the figure of [*flore*] because plenty of one manner of thing in our vulgar we call so. *Æneas* asking whether his Captaine *Orontes* were dead or aliue, vsed this flore of speeches all to one purpose.

*Is he aliue,
Is he as I left him queauing and quick.
And hath he not yet geuen vp the ghost.
Among the rest of those that I haue lost?*

Or if it be in single words, then thus.

*What is become of that beautifull face,
Those louely lookes, that fauour amiable,
Those sweete features, and visage full of grace,
That countenance which is alonly able
To kill and cure?*

Ye see that all these words, face, lookes, fauour, features, visage, countenance, are in fence all but one. Which flore, neuerthelesse, doeth much beautifie and inlarge the matter. So said another.

*My faith, my hope, my trust, my God and eke my guide,
Stretch forth thy hand to saue the soule, what ere the
body bide.*

Here faith, hope and trust be words of one effect, allowed to vs by this figure of flore.

Otherwhiles we speake and be sorry for it, as if we had not wel spoken, so that we seeme to call in our word againe, and to put in another fitter for the purpose: for which respects the Greekes called this manner of speech the

Melanoic,
or the
Penitent.

figure of repentance: then for that vpon repentance commonly follows amendment, the Latins called it the figure of correction, in that the speaker seemeth to reforme that which was said amisse. I following the Greeke originall, choose to call him the penitent, or repentant: and singin in honor of the mayden Queene, meaning to praise her for her greatnesse of courage, ouershooting myselfe, called it first by the name of pride: then fearing least fault might be found with that terme, by and by turned this word pride to praise: resembling her Maiesty to the Lion, being her owne noble armory, which by a flie construction purporteth magnanimitie. Thus in the latter end of a Parthemiade.

*O peereles you, or els no one aliue,
 " Your pride serues you to seaze them all alone:
 " Not pride madame, but praise of the lion.
 To conquer all and be conquerd by none.*

And in another Parthemiade thus insinuating her Maiesties great constancy in refusall of all marriages offred her, thus:

*" Her heart is hid none may it see,
 " Marble or flinte folke vvene it be.*

Which may imploy rigour and cruelty, than correcteth it thus.

*Not flinte I trovve I am a lier,
 But Siderite that feesles no fire.*

By which is intended, that it proceeded of a cold and chast complexion not easily allured to loue.

We haue another manner of speech much like to the *repentant*, but doth not as the *Antenagoge*, or the *Recompencer*. same recant or vsfay a word that hath bene said before, putting another fitter in his place, but hauing spoken any thing to deprauē the matter or partie, he denieth it not, but as it were helpeth it againe by another more fauourable speech: and so seemeth to make amends, for which cause it is called by the originall name in both languages, the *Recompencer*, as he that was merily asked the question, whether his wife were not a shrewe as well as others

of his neighbours wiues, answered in this figure as pleasantly, for he could not well denie it.

*I must needs say, that my wife is a shrew,
But such a hufwife as I know but a few.*

Another in his first proposition giuing a very faint commendation to the Courtiers life, weaning to make him amends, made it worser by a second proposition, thus:

*The Courtiers life full delicate it is,
But where no wife man will euer get his blis.*

And an other speaking to the incoragement of youth in studie and to be come excellent in letters and armes, said thus:

*Many are the paines and perils to be past,
But great is the gaine and glory at the last.*

Our poet in his short ditties, but specially playing the Epigrammatist will vse to conclude and shut vp his Epigram with a verse or two, spoken in such fort, as it may seeme a manner of allowance to all the premisses, and that with a ioyfull approbation, which the Latines call *Acclamatio*, we therefore call this figure the *surclose* or *consenting close*, as *Virgill* when he had largely spoken of Prince *Eneas* his succeffe and fortunes concluded with this close.

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

In English thus:

*So huge a peece of worke it was and so hie,
To reare the house of Romane progenie.*

Sir *Philip Sidney* very pretily closed vp a dittie in this fort.

*What medicine then, can such disease remoue,
Where loue breeds hate, and hate engenders loue.*

And we in *Partheniade* written of her Maieslie, declaring to what perils vertue is generally subiect, and applying that fortune to her selfe, closed it vp with this *Epiphoneme*.

*Than if there bee,
Any so cancard hart to grutch,
At your glories: my Queene: in vaine,*

*Repining at your fatall raigne :
It is for that they feele too much,
Of your bountee.*

As who would say her owne ouermuch lenitie and goodnesse, made her ill willers the more bold and presumptuous.

Lucretius Carus the philosopher and poet inueighing fore against the abuses of the superstitious religion of the Gentils, and recompting the wicked fact of king *Agamemnon* in sacrificing his only daughter *Iphigenia*, being a yoong damsell of excellent bewtie, to th'intent to please the wrathfull gods, hinderers of his nauigation, after he had said all, closed it vp in this one verse, spoken in *Epiphonema*.

Tantum relligio potuit suadere, malorum.

In English thus :

*Lo what an outrage, could cause to be done,
The peeuissh scruple of blinde religion.*

Auxesfs,
or the
Auancer. It happens many times that to vrge and enforce the matter we speake of, we go still mounting by degrees and encreasing our speech with wordes or with sentences of more waight one then another. and is a figure of great both efficacie and ornament, as he that declaring the great calamitie of an infortunate prince, said thus :

*He lost besides his children and his wife,
His realme, renowne, liege, libertie and life.*

By which it appeareth that to any noble Prince the losse of his estate ought not to be so greuous, as of his honour, nor any of them both like to the lacke of his libertie, but that life is the dearest detriment of any other. We call this figure by the Greeke originall the *Auancer* or figure of encrease because euery word that is spoken is one of more weight then another. And as we lamented the crueltie of an inexorable and vnfaithfull mistresse.

*If by the lawres of loue it be a fault,
The faithfull friend, in absence to forget :
But if it be (once do thy heart but halt,)*

*A secret sinne : what forfet is so great :
 As by despite in view of euery eye,
 The solemne vowes oft forborne with teares so salt,
 And holy Leagues fast scald with hand and hart:
 For to repeale and breake so wilfully ?
 But now (alas) without all iust desert,
 My lot is for my troth and much good will,
 To scape disdain, hatred and rude refuse,
 Or if ye would worke me some greater ill :
 And of myne earned ioyes to feele no part,
 What els is this (ô cruell) but to vse,
 Thy murdring knife the guiltlesse bloud to spill.*

Where ye see how she is charged first with a fault, then with a secret sinne, afterward with a foule forfet, last of all with a most cruell and bloody deede. And thus againe in a certaine louers complaint made to the like effect.

*They say it is a ruth to see thy louer neede,
 But you can see me weepe, but you can see me bleede :
 And neuer shrinke nor shame, ne shed no teare at all,
 You make my wounds your selfe, and fill them vp with gall :
 Yea you can see me found, and faint for want of breath,
 And gaspe and grone for life, and struggle still with death,
 What can you now do more, sweare by your maydenhead,
 Then for to flea me quicke, or strip me being dead.*

In these verses you see how one crueltie surmounts another by degrees till it come to the very slaughter and beyond, for it is thought a despite done to a dead carcas to be an euidence of greater crueltie then to haue killed him.

After the Auancer followeth the abbafer working by wordes and sentences of extenuation or diminution. Whereupon we call him the *Disabler* or figure of *Extenuation* : and this extenuation is vsed to diuers purposes, sometimes for modesties sake, and to auoide the opinion of arrogancie, speaking of our selues or of ours, as he that disabled himselfe to his mistresse, thus.

Not all the skill I haue to speake or do,

*Meiosis,
 or the
 Disabler.*

*Which litle is God wot (set loue apart :)
Liueload nor life, and put them both thereto,
Can counterpeise the due of your desert.*

It may be also done for despite to bring our aduersaries in contempt, as he that sayd by one (commended for a very braue souldier) disabling him scornefully, thus.

*A iollie man (forfooth) and fit for the warre,
Good at hand grippes, better to fight a farre :
Whom bright weapon in sheere as it is said,
Yea his owne shade, hath often made afraide.*

The subtiltie of the scoffe lieth in these Latin wordes [*eminus et cominus pugnare*]. Also we vse this kind of Extenuation when we take in hand to comfort or cheare any perillous enterprize, making a great matter seeme small, and of litle difficultie, and is much vsed by captaines in the warre, when they (to giue courage to their souldiers) will seeme to disable the persons of their enemies, and abase their forces, and make light of euery thing that might be a discouragement to the attempt, as *Hanniball* did in his Oration to his souldiers, when they should come to passe the Alpes to enter Italie, and for sharpnesse of the weather, and steepnesse of the mountaines their hearts began to faile them.

We vse it againe to excuse a fault, and to make an offence seeme lesse then it is, by giuing a terme more fauorable and of lesse vehemencie then the troth requires, as to say of a great robbery, that it was but a pilfry matter: of an arrant ruffian that he is a tall fellow of his hands: of a prodigall foole, that he is a kind hearted man: of a notorious vnthrift, a lustie youth, and such like phrascs of extenuation, which fall more aptly to the office of the figure *Curry fauell* before remembred.

And we vse the like termes by way of pleasant familiaritie, and as it were for a Courtly maner of speach with our egalls or inferiours, as to call a young Gentlewoman *Mall* for *Mary*, *Nell* for *Elner*: *Iack* for *John*,

Robin for *Robert*: or any other like affected termes spoken of pleasure, as in our triumphals calling familiarly vpon our *Muse*, I called her *Moppe*.

But will you weete,

My litle muse, my prettie moppe:

If we shall alwayes change our stoppe,

Chose me a fweet.

Vnderstanding by this word [*Moppe*] a litle prety Lady, or tender young thing. For so we call litle fishes, that be not come to their full growth [*moppes*,] as whiting moppes, gurnard moppes.

Also such termes are vsed to be giuen in derision and for a kind of contempt, as when we say Lording for Lord, and as the Spaniard that calleth an Earle of small reuenue *Contadilio*: the Italian calleth the poore man, by contempt *pouerachio*, or *pouerino*, the little beast *animalculo* or *animalucho*, and such like *diminutives* appertaining to this figure, the [*Disabler*] more ordinary in other languages than in our vulgar.

This figure of retire holds part with the propounder of which we spake before (*prolepsis*) because of the resumption of a former proposition vttered in generalitie to explaine the same better by a particular diuision. But their difference is, in that the propounder resumes but the matter only. This [*retire*] resumes both the matter and the termes, and is therefore accompted one of the figures of repetition, and in that respect may be called by his originall Greeke name the [*Resounde*] or the [*retire*] for this word [*ῥῥοῖς*] serues both fences resound and retire. The vse of this figure, is seen in this dittie following,

Loue hope and death, do stirre in me much strife,

As neuer man but I lead such a life:

For burning loue doth wound my heart to death:

And when death comes at call of inward grief,

Cold lingring hope doth feede my fainting breath:

Against my will, and yeelds my wound relief,

So that I liue, and yet my life is such:

As neuer death could greeue me halfe so much.

Then haue ye a maner of speech, not so figuratiue
Dialisis, as fit for argumentation, and worketh not
 or vnlike the *dilemma* of the Logicians, be-
 the Dismem- cause he propones two or moe matters
 brer. entierly, and doth as it were set downe the whole tale
 or rekoning of an argument and then cleare euery
 part by it selfe, as thus.

*It can not be but nigardship or neede,
 Made him attempt this foule and wicked deede:
 Nigardship not, for alwayes he was free,
 Nor neede, for who doth not his richesse see?*

Or as one that entreated for a faire young maide
 who was taken by the watch in London and carried
 to Bridewell to be punished.

*Now gentill Sirs let this young maide alone,
 For either she hath grace or els she hath none:
 If she haue grace, she may in time repent,
 If she haue none what bootes her punishment.*

Or as another pleaded his deserts with his mistresse.

*Were it for grace, or els in hope of gaine,
 To fay of my deserts, it is but vaine:
 For well in minde, in case ye do them beare,
 To tell them oft, it should but irke your care:
 Be they forgot: as likely should I faile, [uaile.
 To winne with wordes, where deedes can not pre-*

Then haue ye a figure very meete for Orators or
 eloquent perswaders such as our maker or
Merismus. Poet must in some cases shew him selfe to
 or the Distributer. be, and is when we may conueniently vtter
 a matter in one entier speech or proposition and will
 rather do it peecemeale and by distribution of euery
 part for amplification sake, as for example he that
 might say, a house was outrageously plucked downe:
 will not be satisfied so to say, but rather will speake it
 in this sort: they first vndermined the groundfills, they
 beate downe the walles, they vnfloored the lostes, they
 vntiled it and pulled downe the roofe. For so in deede
 is a house pulled downe by circumstances, which this
 figure of distribution doth set forth euery one apart,

and therefore I name him the *distributor* according to his originall, as wrate the *Tuscan* Poet in a Sonet which Sir *Thomas Wyat* translated with very good grace, thus.

*Set me where as the sunne doth parch the greene,
Or where his beames do not dissolue the yce:
In temperate heate where he is felt and seene,
In presence prest of people mad or wise:
Set me in hye or yet in low degree,
In longest night or in the shortest day:
In clearest skie, or where clouds thickest bee,
In lustie youth or when my heares are gray:
Set me in heauen, in earth or els in hell,
In hill or dale or in the foming flood:
Thrall or at large, aloue where so I dwell,
Sicke or in health, in euill fame or good:
Hers will I be, and onely with this thought,
Content my selfe, although my chaunce be naught.*

All which might haue bene said in these two verses.

*Set me where soeuer ye will,
I am and will be yours still.*

The zealous Poet writing in prayse of the maiden Queene would not seeme to wrap vp all her most excellent parts in a few words them entierly comprehending, but did it by a distributor or *merismus* in the negative for the better grace, thus.

*Not your beutie, most gracious foueraine,
Nor maidenly lookes, mainteind with maiestie:
Your stately port, which doth not match but staine,
For your presence, your pallace and your traine,
All Princes Courts, mine eye could euer see:
Not your quicke wits, your fober gouernaunce:
Your cleare foresight, your faithfull memorie,
So sweete features, in so slaid countenaunce:
Nor languages, with plentuous utterance,
So able to discourse, and entertaine:
Not noble race, farre beyond Cæsars raigne,
Runne in right line, and bloud of nointed kings:
Not large empire, armies, treasurs, domaine,
Lustie liueries, of fortunes dearest darlings:*

*Not all the skilles, fit for a Princely dame,
 Your learned Muse, with use and studie brings.
 Not true honour, ne that immortall fame
 Of mayden raigne, your only owne renowne
 And no Queenes els, yet such as yeeldes your name
 Greater glory than doeth your treble crowne.*

And then concludes thus.

*Not any one of all these honord parts
 Your Princely happes, and habites that do moue,
 And as it were, enforcell all the hearts
 Of Christen kings to quarrell for your loue,
 But to possesse, at once and all the good
 Arte and engine, and euery starre aboue
 Fortune or kinde, could farce in flesh and bloud,
 Was force inough to make so many striue
 For your person, which in our world stooode
 By all consents the minionst mayde to wiue.*

Where ye see that all the parts of her commendation which were particularly remembred in twenty verses before, are wrapt vp in the two verses of this last part, videl.

*Not any one of all your honord parts,
 Those Princely haps and habites, &c.*

This figure serues for amplification, and also for ornament, and to enforce perswasion mightely. Sir *Geffrey Chaucer*, father of our English Poets, hath these verses following the distributor.

*When faith failes in Priestes fawes,
 And Lords hestes are holden for lawes,
 And robberie is tane for purchase,
 And lechery for solace
 Then shall the Realme of Albion
 Be brought to great confusion.*

Where he might haue said as much in these words : when vice abounds, and vertue decayeth in Albion, then &c. And as another said,

*When Prince for his people is wakefull and wise,
 Peeres ayding with armes, Counsellors with aduise,
 Magistrate sincerely vsing his charge,
 People prest to obey, nor let to runne at large,*

*Prelate of holy life, and with deuotion
 Preferring pietie before promotion,
 Priest still preaching, and praying for our heale:
 Then blessed is the state of a common-weale.*

All which might haue bene said in these few words, when euery man in charge and authoritie doeth his duety, and executeth his function well, then is the common-wealth happy.

The Greeke Poets who made musicall ditties to be song to the lute or harpe, did vse to linke their staues together with one verse running throughout the whole song by equall distance, and was, for the most part, the first verse of the stasse, which kept so good sence and conformitie with the whole, as his often repetition did geue it greater grace. They called such linking verse *Epimone*, the Latines *versus intercalaris*, and we may terme him the Loue-burden, following the originall, or if it please you, the long repeate: in one respect because that one verse alone beareth the whole burden of the song according to the originall: in another respect, for that it comes by large distances to be often repeated, as in this ditty made by the noble knight Sir *Philip Sidney*,

Epimone,
 or the
 Loueburden.

*My true loue hath my heart and I haue his,
 By iust exchange one for another geuen:
 I holde his deare, and mine he cannot misse,
 There neuer was a better bargaine driuen.*

*My true loue hath my heart and I haue his.
 My heart in me keepes him and me in one,
 My heart in him his thoughts and senses guides:
 He loues my heart, for once it was his owne,
 I cherish his because in me it bides.*

My true loue hath my heart, and I haue his.

Many times our Poet is caried by some occasion to report of a thing that is maruelous, and then he will seeme not to speake it simply but with some signe of admiration, as in our enterlude called the *Woer*.

Paradoxon,
 or the
 Wondrer.

I woonder much to see so many husbands thrine,

*That haue but little wit, before they come to wiew :
For one would easily weene who so hath little wit,
His wife to teach it him, were a thing much vnsit.*

Or as *Cato* the Romane Senatour said one day
merily to his companion that walked with him, point-
ing his finger to a yong vnthrif in the streete who
lately before sold his patrimonie, of a goodly quantitie
of salt marshes, lying neere vnto *Capua* shore.

*Now is it not, a wonder to behold,
Yonder gallant skarce twenty winter old,
By might (marke ye) able to doo more?
Than the mayne sea that batters on his shore?
For what the waues could neuer wash away,
This proper youth hath wasted in a day.*

Not much vnlike the *wondrer* haue ye another
figure called the *doubtfull*, because often-
times we will seeme to cast perils, and make
doubt of things when by a plaine manner
of speech wee might affirme or deny him, as thus of a
cruell mother who mured her owne child.

Atoria,
or the
Doubtfull.

*Whether the cruell mother were more to blame,
Or the shrewed childe come of so curst a dame :
Or whether some smatch of the fathers blood,
Whose kinne were neuer kinde, nor neuer good.
Mooued her thereto, &c.*

This manner of speech is vsed when we will not
seeme, either for manner sake or to auoid
tediousnesse, to trouble the iudge or hearer
with all that we could say, but hauing said
inough already, we referre the rest to their considera-
tion, as he that said thus :

Epitropis,
or the
Figure of Re-
ference.

*Me thinkes that I haue said, what may well suffice,
Referring all the rest, to your better aduise.*

The fine and subtill perfwader when his intent is to
sting his aduersary, or els to declare his mind
in broad and liberal speeches, which might
breede offence or scandall, he will seeme
to bespeake pardon before hand, whereby his licen-
tiousnes may be the better borne withall, as he that
said :

Parisia,
or the
Licentious.

*If my speech hap t'offend you any way,
Thinke it their fault, that force me so to say.*

Not much vnlike to the figure of *reference*, is there another with some little diuersitie which we call *impartener*, because many times in pleading and perswading, we thinke it a very good pollicie to acquaint our iudge or hearer or very aduersarie with some part of our Counsell and aduice, and to aske their opinion, as who would say they could not otherwise thinke of the matter then we do. As he that had tolde a long tale before certaine noble women, of a matter somewhat in honour touching the Sex.

*Tell me faire Ladies, if the case were your owne,
So foule a fault would you haue it be knowen?*

Maister Gorge in this figure, said very sweetly.

*All you who read these lines and skanne of my defart,
Iudge whether was more good, my hap or els my hart.*

The good Orator vseth a manner of speach in his perswasion and is when all that should seeme to make against him being spoken by th'other side, he will first admit it, and in th'end auoid all for his better aduantage, and this figure is much vsed by our English pleaders in the Star-chamber and Chancery, which they call to confesse and auoid, if it be in case of crime or iniury, and is a very good way. For when the matter is so plaine that it cannot be denied or trauerfed, it is good that it be iustified by confessall and auoidance. I call it the figure of *admittance*. As we once wrate to the reproofe of a Ladies faire but crueltie.

*I know your witte, I know your pleasant tongue,
Your some swete smiles, your some, but louely lowers:
A beautie to enamour olde and yong.
Those chaste desires, that noble minde of yours,
And that chiefe part whence all your honor springs,
A grace to entertaine the greatest kings.
All this I know: but sinne it is to see,
So faire partes spilt by too much crueltie.*

*Anachinosis,
or the
Impartener.*

*Paramologia,
or the
figure of Ad-
mittance.*

In many cases we are driuen for better perswasion to tell the cause that mooues vs to say thus or thus: or els when we would fortifie our allegations by rendring reasons to euery one, this assignation of cause the Greekes called *Etiologia*, which if we might without scorne of a new inuented terme call [*Tell cause*] it were right according to the Greeke originall: and I pray you why should we not? and with as good authoritie as the Greekes? Sir *Thomas Smith*, her Maiesties principall Secretary, and a man of great learning and grauitie, seeking to geue an English word to this Greeke word *αἰτία* called it Spitewed, or wedspite. Master Secretary *Wilson* geuing an English name to his arte of Logicke, called it *Witcraft*, me thinke I may be bolde with like liberty to call the figure *Etiologia* [*Tell cause*]. And this manner of speech is alwayes contemned, with these words, for, because, and such other confirmatiues. The Latines hauing no fitte name to geue it in one single word, gaue it no name at all, but by circumlocution. We also call him the reason-rendrer, and leaue the right English word [*Tel cause*] much better answering the Greeke originall. *Aristotle* was most excellent in vse of this figure, for he neuer propones any allegation, or makes any furmise, but he yeelds a reason or cause to fortifie and proue it, which geues it great credit. For example ye may take these verses, first pointing, than confirming by similitudes.

*When fortune shall haue spit out all her gall,
I trust good luck shall be to me allowde,
For I haue seene a shippe in hauen fall,
After the storme had broke both mast and shrowde.*

And this.

*Good is the thing that moues vs to desire,
That is to ioy the beauty we behold:
Els were we louers as in an endlesse fire,
Alwaies burning and euer chill a colde.*

And in these verses.

Accused though I be without desert,

*Sith none can proue belecue it not for true :
For neuer yet since first ye had my hart,
Entended I to false or be vnttrue.*

And in this Disticque.

*And for her beauties praise, no wight that with her
warres:* [the stars.

For where she comes she shewes her selfe like sun among

And in this other dittie of ours where the louer complains of his Ladies crueltie, rendring for euery surmise a reason, and by telling the cause, seeketh (as it were) to get credit, thus.

*Cruel you be who can say nay,
Since ye delight in others wo :
Unwise am I, ye may well say,
For that I haue, honourd you so.
But blamelesse I, who could not chuse,
To be enchanted by your eye :
But ye to blame, thus to refuse
My seruice, and to let me die.*

Sometimes our error is so manifest, or we be so hardly prest with our aduersaries, as we cannot deny the fault layd vnto our charge: in which case it is good pollicie to excuse it by some allowable pretext, as did one whom his mistresse burdened with somevnkinde speeches which he had past of her, thus.

*Dichologia,
or the
Figure of excuse.*

*I said it: but by lapse of lying tongue,
When furie and iust grieve my heart oppress :
I sayd it: as ye see, both fraile and young,
When your rigor had ranckled in my brest.
The cruell wound that smarted me so fore,
Pardon therefore (sweete sorrow) or at least
Beare with mine youth that neuer fell before,
Least your offence encrease my grieve the more.*

And againe in these,

*I spake amyffe I cannot it deny
But caused by your great discourtesie :
And if I said that which I now repent,
And said it not, but by misgouernment
Of youthfull yeres, your selfe that are so young*

*Pardon for once this error of my tongue,
And thinke amends can neuer come to late:
Loue may be curst, but loue can neuer hate.*

Speaking before of the figure [*Synecdoche*] wee called him [*Quicke conceit*] because he inured in a single word onely by way of intendment or large meaning, but such as was speedily discovered by euery quicke wit, as by the halfe to vnderstand the whole, and many other waies appearing by the examples. But by this figure [*Noema*] the obscurity of the sence lieth not in a single word. but in an entier speech, whereof we do not so easily conceiue the meaning, but as it were by coniecture, because it is wittie and subtile or darke, which makes me therefore call him in our vulgar the [*Close conceit*] as he that said by himselfe and his wife, I thanke God in fortie winters that we haue liued together, neuer any of our neighbours set vs at one, meaning that they neuer fell out in all that space, which had bene the directer speech and more apert, and yet by intendment amounts all to one, being neuerthelesse dissemblable and in effect contrary. *Pawlet* Lord Treasorer of England, and first Marques of Winchester, with the like subtile speech gaue a quippe to Sir *William Gyfford*, who had married the Marques sifter, and all her life time could neuer loue her nor like of her company, but when she was dead made the greatest moane for her in the world, and with teares and much lamentation vttered his grieve to the L. Treasorer, ô good brother quoth the Marques, I am right sory to see you now loue my sifter so well, meaning that he shewed his loue too late, and should haue done it while she was a liue.

A great counsellour somewhat forgetting his modestie, vsed these words: Gods lady I reckon my selfe as good a man as he you talke of, and yet I am not able to do so. Yea sir quoth the party, your L. is too good to be a man, I would ye were a Saint, meaning he would he were dead, for none are shrined for Saints before they be dead.

The Logician vseth a definition to expresse the truth or nature of euery thing by his true kinde and difference, as to say wisedome is a prudent and wittie foresight and consideration of humane or worldly actions with their euentes. This definition is Logicall. The Oratour vseth another maner of definition, thus: Is this wisedome? no it is a certaine subtill knauish craftie wit, it is no industrie as ye call it, but a certaine busie brainsicknesse, for industrie is a liuely and vnweried searck and occupation in honest things, egernesse is an appetite in base and small matters.

Orismus,
or the
Definer of
difference.

It serueth many times to great purpose to preuent our aduersaries arguments, and take vpon vs to know before what our iudge or aduersary or hearer thinketh, and that we will seeme to vtter it before it be spoken or alleaged by them, in respect of which boldnesse to enter so deeply into another mans conceit or conscience, and to be so priue of another mans mynde, gaue cause that this figure was called the [*presumptuous*] I will also call him the figure of *presupposall* or the *preuenter*, for by reason we suppose before what may be said, or perchaunce would be said by our aduersary, or any other, we do preuent them of their aduantage, and do catch the ball (as they are wont to say) before it come to the ground.

Procatalepsis,
or
the presumptu-
ous, otherwise
the figure of
Presupposall.

It is also very many times vsed for a good pollicie in pleading or perswasion to make wise as if we set but light of the matter, and that therefore we do passe it ouer slightly when in deede we do then intend most effectually and despightfully if it be inuectiue to remember it: it is also when we will not seeme to know a thing, and yet we know it well inough, and may be likened to the maner of women, who as the common saying is, will say nay and take it.

Paralepsis,
or the
Passager.

*I hold my peace and will not say for shame,
The much vntruth of that vnciuill dame:*

*For if I should her coullours kindly blaze,
It would so make the chaste eares amaze. &c.*

It is said by maner of a prouerbiall speach that he who findes himselfe well should not wagge, euen so the perswader finding a substantiall point in his matter to serue his purpose, should dwell vpon that point longer then vpon any other lesse assured, and vse all endeouour to maintaine that one, and as it were to make his chief abroad thereupon, for which cause I name him the figure of abroad, according to the Latine name: Some take it not but for a course of argument and therefore hardly may one giue any examples thereof.

Now as arte and good pollicy in perswasion bids vs to abide and not to stirre from the point of our most aduantage, but the same to enforce and tarry vpon with all possible argument, so doth discretion will vs sometimes to flit from one matter to another, as a thing meete to be forsaken, and another entred vpon, I call him therefore the *flitting* figure, or figure of *remoue*, like as the other before was called the figure of *abode*.

Euen so againe, as it is wisdome for a perswader to tarrie and make his abroad as long as he may conueniently without tediousnes to the hearer, vpon his chiefe proofes or points of the cause tending to his aduantage, and likewise to depart againe when time serues, and goe to a new matter seruing the purpose aswell. So is it requisite many times for him to talke farre from the principall matter, and as it were to range aside, to th'intent by such extraordinary meane to induce or inferre other matter, aswell or better seruing the principal purpose, and neuertheles in season to returne home where he first strayed out. This maner of speech is termed the figure of digression by the Latines, following the Greeke originall, we also call him the *straggler* by allusion to the souldier that marches out of his array, or by those that keepe no order in their marche, as the battailes well

ranged do : of this figure there need be geuen no example.

Occasion offers many times that our maker as an oratour, or perswader, or pleader should go roundly to worke, and by a quick and swift argument dispatch his perswasion, and as <sup>*Expeditio,*
or the
speedie dispatch.</sup> they are wont to say not to stand all day trifling to no purpose, but to rid it out of the way quickly. This is done by a manner of speech, both figuratiue and argumentatiue, when we do briefly fet downe all our best reasons seruing the purpose, and reiect all of them sauing one, which we accept to satisfie the cause : as he that in a litigious case for land would prooue it not the aduerfaries, but his clients.

*No man can say its his by heritage,
Nor by Legacie, or Testatours deuice :
Nor that it came by purchase or engage,
Nor from his Prince for any good seruice.
Then needs must it be his by very wrong.
Which he hath offred this poore plaintife so long.*

Though we might call this figure very well and properly the [*Paragon*] yet dare I not so to doe for feare of the Courtiers enuy, who will haue no man vse that terme but after a courtly manner, that is, in praying of horses, haukes, hounds, pearles, diamonds, rubies, emerodes, and other precious stones : specially of faire women whose excellencie is discouered by paragonizing or setting one to another, which moued the zealous Poet, speaking of the mayden Queene, to call her the paragon of Queenes. This considered, I will let our figure enioy his best beknownen name, and call him stil in all ordinarie cases the figure of comparifon : as when a man wil seeme to make things appeare good or bad, or better or worfe, or more or lesse excellent, either vpon spite or for pleasure, or any other good affection, then he sets the lesse by the greater, or the greater to the lesse, the equall to his equall, and by such confronting of them together, driues out the true ods that is betwixt them, and makes it better appeare,

as when we sang of our Soueraigne Lady thus, in the twentieth Partheniade.

*As falcon fares to buffards flight,
As egles eyes to owlates sight,
As fierce falker to coward kite,
As brightest noone to darkest night :
As summer sunne exceedeth farre,
The moone and euery other starre :
So farre my Princeesse praise doeth passe,
The famousst Queene that euer was.*

And in the eighteene Partheniade thus.

*Set rich rubie to red esmayle,
The rauens plume to peacocks tayle,
Lay me the larkes to lizards eyes,
The duskie cloude to azure skie,
Set shalowe brookes to surging seas,
An orient pearle to a white pease :*

&c. Concluding.

*There shall no lesse an ods be scene
In mine from euery other Queene.*

We are sometimes occasioned in our tale to report

Dialogismus,
or
the right rea-
soner.

some speech from another mans mouth, as what a king said to his priuy counsell or subiect, a captaine to his souldier, a souldiar to his captaine, a man to a woman, and contrariwise : in which report we must alwaies geue to euery person his fit and naturall, and that which best becommeth him. For that speech becommeth a king which doth not a carter, and a young man that doeth not an old : and so in euery sort and degree. *Virgil* speaking in the person of *Eneas*, *Turnus* and many other great Princes, and sometimes of meaner men, ye shall see what decencie euery of their speeches holdeth with the qualitie, degree and yeares of the speaker. To which examples I will for this time referre you.

So if by way of fiction we will seem to speake in another mans person, as if king *Henry* were aliue, and should say of the towne of *Bulleyn*, what we by warre to the hazard of our person hardly obtained, our young sonne

without any peril at all, for litle mony deliuered vp againe. Or if we should saie king *Edward* the thirde, vnderstanding how his successeur Queene *Marie* had lost the towne of Calays by negligence, should say: That which the sword wanne, the distaffe hath lost. This manner of speech is by the figure *Dialogismus*, or the right reasoner.

In waightie causes and for great purposes, wise persuaders vse graue and weighty speeches, specially in matter of aduise or counsell, for which purpose there is a maner of speech to alleage textes or authorities of wittie sentence, such as smatch morall doctrine and teach wisdom and good behauiour, by the Greeke originall we call him the *directour*, by the Latin he is called *sententia*: we may call him the *sage sayer*, thus.

Gnome,
or the
Director.

“ *Nature bids vs as a louing mother,*

“ *To loue our selues first and next to loue another.*

Sententia,
or the
Sage sayer.

“ *The Prince that couets all to know and see,*

“ *Had neede full milde and patient to bee.*

“ *Nothing stickes faster by vs as appeares,*

“ *Then that which we learne in our tender yeares.*

And that which our soueraigne Lady wate in defiance of fortune.

Neuer thinke you fortune can beare the fray,

Where vertues force, can cause her to obey.

Heede must be taken that such rules or sentences be choisly made and not often vsed least excesse breed lothfomnesse.

Arte and good pollicie moues vs many times to be earnest in our speech, and then we lay on such load and so go to it by heapes as if we would winne the game by multitude of words and speeches, not all of one but of diuers matter and sence, for which cause the Latines called it *Congeries* and we the *heaping figure*, as he that said

Sinathrismus.
or the
Heaping figure.

To muse in minde how faire, how wise, how good,

*How braue, how free, how courteous and how true,
My Lady is doth but inflame my blood.*

Or thus.

*I deeme, I dreame, I do, I tast, I touch,
Nothing at all but smells of perfit blisse.*

And thus by maister *Edward Diar*, vehement swift and passionatly.

*But if my faith my hope, my loue my true intent,
My libertie, my seruice vowed, my time and all be spent,
In vaine, &c.*

But if such earnest and hastie heaping vp of speeches be made by way of recapitulation, which commonly is in the end of euery long tale and Oration, because the speaker seemes to make a collection of all the former materiall points, to binde them as it were in a bundle and lay them forth to enforce the cause and renew the hearers memory, then ye may geue him more properly the name of the [*collectour*] or recapitulatour, and serueth to very great purpose as in an hymne written by vs to the Queenes Maiestie entitled (*Minerva*) wherein speaking of the mutabilitie of fortune in the case of all Princes generally. wee seemed to exempt her Maiestie of all such casualtie, by reason she was by her destinie and many diuine partes in her, ordained to a most long and constant prosperitie in this world, concluding with this recapitulation.

*But thou art free, but were thou not in deepe,
But were thou not, come of immortall seede:
Neuer yborne, and thy minde made to blisse,
Heauens mettall that euerlasting is:
Were not thy vert, and that thy vertues shall,
Be deemed diuine thy fauour face and all:
And that thy loze, ne name may neuer dye,
Nor thy slate turne, slayd by destinie:
Dread were least once thy noble hart may feele,
Some rufull turne, of her vnsteady wheele.*

Many times when we haue runne a long
Apostrophe,
 or
 the turne tale. race in our tale spoken to the hearers, we
 do sodainly flye out and either speake or

exclaime at some other person or thing, and therefore the Greekes call such figure (as we do) the turnway or turnetale, and breedeth by such exchange a certaine recreation to the hearers minds, as this vsed by a loue to his vnkind mistresse.

*And as for you (faire one) say now by prooffe ye finde,
That rigour and ingratitude soone kill a gentle minde.*

And as we in our triumphals, speaking long to the Queenes Maiestie, vpon the sodaine we burst out in an exclamation to *Phebus*, seeming to draw in a new matter, thus.

*But O Phebus,
All glistering in thy gorgeous gowne,
Wouldst thou vntsafe to glide a doorne:
And dwell with vs,*

*But for a day,
I could tell thee close in thine care,
A tale that thou hadst leuer heare
I dare well say:*

*Then ere thou vert,
To kisse that vnkind runnecarway,
Who was transformed to boughs of bay:
For her curst hert. &c.*

And so returned againe to the first matter.

The matter and occasion leadeth vs *Hypotiposis*,
many times to describe and set soorth ^{or} the counterfait
many things, in such sort as it should ap- representation.
peare they were truly before our eyes though they
were not present, which to do it requireth cunning:
for nothing can be kindly counterfait or represented in
his absence, but by great discretion in the doer. And
if the things we couet to describe be not naturall or
not veritable, than yet the same axeth more cunning
to do it, because to faine a thing that neuer was nor is
like to be, proceedeth on a greater wit and sharper in-
uention than to describe things that be true.

And these be things that a poet or *Prosopographia*.
maker is woont to describe sometimes as

true or naturall, and sometimes to faine as artificall and not true. *viz.* The visage, speech and countenance of any person absent or dead: and this kinde of representation is called the Counterfait countenance: as *Homer* doth in his *Iliades*. diuerse personages: namely *Achilles* and *Therjites*, according to the truth and not by fiction. And as our poet *Chaucer* doth in his *Canterbury tales* set forth the Sumner. Pardoner. Manciple. and the rest of the pilgrims, most naturally and pleasantly.

Prosopopeia.
or the
Counterfait in
personation.

But if ye wil faine any person with such features, qualities and conditions, or if ye wil attribute any humane quality, as reason or speech to dombe creatures or other insensible things, and do study (as one may say) to giue them a humane person, it is not *Prosopographia*, but *Prosopopeia*, because it is by way of fiction, and no prettier examples can be giuen to you thereof, than in the *Romant* of the rose translated out of French by *Chaucer*, describing the persons of auarice, enuie, old age, and many others, whereby much moralitie is taught.

So if we describe the time or season of the yeare, as winter. summer, haruest, day, midnight, noone, euening, or such like: we call such description the counterfait time. *Cronographia* examples are euery where to be found.

Topographia,
or the
Counterfait
place.

And if this description be of any true place, citie, castell, hill, valley or sea, and such like: we call it the counterfait place *Topographia*, or if ye fayne places vntrue, as heauen, hell, paradise, the house of fame, the pallace of the sunne, the denne of sheep, and such like which ye shall see in Poetes: so did *Chaucer* very well describe the country of *Saluces* in *Italie*, which ye may see, in his report of the Lady *Gryffill*.

Pragmatographia.
or the
Counterfait
action.

But if such description be made to represent the handling of any busines with the circumstances belonging therevnto as the manner of a battell, a feast, a marriage, a buriall or

any other matter that lieth in feat and aſtiuitie: we call it then the counterſait aſtion [*Pragmatographia.*]

In this figure the Lord *Nicholas Vaux* a noble gentleman, and much delighted in vulgar making, and a man otherwiſe of no great learning but hauing herein a maruelous ſacillitie, made a dittie repreſenting the battayle and aſſault of *Cupide*, ſo excellently well, as for the gallant and propre application of his fiction in euery part, I cannot chooſe but ſet downe the greateſt part of his dittie, for in truth it can not be amended.

*When Cupid ſealed firſt the fort,
Wherein my hart lay wounded fore
The battrie was of ſuch a fort,
That I muſt yeeld or die therefore.
There ſaw I loue vpon the wall,
How he his banner did diſplay,
Alarme alarme he gan to call,
And bad his ſouldiers keepe aray.*

*The armes the which that Cupid bare,
Were pearced harts with teares beſprent:
In ſiluer and fable to declare
The ſtedfaſt loue he alwaies meant.*

*There might you ſee his band all drest
In colours like to white and blacke,
With powder and with pellets preſt,
To bring them forth to ſpoile and ſacke,
Good will the maiſter of the ſhot,
Stood in the Rampire braue and proude,
For expence of powder he ſpared not,
Affault affault to crie aloude.*

*There might you heare the Canons rore,
Eche peece diſcharging a louers looke, &c.*

As well to a good maker and Poet as to an excellent perſwader in proſe, the figure of *Similitude* is very neceſſary, by which we not onely bewtiſie our tale, but alſo very much inforce and inlarge it. I ſay inforce becauſe no one thing more preuaileth with all ordinary iudgements than perſwaſion by *ſimilitude*. Now becauſe there

Omiſis.
or
Reſemblance.

are fundry sorts of them, which also do worke after diuerse fashions in the hearers conceits. I will set them all foorth by a triple diuision, exempting the generall *Similitude* as their common Aunceflour, and I will cal him by the name of *Refemblance* without any addition, from which I deriue three other sorts: and I giue euery one his particular name, as *Refemblance* by Pourtrait or Imagery, which the Greeks call *Icon*, *Refemblance* morall or misticall, which they call *Parabela*, and *Refemblance* by example, which they call *Paradigma*, and first we will speake of the generall *refemblance*, or bare *similitude*, which may be thus spoken.

*But as the watric shewres delay the raging wind, [mind.
So doeth good hope cleane put away dispaire out of my*

And in this other likening the forlorne louer to a striken deere.

*Then as the striken deere, withdrawes himselfe alone,
So do I seeke some secret place, where I may make my mone.*

And in this of ours where we liken glory to a shadow.

*As the shadow (his nature beyng such,)
Followeth the body, whether it will or no,
So doeth glory, refuse it nere so much,
Wait on vertue, be it in weale or woe.
And euen as the shadow in his kind,
What time it beares the carkas company,
Goth oft before, and often comes behind:
So doth renowne, that raiseth vs so hye,
Come to vs quicke, sometime not till we dye.
But the glory, that groweth not ouer fast,
Is euer great, and likeliest long to last.*

Againe in a ditty to a mistresse of ours, where we likened the cure of Loue to *Achilles* launce.

*The launce so bright, that made Telephus wound,
The same rusty, salued the sore againe,
So may my meede (Madame) of you redownd,
Whose rigour was first authour of my paine.*

The *Tuscan* poet vseth this *Refemblance*, inuring as well by *Diffimilitude* as *Similitude*, likening himselfe (by *Implication*) to the flie, and neither to the eagle nor

to the owle: very well Englished by Sir *Thomas Wiat* after his fashion, and by my selfe thus:

*There be some fowles of sight so proud and starke,
As can behold the sunne, and neuer shrinke,
Some so feeble, as they are faine to winke,
Or neuer come abroad till it be darke:
Others there be so simple, as they thinke,
Because it shines, to sport them in the fire,
And feele unware, the wrong of their desire,
Fluttring amidst the flame that doth them burne,
Of this last ranke (alas) am I aright,
For in my ladies looks to stand or turne
I haue no porter, ne find place to retire,
Where any darke may shade me from her sight
But to her beames so bright whilst I aspire,
I perish by the bane of my delight.*

Againe in these likening a wise man to the true louer.

*As true loue is content with his enioy,
And asketh no witnesse nor no record,
And as faint loue is euermore most coy,
To boast and brag his troth at euery word:
Euen so the wise withouten other meede:
Contents him with the guilt of his good deede.*

And in this resembling the learning of an euill man to the feedes sown in barren ground.

*As the good feedes sown in frutesfull soyle,
Bring forth foyson when barren doth them spoile:
So doth it fare when much good learning hits,
Vpon surewede willes and ill disposed wits.*

And in these likening the wise man to an idiot.

*A sage man said, many of those that come
To Athens schoole for wisdom, ere they went
They first seem'd wise, then louers of wisdom,
Then Orators, then idiots, which is meant
That in wisdom all such as profite most,
Are least furlie, and little apt to boast.*

Againe, for a louer, whose credit vpon some report had bene shaken, he prayeth better opinion by similitude.

After ill crop the soyle must oft be sown,

*And fro shipwracke we sayle to seas againe.
Then God forbid whose fault hath once bene knowen,
Should for euer a spotted weight remaine.*

And in this working by resemblance in a kinde of dissimilitude betweene a father and a master.

*It fares not by fathers as by masters it doeth fare,
For a foolish father may get a wise sonne,
But of a foolish master it haps very rare
Is breed a wise seruant where euer he woonne.*

And in these, likening the wise man to the Giant, the foole to the Dwarfie.

*Set the Giant deepe in a dale, the dwarfe vpon an hill,
Yet will the one be but a dwarfe, th'other a giant still.
So will the wise be great and high, euen in the lowest place:
The foole when he is most aloft, will seeme but lowe and base.*

Icon. But when we liken an humane person to
or
 Resemblance another in countenance, stature, speach
 by imagerie. or other qualitie, it is not called bare resemblance, but resemblance by imagerie or pourtrait, alluding to the painters terme, who yeldeth to th'eye a visible representation of the thing he describes and painteth in his table. So we commending her Maiestie for wisdom bewtie and magnanimitie likened her to the Serpent, the Lion and the Angell, because by common vsurpation, nothing is wiser then the Serpent, more couragious then the Lion, more bewtifull then the Angell. These are our verses in the end of the seuenth *Partheniade*.

*Nature that seldome workes amisse,
In womans brest by passing art:
Hath lodged fast the Lyons hart,
And featly fixt with all good grace,
To Serpents head an Angels face.*

And this maner of resemblance is not onely performed by likening of liuely creatures one to another, but also of any other naturall thing, bearing a proportion of similitude, as to liken yealow to gold, white to siluer, red to the rose, soft to silke, hard to the stone and such like. Sir *Philip Sidney* in the description of

his mistresse excellently well handled this figure of resemblance by imagerie, as ye may see in his booke of *Archadia*: and ye may see the like, of our doings, in a *Partheniade* written of our soueraigne Lady, wherein we resemble euery part of her body to some naturall thing of excellent perfection in his kind, as of her forehead, browes and hair, thus.

*Of siluer was her forehead hye,
Her browes two bowes of hebenie,
Her tresses trust were to behold
Frisled and fine as fringe of gold.*

And of her lips.

*Two lips wrought out of rubie rocke,
Like leaues to shut and to vnlock.
As portall dore in Princes chamber:
A golden tongue in mouth of amber.*

And of her eyes.

*Her eyes God wot what stufte they are,
I durst be sworn each is a starre:
As cleere and bright as woont to guide
The Pylot in his winter tide.*

And of her breasts.

*Her bosome fleake as Paris plaster,
Helde vp two balles of alabaſter,
Eche byas was a little cherrie:
Or els I thinke a strawberie.*

And all the rest that followeth, which may suffice to exemplifie your figure of *Icon*, or resemblance by imagerie and portrait.

But whensoever by your similitude ye will seeme to teach any moralitie or good lesson by speeches mysticall and darke, or farre sette, vnder a fence metaphoricall applying one naturall thing to another, or one case to another, inferring by them a like consequence in other cases the Greekes call it *Parabola*, which terme is also by custome accepted of vs: neuertheless we may call him in English the resemblance mysticall: as when we liken a young childe to a greene twigge which ye may

Parabola.
or
Resemblance
mysticall

easlie bende enery way ye list: or an old man who laboureth with continuall infirmities, to a drie and drickie oke. Such parables were all the preachings of Christ in the Gospell, as those of the wise and foolish virgins, of the euil steward, of the labourers in the vineyard, and a number more. And they may be sayned aswell as true: as those fables of *Aescpe*, and other apologies inuented for doctrine sake by wise and graue men.

Finally, if in matter of counsell or perswasion we *Paradigma*, will seeme to liken one case to another, ^{or} such as passe ordinarily in mans affaires, ^{a resemblance} and doe compare the past with the present, ^{by example.} gathering probabilitie of like sucresse to come in the things wee haue presently in hand: or if ye will draw the iudgements precedent and authorized by antiquitie as veritable, and peraduenture sayned and imagined for some purpose, into similitude or dissimilitude with our present actions and affaires, it is called resemblance by example: as if one should say thus, *Alexander* the great in his expedition to Asia did thus, so did *Hanniball* comming into Spaine, so did *Cæsar* in Egypt, therefore all great Captains and Generals ought to doe it.

And consulting vpon the affaires of the low countreis at this day, peraduenture her Maiestie might be thus aduised: The Flemings are a people very vnthankfull and mutable, and rebellious against their Princes, for they did rise against *Maximilian* Archduke of Austria, who had married the daughter and heire of the house of Burgundie, and tooke him prisoner, till by the Emperour *Frederike* the third his father, he was set at libertie. They rebelled against *Charles* the fift Emperour, their naturall Prince. They haue falsed their faith to his sonne *Philip* king of Spaine their soueraign Lord: and since to Archduke *Matthias*, whom they elected for their gouernor, after to their adopted Lord Monsieur of Frannee, Duke of Aniou: I pray you what likelihood is there they should be

more assured to the Queene of England, than they haue bene to all these princes and gouernors, longer than their distresse continueth, and is to be relieued by her goodnes and puissance.

[PASSAGE SUBSTITUTED FOR THE ABOVE, IN SOME COPIES.

And thus againe, It hath bene alwayes vsuall among great and magnanimous princes in all ages, not only to repulse any iniury and inuasion from their owne realmes and dominions, but also with a charitable and Princely compassion to defend their good neighbors Princes and Potentats, from all oppression of tyrants and vsurpers. So did the Romaines by their armes restore many Kings of Asia and Affricke expulsed out of their kingdoms. So did K. *Edward* 1. reestablish *Baliol* rightfull owner of the crowne of Scotland against *Robert le brus* no lawfull King. So did king *Edward* the third aide *Dampster* king of Spaine against *Henry* bastard and vsurper. So haue many English Princes holpen with their forces the poore Dukes of Britaine their ancient friends and allies, against the outrages of the French kings: and why may not the Queene our foueraine Lady with like honor and godly zeale yeld protection to the people of the Low countries, her neereft neighbours to rescue them a free people from the Spanish seruitude.]

And as this resemblance is of one mans action to another, so may it be made by examples of brute beastes, aptly corresponding in qualitie or euent, as one that wrote certaine pretty verses of the Emperor *Maximinus*, to warne him that he should not glory too much in his owne strength, for so he did in very deede, and would take any common fouldier to taske at wrastring, or weapon, or in any other actiuitie and feates of armes, which was by the wiser sort millicked, these were the verses.

*The Elephant is strong, yet death doeth it subdue,
The bull is strong, yet cannot death eschue.*

*The Lion strong, and slaine for ali his strength :
 The Tygar strong, yet kilde is at the length.
 Dread thou many, that dreatest not any one,
 Many can kill, that cannot kill alone.*

And so it fell out, for *Maximinus* was slaine in a mutinie of his souldiers, taking no warning by these examples written for his admonition.

*CHAP. XX.

The last and principall figure of our poetick Ornament.

Exargasia,
 or
The Gorgious.



Or the glorious lustre it setteth vpon our speech and language, the Greeks call it (*Exargasia*) the Latine (*Expolitio*) a terme transferred from these polishers of marble or porphirite, who after it is rough hewen and reduced to that fashion they will, set vpon it a goodly glasse, so smoth and cleere, as ye may see your face in it, or otherwise as it fareth by the bare and naked body, which being attired in rich and gorgious apparell, seemeth to the common vsage of th'eye much more comely and bewtifull then the naturall. So doth this figure (which therefore I call the *Gorgious*) polish our speech and as it were attire it with copious and pleasant amplifications and much varietie of sentences, all running vpon one point and one intent: so as I doubt whether I may terme it a figure, or rather a masse of many figuratiue speeches, applied to the bewtifying of our tale or argument. In a worke of ours intituled *Philocalia* we haue strained to shew the vse and application of this figure and al others mentioned in this booke, to which we referre you. I finde none example [in English meetre] that euer I could see, so well maintayning this figure in English meetre as that ditty of her Maiesties ownemaking passing sweete and harmonickall, which figure beyng as his very originall name purporteth the most bewtifull [and gorgious] of all others, it asketh in reason

* There is a slight variation, just here, in the text between copies: what is probably the later form—found in copies with the *substituting* passage of the previous page—is inserted between [] on this and the next pages.

to be referued for a last complement, and desciphred by the arte of a ladies penne, her selfe beyng the most gorgious and bewtifull, or rather bewtie of Queenes: and this was th'actiō [the occasion], our foueraigne Lady perceiuing how by the Sc. Q. residence within this Realme at so great libertie and ease, as were skarce worthy of [meete for] so great and dangerous a prysoner, bred secret factiōs among her people, and made many of her [the] nobilitie incline to fauour her partie: many [some] of them desirous of innouation in the state: some of them [others] aspiring to greater fortunes by her libertie and life. The Queene our foueraigne Lady to declare that she was nothing ignorant in [of] those secret fauours [practizes], though she had long with great wisdom and pacience dissembled it, writeth this ditty most sweet and sententious, not hiding from all such aspiring minds the daunger of their ambition and disloyaltie, which afterward fell out most truly by th'exemplary chastisement of fundry persons, who in fauour of the said Sc. Q. . derogating [declining] from her Maiestie, sought to interrupt the quiet of the Realme by many euill and vndutifull practizes. The ditty is as followeth.

*The doubt of future foes, exiles my present ioy,
And wit me warnes to shun such snares as threaten mine
annoy.*

*For falshood nowv doth flow, and subiect faith doth ebbe.
Which would not be, if reason rul'd or wisdom wend
the webbe.*

*But cloudes of tois vntried, do cloake aspiring mindes,
Which turne to raigne of late repent, by course of changed
windes.*

*The toppe of hope supposed, the roote of ruth wil be,
And frutelesse all their graffed guiles, as shortly ye shall see.
Then dazeld eyes with pride, which great ambition blinds,
Shalbe vnseeld by worthy wights, whose foresight fals-
hood finds,*

*The daughter of debate, that eke discord doth forre
Shal reap no gaine where formor rule hath taught stil
peace to growe.*

*No forreine bannisht wright shall ancre in this port,
Our realme it brookes no strangers force, let them elswhere
resort.*

*Our rusty sword with rest, shall first his edge employ,
To polle their toppes that seeke such change and gape for ioy.*

In a worke of ours entituled [*Philo Calia*] where we entreat of the loues betwene prince *Philo* and Lady *Calia*, in their mutual letters, messages, and speeches: we haue strained our muse to shew the vse and application of this figure, and of all others.

CHAP. XXI.

*Of the vices or deformities in speech and writing
principally noted by auncient Poets.*



THath bene said before how by ignorance of the maker a good figure may become a vice, and by his good discretion, a vicious speech go for a vertue in the Poeticall science. This saying is to be explained and qualified, for some maner of speeches are alwayes intollerable and such as cannot be vsed with any decencie, but are euer vndecent namely barbarousnesse, incongruitie, ill disposition, fond affectation, rusticitie, and all extreme darknesse, such as it is not possible for a man to vnderstand the matter without an interpretour, all which partes are generally to be banished out of euery language, vnlesse it may appeare that the maker or Poet do it for the nonce, as it was reported by the Philosopher *Heraclitus* that he wrote in obscure and darke termes of purpose not to be vnderstood, whence he merited the nickname *Scotinus*, otherwise I see not but the rest of the common faultes may be borne with sometimes, or passe without any great reprooffe, not being vsed ouermuch or out of season as I said before: so as euery surplusage or preposterous placing or vndue iteration or darke word, or doubtfull speech are not so narrowly to be looked vpon in a large poeme, nor specially in the pretie Poesies and deuises of Ladies, and Gentlewomen makers,

whom we would not haue too precise Poets least with their shrewd wits, when they were married they might become a little too phantasticall wiues. neuerthelesse because we seem to promise an arte, which doth not iustly admit any wilful error in the teacher, and to th'end we may not be carped at by these methodicall men, that we haue omitted any necessary point in this businesse to be regarded, I will speake somewhat touching these viciosities of language particularly and briefly, leauing no little to the Grammarians for maintenaunce of the scholasticall warre, and altercations: we for our part condescending in this deuise of ours, to the appetite of Princely personages and other so tender and queisie complexions in Court, as are annoyed with nothing more then long lessons and ouermuch good order.

CHAP. XXII.

Some vices in speeches and writing are alwayes intollerable, some others now and then borne withall by licence of approved authors and custome.



He foulest vice in language is to speake barbarously: this terme grew by the great pride of the Greekes and Latines, when they were dominatours of the world reckoning no language so sweete and ciuill as their owne, and that all nations beside them selues were rude and vnciuill, which they called barbarous: So as when any straunge word not of the naturall Greeke or Latin was spoken, in the old time they called it *barbarisme*, or when any of their owne naturall wordes were sounded and pronounced with straunge and ill shapen accents, or written by wrong ortographie, as he that would say with vs in England, a doufand for a thousand, isterday, for yesterday, as commonly the Dutch and French people do, they said it was barbarously spoken. The Italian at this day by like arrogance calleth the Frenchman, Spaniard, Dutch, English, and all other breed behither their mountaines *Appennines*, *Tramontani*, as who would

Barbarismus.
or
Forrein speech.

say Barbarous. This terme being then so vsed by the auncient Greekes, there haue bene since, notwithstanding who haue digged for the Etimologie somewhat deeper, and many of them haue said that it was spoken by the rude and barking language of the Affricans now called Barbarians, who had great trafficke with the Greekes and Romanes, but that can not be so, for that part of Affricke hath but of late receiued the name of Barbarie, and some others rather thinke that of this word Barbarous, that countrey came to be called *Barbaria* and but few yeares in respect agone. Others among whom is *Ihan Leon* a Moore of *Granada*, will seeme to deriue *Barbaria*, from this word *Bar*, twise iterated thus *Barbar*, as much to say as flye, flye, which chaunced in a persecution of the Arabians by some feditious Mahometanes in the time of their Pontif. *Habdul mumi*, when they were had in the chase, and driuen out of Arabia Westward into the countreys of *Mauritania*, and during the pursuite cried one vpon another flye away, flye away, or passe passe, by which occasion they say, when the Arabians which were had in chase came to stay and settle them selues in that part of Affrica, they called it *Barbar*, as much to say, the region of their flight or pursuite. Thus much for the terme, though not greatly pertinent to the matter, yet not vnpleasant to knowe for them that delight in such niceties.

Your next intollerable vice is *solecismus* or incongruitie, as when we speake false English, that is by misusing the *Grammaticall* rules to be obserued in cases, genders, tenfes and such like, euery poore scholler knowes the fault, and cals it the breaking of *Priscians* head, for he was among the Latines a principall Grammarian.

Ye haue another intollerable ill maner of speach, which by the Greekes originall we may call *sonde affectation*, and is when we affect new words and phrases other then the good speakers and writers in any language, or then

custome hath allowed, and is the common fault of young schollers not halfe so well studied before they come from the Vniuersitie or schooles, and when they come to their friends, or happen to get some benefice or other promotion in their countreys, will seeme to coigne fine wordes out of the Latin, and to vse new fangled speaches, thereby to shew themselues among the ignorant the better learned.

Another of your intollerable vices is that which the Greekes call *Soraismus*, and we may call the [*mingle mangle*] as when we make our speech or writings of fundry languages vsing some Italian word, or French, or Spanish, or Dutch, or Scottish, not for the nonce or for any purpose (which were in part excusable) but ignorantly and affectedly as one that said vsing this French word *Roy*, to make ryme with another verse, thus.

O mightie Lord of loue, dame Venus onely ioy,

Whose Princely power exceeds eeh other heauenly roy.

The verse is good but the terme peeuishly affected.

Another of reasonable good facilitie in translation finding certaine of the hymnes of *Pyndarus* and of *Anacreons odes*, and other *Lirickes* among the Greekes very well translated by *Rounfard* the French Poet, and applied to the honour of a great Prince in France, comes our minion and translates the same out of French into English, and applieth them to the honour of a great noble man in England (wherein I commend his reuerent minde and duetie) but doth so impudently robbe the French Poet both of his prayse and also of his French termes, that I cannot so much pitie him as be angry with him for his iniurious dealing (our sayd maker not being ashamed to vse these French wordes *freddon*, *egar*, *superbous*, *filanding*, *celest*, *calabrois*, *thebanois* and a number of others, for English wordes, which haue no maner of conformitie with our language either by custome or deriuation which may make them tollerable. And in the end (which is worst of all) makes his vaunt that neuer English finger but

his hath toucht *Pindars* string which was neuerthelesse word by word as *Rounfard* had said before by like braggery. These be his verses.

And of an ingenious inuention, infanted with pleasant tranaille.

Whereas the French word is *enfante* as much to say borne as a child, in another verse he saith.

I will freddon in thine honour.

For I will shake or quiuer my fingers, for so in French is *freddon*, and in another verse.

*But if I will thus like pindar,
In many discourfes egar.*

This word *egar* is as much to say as to wander or stray out of the way, which in our English is not receiued, nor these wordes *calabrois*, *thebanois*, but rather *calabrian*, *theban* [*flandering sisters*] for the spinning sisters: this man deserues to be endited of pety *larceny* for pilfering other mens deuises from them and conuerting them to his owne vse, for in deede as I would wish euery inuentour which is the very Poet to receaue the prayfes of his inuention, so would I not haue a translation to be ashamed to be acknoven of his translation.

Another of your intollerable vices is ill disposition or placing of your words in a clause or sentence: as when you will place your *Cacosinthon* or the Misplacer. adiectiue after your substantiue, thus: *Mayde faire, vidouu riche, priest holy*, and such like, which though the Latines did admit, yet our English did not, as one that said ridiculously.

In my yeares lustie, many a decd doughtie did I.

All these remembred faults be intollerable and euer vndecent.

Now haue ye other vicious manners of speech, but *Cacemphaton*, sometimes and in some cases tollerable, or the figure of foule speech. and chiefly to the intent to mooue laughter, and to make sport, or to giue it some prety strange grace, and is when we vse such wordes as may be drawn to a foule and vnshamefast sence, as one that would say to a young woman, *I pray you let me iape with*

you, which in deed is no more but let me sport with you. Yea and though it were not altogether so directly spoken, the very founding of the word were not commendable, as he that in the presence of Ladies would use this common Prouerbe,

*Jape with me but hurt me not,
Bourde with me but shame me not.*

For it may be taken in another peruerfer sence by that sorte of persons that heare it, in whose cares no such matter ought almost to be called in memory, this vice is called by the Greekes *Cacemphaton*, we call it the vnshamefast or figure of foule speech, which our courtly maker shall in any case shunne, least of a Poet he become a Buffon or rayling companion, the Latines called him *Scurra*. There is also another sort of ill-fauoured speech subiect to this vice, but resting more in the manner of the ilshapen sound and accent, than for the matter it selfe, which may easily be auoyded in choosing your wordes those that bee of the pleasantest orthography, and not to rime too many like founding words together.

Ye haue another manner of composing your metre nothing commendable, specially if it be too much used, and is when our maker takes too much delight to fill his verse with wordes beginning all with a letter, as an English rimer that said :

*The deadly droppes of darke disdaine,
Do daily drench my due defartes.*

And as the Monke we spake of before, wrote a whole Poeme to the honor of *Carolus Caluus*, euery word in his verse beginning with C, thus :

Carmina clarifonæ Caluis cantate camenæ.

Many of our English makers use it too much, yet we confesse it doth not ill but pretily becomes the meetre, if ye passe not two or three words in one verse, and use it not very much, as he that said by way of *Epithete*.

The smoakie sighes : the trickling tears.

And such like, for such composition makes the meetre runne away smooother, and passeth from the lippes with more facilitie by iteration of a letter then by alteration, which alteration of a letter requires an exchange of ministry and office in the lippes, teeth or palate, and so doth not the iteration.

Histeron, pro-
teron.

or the
Preposterous. Your misplacing and preposterous placing is not all one in behauiour of language, for the misplacing is alwaies intollerable, but the preposterous is a pardonable fault, and many times giues a pretie grace vnto the speech. We call it by a common saying to *set the carte before the horse*, and it may be done, eyther by a single word or by a clause of speech: by a single word thus:

And if I not performe, God let me neuer thrive.

For performe not: and this vice is sometime tollerable inough, but if the word carry away notable sence, it is a vice not tollerable, as he that said praising a woman for her red lippes, thus:

A corral lippe of hew.

Which is no good speech, because either he should haue sayd no more but a corral lip, which had bene inough to declare the rednesse, or els he should haue said, a lip of corral hew, and not a corral lip of hew. Now if this disorder be in a whole clause which carieth more sentence then a word, it is then worst of all.

Acyron,
or the
Vncouth.

Ye haue another vicious speech which the Greekes call *Acyron*, we call it the *vncouth*, and is when we vse an obscure and darke word, and vtterly repugnant to that we would expresse, if it be not by vertue of the figures *metaphore*, *allegorie*, *abusion*, or such other laudable figure before remembred, as he that said by way of *Epithete*.

A dongeon deepe, a dampe as darke as hell.

Where it is euident that a dampe being but a breath or vapour, and not to be discerned by the eye, ought not to haue this *epithete* (*darke*,) no more then another that praying his mistresse for her bewtifull haire, said very improperly and with a vncouth terme.

*Her haire surmounts Apollos pride,
In it such beauty reignes.*

Whereas this word *reigne* is ill applied to the bewtie of a womans haire, and might better haue bene spoken of her whole person, in which bewtie, fauour and good grace, may perhaps in some sort be said to reign as our selues wrate, in a *Partheniade* praising her Maiesties countenance, thus :

*A cheare where loue and Maiestie do reign,
Both milde and sterne, &c.*

Because this word Maiestie is a word expressing a certaine Soueraigne dignitie, as well as a quallitie of countenance, and therefore may properly be said to *reigne*, and requires no meaner a word to set him forth by. So it is not of the bewtie that remains in a womans haire, or in her hand or in any other member : therfore when ye see all these improper or harde Epithets vsed, ye may put them in the number of [*uncouths*] as one that said, *the floods of graces* : I haue heard of *the floods of teares*, and *the floods of eloquence*, or of any thing that may resemble the nature of a water-course, and in that respect we say also, *the streames of teares*, and *the streames of utterance*, but not *the streames of graces*, or of *beautie*. Such manner of uncouth speech did the Tanner of Tamworth vse to king *Edward* the fourth, which Tanner hauing a great while mistaken him, and vsed very broad talke with him, at length perceiuing by his traine that it was the king, was afraide he should be punished for it, said thus with a certaine rude repentance.

I hope I shall be hanged to morrow.

For [*I feare me*] *I shall be hanged*, whereat the king laughed a good, not only to see the Tanners vaine feare, but also to heare his ill shapen terme, and gaue him for recompence of his good sport, the inheritance of Plumton parke, I am afraid the Poets of our time that speake more finely and correctedly will come too short of such a reward.

Also the Poet or makers speech becomes vicious

The vice of Surplusage. and vnpleasant by nothing more than by vsing too much surplusage: and this lieth not only in a word or two more than ordinary, but in whole claufes, and peraduenture large sentences impertinently spoken, or with more labour and curiositie than is requisite. The first surplusage the Greekes call *Pleonasmus*, I call him [*too full speech*] and is no great fault, as if one should say, *I heard it with mine eares, and saw it with mine eyes*, as if a man could heare with his heeles, or see with his nose. We our selues vsed this superfluous speech in a verse written of our mistresse, neuertheles, not much to be millicked, for euen a vice sometime being seasonably vsed, hath a pretie grace.

	<i>For euer may my true loue liue and</i>
<i>Pleonasmus,</i>	<i>neuer die</i>
or	
Too full speech	<i>And that mine eyes may see her crownde</i>
	<i>a Queene.</i>

As, if she liued euer. she could euer die, or that one might see her crowned without his eyes.

Another part of surplusage is called *Macrologia*, or *Macrologia*, long language, when we vse large claufes or sentences more than is requisite to the matter: it is also named by the Greeks *Perissologia*, as he that said, the Ambassadors after they had receiued this answere at the kings hands, they tooke their leaue and returned home into their countrey from whence they came.

So said another of our rimers, meaning to shew the great annoy and difficultie of those warres of Troy, caused for *Helenas* sake.

Nor Menelaus was vnwise,
Or troupe of Troians mad,
When he with them and they with him,
For her such combat had.

These claufes (*he with them and they with him*) are surplusage, and one of them very impertinent, because it could not otherwise be intended, but that *Menelaus*,

fighting with the Troians, the Troians must of necessitie fight with him.

Another point of surplufage lieth not so much in superfluitie of your words, as of your trauaile to describe the matter which yee take in hand, and that ye ouerlabour your selfe in your businesse. And therefore the Greekes call it *Periergia*, we call it ouerlabor, iumpe with the originall: or rather [*the curious*] for his ouermuch curiositie and studie to shew himselfe fine in a light matter, as one of our late makers who in the most of his things wrote very well, in this (to mine opinion) more curiously than needed, the matter being ripely considered: yet is his verse very good, and his meetre cleanly. His intent was to declare how vpon the tenth day of March he crossed the riuer of Thames, to walke in Saint *Georges* field, the matter was not great as ye may suppose.

Periergia,
or
Ouer labour, o-
therwise called
the curious.

*The tenth of March when Arics receiued
Dan Phœbus raies into his horned head,
And I my selfe by learned lore perceiued
That Ver approcht and frosty winter fled
I crost the Thames to take the cheerfull aire,
In open fields, the weather was so faire.*

First, the whole matter is not worth all this solemne circumstance to describe the tenth day of March, but if he had left at the two first verses, it had bene inough. But when he comes with two other verses to enlarge his description, it is not only more than needes, but also very ridiculous, for he makes wise, as if he had not bene a man learned in some of the mathematickes (by learned lore) that he could not haue told that the x. of March had fallen in the spring of the yeare: which euery carter, and also euery child knoweth without any learning. Then also, when he saith [*Ver approcht, and frosty winter fled*] though it were a surplufage (because one season must needes geue place to the other) yet doeth it well inough passe without blame

in the maker. These, and a hundred more of such faultie and impertinent speeches may yee finde amongst vs vulgar Poets, when we be carelesse of our doings.

It is no small fault in a maker to vse such wordes and termes as do diminish and abbase the matter he would seeme to set forth, by *Tapinosis,* impairing the dignitie, height vigour or *or the* maiestie of the cause he takes in hand, as one that *Abbaser.* would say king *Philip* shrewdly harmed the towne of *S. Quintaines*, when in deede he wanne it and put it to the sacke, and that king *Henry* the eight made spoiles in *Turwin*, when as in deede he did more then spoile it, for he caused it to be defaced and razed flat to the earth, and made it inhabitable. Therefore the historiographer that should by such wordes report of these two kings gestes in that behalfe, should greatly blemish the honour of their doings and almost speake vntruly and iniuriously by way of abbasement, as another of our bad rymers that very indecently said.

A misers mynde thou hast, thou hast a Princes pelfe.

A lewd terme to be giuen to a Princes treasure (*pelfe*) and was a little more manerly spoken by *Seriant Bendlowes*, when in a progresse time comming to salute the Queene in Huntingtonshire he said to her Cochman, stay thy cart good fellow, stay thy cart, that I may speake to the Queene, whereat her Maiestie laughed as she had bene tickled, and all the rest of the company although very graciously (as her manner is) she gaue him great thanks and her hand to kisse. These and such other base wordes do greatly disgrace the thing and the speaker or writer: the Greekes call it [*Tapinosis*] we the [*abbaser.*]

Emphiologia, Others there be that fall into the contrary *or* vice by vsing such bombasted wordes, as *Pompious* seeme altogether farced full of winde, being *speech.* a great deale to high and loftie for the matter, whereof ye may finde too many in all popular rymers.

Then haue ye one other vicious speach with which

we will finish this Chapter, and is when we speake or write doubtfully and that the fence may be taken two wayes, such ambiguous termes they call *Amphibologia*, we call it the *ambiguons*, or figure of fence incertaine, as if one should say *Thomas Tyler* saw *William Tyler* dronke, it is indifferent to thinke either th'one or th'other dronke. Thus said a gentleman in our vulgar pretily notwithstanding because he did it not ignorantly, but for the nonce.

Amphibologia
or the
Ambiguous.

*I sat by my Lady soundly sleeping,
My mistresse lay by me bitterly weeping.*

No man can tell by this, whether the mistresse or the man, slept or wept: these doubtfull speaches were vsed much in the old times by their false Prophets as appeareth by the Oracles of *Delphos* and of the *Sybilles* prophecies deuised by the religious persons of those dayes to abuse the superstitious people, and to encomber their busie braynes with vaine hope or vaine feare.

Lucianus the merry Greeke reciteth a great number of them, deuised by a coofening companion one *Alexander*, to get himselfe the name and reputation of the God *Æsculapius*, and in effect all our old Brittainish and Saxon prophesies be of the same sort, that turne them on which side ye will, the matter of them may be verified, neuerthelesse carryeth generally such force in the heades of fonde people, that by the comfort of those blind prophecies many insurrections and rebellions haue bene stirred vp in this Realme, as that of *Iacke Straw*, and *Iacke Cade* in *Richard* the seconds time, and in our time by a seditious fellow in Norffolke calling himselfe Captaine Ket and others in other places of the Realme lead altogether by certaine propheticall rymes, which might be confred two or three wayes as well as to that one whereunto the rebelles applied it, our maker shall therefore auoyde all such ambiguous speaches vnlesse it be when he doth it for the nonce and for some purpose.

CHAP. XXIII.

*What it is that generally makes our speech well pleasing
and commendable, and of that which the Latines
call Decorum.*



IN all things to vse decencie, is it onely that giueth euery thing his good grace and without which nothing in mans speech could seeme good or gracious, in so much as many times it makes a bewtifull figure fall into a deformitie, and on th'other side a vicious speech seeme pleasaunt and bewtifull: this decencie is therefore the line and leuell for al good makers to do their busines by. But herein resteth the difficultie, to know what this good grace is, and wherein it consisteth, for peraduenture it be easier to conceaue then to expresse, we wil therefore examine it to the bottome and say: that euery thing which pleaseth the mind or senses, and the mind by the senses as by means instrumentall, doth it for some amiable point or qualitie that is in it, which draweth them to a good liking and contentment with their proper obiects. But that cannot be if they discouer any illfaurednesse or disproportion to the partes apprehensiuē, as for example, when a sound is either too loude or too low or otherwise confuse, the eare is ill affected: so is th'eye if the coulour be sad or not liminous and recreatiue, or the shape of a membred body without his due measures and simmetry, and the like of euery other sense in his proper function. These excesses or defectes or confusions and disorders in the sensible obiects are deformities and vnseemely to the sense. In like sort the mynde for the things that be his mentall obiects hath his good graces and his bad, whereof th'one contents him wonderous well, th'other displeaseth him continually, no more nor no lesse then ye see the discordes of musicke do to a well tuned eare. The Greekes call this good grace of euery thing in his kinde, το πρεπον, the Latines [*decorum*] we in our vulgar call it by a

scholaſticall terme [*decencie*] our owne Saxon Engliſh terme is [*ſcemelyneſſe*] that is to ſay, for his good ſhape and vtter appearance well pleaſing the eye, we call it alſo [*comelyneſſe*] for the delight it bringeth comming towards vs, and to that purpoſe may be called [*pleaſant approche*] ſo as euery way ſeeking to expreſſe this *κατασκευα* of the Greekes and *decorum* of the Latines, we are faine in our vulgar tounge to borrow the terme which our eye onely for his noble prerogatiue ouer all the reſt of the ſences doth vſurpe, and to apply the ſame to all good, comely, pleaſant and honeſt things, euen to the ſpirituell obieſtes of the mynde, which ſtand no leſſe in the due proportion of reaſon and diſcourſe than any other materiall thing doth in his ſenſible bewtie, proportion and comelyneſſe.

Now becauſe his comelyneſſe reſteth in the good conformitie of many things and their fundry circumſtances, with reſpect one to another, ſo as there be found a iuſt correſpondencie betweene them by this or that relation, the Greekes call it *Analogie* or a conuenient proportion. This louely conformitie, or proportion, or conueniencie betweene the ſence and the ſenſible hath nature her ſelfe firſt moſt carefully obſerued in all her owne workes, then alſo by kinde graft it in the appetites of euery creature working by intelligence to couet and deſire: and in their actions to imitate and perſorme: and of man chiefly before any other creature aſwell in his ſpeeches as in euery other part of his behauiour. And this in generalitie and by an vſuall terme is that which the Latines call [*decorum*.] So albeit we before alleaged that all our figures be but tranſgreſſions of our dayly ſpeech, yet if they fall out decently to the good liking of the mynde or eare and to the bewtiſying of the matter or language, all is well, if indecently, and to the eares and myndes miſliking (be the figure of it ſelfe neuer ſo commendable) all is amiſſe, the election is the writers, the iudgement is the worlds, as theirs to whom the reading apperteineth. But ſince the actions of man with their circumſtances

be infinite, and the world likewise replenished with many iudgements, it may be a question who shal haue the determination of such controuerſie as may ariſe whether this or that action or ſpeech be decent or indecent: and verely it ſeemes to go all by diſcretion, not perchaunce of euery one, but by a learned and experienced diſcretion, for otherwiſe ſeemes the *decorum* to a weake and ignorant iudgement, then it doth to one of better knowledge and experience: which ſheweth that it reſteth in the diſcerning part of the minde, ſo as he who can make the beſt and moſt differences of things by reaſonable and wittie diſtinction is to be the fitteſt iudge or ſentencer of [*decencie*.] Such generally is the diſcreeteſt man, particularly in any art the moſt ſkilfull and diſcreeteſt, and in all other things for the more part thoſe that be of much obſeruatiſon and greateſt experience. The caſe then ſtanding that diſcretion muſt chiefly guide all thoſe buſineſſe, ſince there be ſundry ſortes of diſcretion all vnlike, euen as there be men of action or art, I ſee no way ſo fit to enable a man truly to eſtimate of [*decencie*] as example, by whoſe veritie we may deeme the differences of things and their proportions, and by particular diſcuſſions come at length to ſentence of it generally, and alſo in our behauiours the more eaſily to put it in execution. But by reaſon of the ſundry circumſtances, that mans affaires are as it were wrapt in, this [*decencie*] comes to be very much alterable and ſubieſt to varietie, in[ſo]much as our ſpeech asketh one maner of *decencie*, in reſpect of the perſon who ſpeakes: another of his to whom it is ſpoken: another of whom we ſpeake: another of what we ſpeake, and in what place and time and to what purpoſe. And as it is of ſpeech, ſo of al other our behauiours. We wil therefore ſet you down ſome few examples of euery circumſtance how it alters the *decencie* of ſpeech or action. And by theſe few ſhal ye be able to gather a number more to confirme and eſtabliſh your iudgement by a perfit diſcretion.

This *decencie*, ſo farſooth as apperteineth to the

consideration of our art, resteth in writing, speech and behaiour. But because writing is no more then the image or character of speech, they shall goe together in these our obseruations. And first wee wil fort you out diuers points, in which the wise and learned men of times past haue noted much decency or vndecencie, euery man according to his discretion, as it hath bene said afore : but wherein for the most part all discrete men doe generally agree, and varie not in opinion, whereof the examples I will geue you be worthie of remembrance : and though they brought with them no doctrine or institution at all, yet for the solace they may geue the readers, after such a rable of scholastical precepts which be tedious, these reports being of the nature historicall, they are to be embraced : but olde memories are very profitable to the mind, and serue as a glasse to looke vpon and behold the euent of time, and more exactly to skan the trueth of euery case that shall happen in the affaires of man, and many there be that haply doe not obserue euery particularitie in matters of decency or vndecencie : and yet when the case is tolde them by another man, they commonly geue the same sentence vpon it. But yet whofoeuer obserueth much, shalbe counted the wisest and discreetest man, and whofoeuer spends all his life in his owne vaine actions and conceits, and obserues no mans else, he shal in the end prooue but a simple man. In which respect it is alwaies said, one man of experience is wiser than tenne learned men, because of his long and studious obseruation and often triall.

And your decencies are of fundrie sorts, according to the many circumstances accompanying our writing, speech or behaiour, so as in the very sound or voice of him that speaketh, there is a decency that becometh, and an vndecencie that misbecommeth vs, which th'Emperor *Antonine* marked well in the Orator *Philifeus*, who spake before him with so small and shrill a voice as the Emperor was greatly annoyed therewith, and to make him shorten his tale, said, by

thy beard thou shouldst be a man, but by thy voice a woman.

Phauorinus the Philosopher was counted very wise and well learned, but a little too talkative and full of words: for the which *Timocrates* reprooved him in the hearing of one *Polemon*. That is no wonder quoth *Polemon*, for so be all women. And besides, *Phauorinus* being known for an Eunuke or gelded man, came by the same nippe to be noted as an effeminate and degenerate person.

And there is a measure to be used in a mans speech or tale, so as it be neither for shortnesse too darke, nor for length too tedious. Which made *Cleomenes* king of the Lacedemonians geue this vnpleasant answere to the Ambassadors of the Samiens, who had tolde him a long message from their Citie, and desired to know his pleasure in it. My maisters (saith he) the first part of your tale was so long, that I remember it not, which made that the second I vnderstoode not, and as for the third part I doe nothing well allow of. Great princes and graue counsellors who haue little spare leisure to hearken, would haue speeches used to them such as be short and sweete.

And if they be spoken by a man of account, or one who for his yeares, profession or dignitie should be thought wise and reuerend, his speeches and words should also be graue, pithie and sententious, which was well noted by king *Antiochus*, who likened *Hermogenes* the famous Orator of Greece, vnto these fowles in their moulting time, when their feathers be sick, and be so loose in the flesh that at any little rowse they can easilie shake them off: so saith he, can *Hermogenes* of all the men that euer I knew, as easilie deliuer from him his vaine and impertinent speeches and words.

And there is a decencie, that euery speech should be to the appetite and delight, or dignitie of the hearer and not for any respect arrogant or vndutifull, as was that of *Alexander* sent Embassadour from the *Athenians* to th'Emperour *Marcus*, this man seing th'emperour

not so attentive to his tale, as he would haue had him. said by way of interruption, *Cæsar* I pray thee giue me better eare, it seemeth thou knowest me not, nor from whom I came: the Emperour nothing well liking his bold malapert speech, said: thou art deceyued, for I heare thee and know well enough, that thou art that fine, foolish, curious, fawcie *Alexander* that tendest to nothing but to combe and cury thy haire, to pare thy nailes, to pick thy teeth, and to perfume thy selfe with sweet oyles, that no man may abide the sent of thee. Prowde speeches, and too much finesse and curiositie is not commendable in an Embassadour. And I haue known in my time such of them, as studied more vpon what apparell they should weare, and what countenances they should keepe at the times of their audience, then they did vpon th'effect of their errant or commission.

And there is decency in that euery man should talke of the things they haue best skill of, and not in that, their knowledge and learning serueth them not to do. as we are wont to say, he speaketh of Robin hood that neuer shot in his bow: there came a great Oratour before *Cleomenes* king of *Lacedemonia*, and vttered much matter to him touching fortitude and valiancie in the warres: the king laughed: why laughest thou quoth the learned man, since thou art a king thy selfe, and one whom fortitude best becommeth? why said *Cleomenes* would it not make any body laugh, to heare the swallow who feeds onely vpon flies, to boast of his great pray, and see the eagle stand by and say nothing? if thou wert a man of warre or euer hadst bene day of thy life, I would not laugh to here thee speake of valiancie, but neuer being so, and speaking before an old captaine I can not choose but laugh.

And some things and speeches are decent or indecent in respect of the time they be spoken or done in. As when a great clerk presented king *Antiochus* with a booke treating all of iustice, the king that time lying at the siege of a towne, who lookt vpon the title of the

booke, and cast it to him againe: saying, what a diuell tellest thou to me of iustice, now thou seest me vse force and do the best I can to bereeue mine enimie of his towne? euery thing hath his season which is called Oportunitie, and the vnfitnesse or vndecency of the time is called Importunitie.

Sometime the vndecen[c]y ariseth by the indignitie of the word in respect of the speaker himselfe, as whan a daughter of Fraunce and next heyre generall to the crowne (if the law *Salique* had not barred her) being set in a great chaufe by some harde words giuen her by another prince of the bloud, said in her anger, thou durst not haue said thus much to me if God had giuen me a paire of, etc. and told all out, meaning if God had made her a man and not a woman she had bene king of Fraunce. The word became not the greatnesse of her person, and much lesse her sex, whose chiefe vertue is shamesfastnesse, which the Latines call *Verecundia*, that is a naturall feare to be noted with any impudicitie: so as when they heare or see any thing tending that way they commonly blush, and is a part greatly praised in all women.

Yet will ye see in many cases how pleasant speeches and fauouring some skurrillity and vnshamesfastnes haue now and then a certaine decencie, and well become both the speaker to say, and the hearer to abide, but that is by reason of some other circumstance, as when the speaker himselfe is knowne to be a common iester or buffon, such as take vpon them to make princes merry, or when some occasion is giuen by the hearer to induce such a pleasaunt speech, and in many other cases whereof no generall rule can be giuen, but are best knowen by example: as when Sir *Andrew Flamock* king *Henry* the eights slanderbearer, a merry conceyted man and apt to skoffe, waiting one day at the kings heeles when he enterd the parke at Grenewich, the king blew his horne, *Flamock* hauing his belly full, and his tayle at commaundement, gaue out a rappe nothing faintly, that the king turned him about

and said how now firra? *Flamock* not well knowing how to excuse his vnmanerly act, if it please you Sir quoth he, your Maiesty blew one blast for the keeper and I another for his man. The king laughed hartily and tooke it nothing offensiue: for indeed as the case fell out it was not vndecently spoken by Sir *Andrew Flamock*, for it was the cleaneleiest excuse he could make, and a merry implicatiue in termes nothing odious, and therefore a sporting satisfaction to the kings mind, in a matter which without some such merry answere could not haue bene well taken. So was *Flamocks* acting most vncomely, but his speech excellently well becomming the occasion.

But at another time and in another like case, the same skurrillitie of *Flamock* was more offensiue, because it was more indecent. As when the king hauing *Flamock* with him in his barge, passing from Westminster to Greenwich to visite a fayre Lady whom the king loued and was lodged in the tower of the Parke: the king comming within sight of the tower, and being disposed to be merry, said, *Flamock* let vs rime: as well as I can said *Flamock* if it please your grace. The king began thus:

*Within this towre,
There lieth a flowre,
That hath my hart.*

Flamock for aunswer: *Within this hower, she will, etc.* with the rest in so vncleanly termes, as might not now become me by the rule of *Decorum* to vtter writing to so great a Maiestie, but the king tooke them in so euill part, as he bid *Flamock* auant varlet, and that he should no more be so neere vnto him. And wherein I would faine learne, lay this vndecencie? in the skurrill and filthy termes not meete for a kings eare? perchance so. For the king was a wise and graue man, and though he hated not a faire woman, yet liked he nothing well to heare speeches of ribaudrie: as they report of th'emperour *Octavian*: *Licet fuerit ipse incontinentissimus, fuit tamen incontinente fenerissimus vltor.* But the very

cause in deed was for that *Flamocks* reply answered not the kings expectation, for the kings rime commencing with a pleasant and amorous proposition: Sir *Andrew Flamock* to finish it not with loue but with lothsomnesse, by termes very rude and vnciuill, and seeing the king greatly fauour that Ladie for her much beauty by like or some other good partes, by his fastidious answer to make her seeme odious to him, it helde a great disproportion to the kings appetite, for nothing is so vnpleasant to a man, as to be encountred in his chiefe affection, and specially in his loues, and whom we honour we should also reuerence their appetites, or at the least beare with them (not being wicked and vtterly euill) and whatsoener they do affect, we do not as becommeth vs if we make it seeme to them horrible. This in mine opinion was the chiefe cause of the vndecencie and also of the kings offence. *Aristotle* the great philosopher knowing this very well, what time he put *Calistenes* to king *Alexander* the greats seruice gaue him this lesson. Sirra quoth he, ye go now from a scholler to be a courtier, see ye speake to the king your maister, either nothing at all, or else that which pleaseth him, which rule if *Calistenes* had followed and forborne to crosse the kings appetite in diuerse speeches, it had not cost him so deeply as afterward it did. A like matter of offence fell out betweene th'Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and an Embassadour of king *Henry* the eight, whom I could name but will not for the great opinion the world had of his wisdom and sufficiency in that behalfe, and all for misusing of a terme. The king in the matter of controuersie betwixt him and Ladie *Catherine* of *Castill* the Emperours awnt, found himselfe grieved that the Emperour should take her part and worke vnder hand with the Pope to hinder the diuorce: and gaue his Embassadour commission in good termes to open his griefes to the Emperour, and to expostulat with his Maiestie, for that he seemed to forget the kings great kindnesse and friendship before times vsed with th'Emperour, aswell

by disbursing for him fundry great summes of monie which were not all yet repayd: as also by furnishing him at his neede with store of men and munition to his warres, and now to be thus vsed he thought it a very euill requittall. The Embassadour for too much animositie and more then needed in the case, or perchance by ignorance of the proprietie of the Spanish tongue, told the Emperour among other words, that he was *Hombre el mas ingrato en el mundo*, the ingratest person in the world to vse his maister so. The Emperour tooke him suddainly with the word, and said: callest thou me *ingrato*? I tell thee learne better termes, or else I will teach them thee. Th'Embassadour excused it by his commission, and said: they were the king his maisters words, and not his owne. Nay quoth th'Emperour, thy maister durst not haue sent me these words, were it not for that broad ditch betweene him and me, meaning the sea, which is hard to passe with an army of reuenge. The Embassadour was commanded away and no more hard by the Emperour, til by some other means afterward the grief was either pacified or forgotten, and all this inconuenience grew by misuse of one word, which being otherwise spoken and in some sort qualified, had easily holpen all, and yet the Embassadour might sufficiently haue satisfied his commission and much better aduanced his purpose, as to haue said for this word [*ye are ingrate,*] ye haue not vsed such gratitude towards him as he hath deserued: so ye may see how a word spoken vndecently, not knowing the phrase or proprietie of a language, maketh a whole matter many times miscarrie. In which respect it is to be wished, that none Ambassadour speake his principall commandements but in his own language or in another as naturall to him as his owne, and so it is vsed in all places of the world sauing in England. The Princes and their commissioners fearing least otherwise they might vtter any thing to their disaduantage, or els to their disgrace: and I my selfe hauing seene the Courts of Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, and that of the Empire, with

many inferior Courts, could neuer perceiue that the most noble personages, though they knew very well how to speake many forraine languages, would at any times that they had bene spoken vnto, answere but in their owne, the Frenchman in French, the Spaniard in Spanish, the Italian in Italian, and the very Dutch Prince in the Dutch language: whether it were more for pride, or for feare of any lapse, I cannot tell. And *Henrie* Earle of Arundel being an old Courtier and a very prince'y man in all his actions, kept that rule alwaies. For on a time passing from England towards Italie by her maiesties licence, he was very honorably entertained at the Court of Brussels, by the Lady Duchesse of Parma, Regent there: and sitting at a banquet with her, where also was the Prince of Orange, with all the greatest Princes of the state, the Earle, though he could reasonably well speake French, would not speake one French word, but all English, whether he asked any question, or answered it, but all was done by Truchemen. In so much as the Prince of Orange maruelling at it, looked a side on that part where I stood a beholder of the feast, and sayd, I maruell your Noblemen of England doe not desire to be better languaged in forraine languages. This word was by and by reported to the Earle. Quoth the Earle againe, tell my Lord the Prince, that I loue to speake in that language, in which I can best vtter my minde and not mistake.

Another Ambassadour vsed the like ouersight by ouerweening himselfe that he could naturally speake the French tongue, whereas in troth he was not skilfull in their termes. This Ambassadour being a Bohemian, sent from the Emperour to the French Court, where after his first audience, he was highly feasted and banqueted. On a time, among other, a great Princeesse sitting at the table, by way of talke asked the Ambassadour whether the Empreesse his mistresse when she went a hunting, or otherwise trauailed abroad for her folace, did ride a horsback or goe in her coach. To which the Ambassadour answered vnwares and

not knowing the French terme, *Par ma foy elle cheu-
auche fort bien, et si en prend grand plaisir.* She rides
(saith he) very well, and takes great pleasure in it.
There was good smiling one vpon another of the
Ladies and Lords, the Ambassador wist not whereat,
but laughed himselfe for companie. This word *Cheu-
aucher* in the French tongue hath a reprobate sence,
specially being spoken of a womans riding.

And as rude and vnciuill speaches carry a marueilous
great indecencie, so doe sometimes those that be ouer-
much affected and nice : or that doe fauour of ignor-
ance or adulation, and be in the eare of graue and wise
persons no lesse offensiue than the other : as when a
sutor in Rome came to *Tiberius* the Emperor and said,
I would open my case to your Maiestie, if it were not
to trouble your sacred businesse, *sacras vestras occupa-
tiones* as the Historiographer reporteth. What meanest
thou by that terme quoth the Emperor, say *laboriosus*
I pray thee, and so thou maist truely say, and bid him
leauē off such affected flattering termes.

The like vndecencie vsed a Herald at armes sent by
Charles the fifth Emperor, to *Fraunces* the first French
king, bringing him a message of defiance, and thinking
to qualifie the bitternesse of his message with words
pompous and magnificent for the kings honor, vsed
much this terme (sacred Maiestie) which was not vsually
geuen to the French king, but to say for the most part
[*Sire*]. The French king neither liking of his errant,
nor yet of his pompous speech, said somewhat sharply,
I pray thee good fellow clawe me not where I itch not
with thy sacred maiestie, but goe to thy businesse, and
tell thine errand in such termes as are decent betwixt
enemies, for thy master is not my frend, and turned
him to a Prince of the bloud who stood by, saying,
me thinks this fellow speakes like Bishop *Nicholas*, for
on Saint *Nicholas* night commonly the Scholars of the
Countrey make them a Bishop, who like a foolish boy,
goeth about blessing and preaching with so childish
termes, as maketh the people laugh at his foolish
counterfaite speeches.

And yet in speaking or writing of a Princes affaires and fortunes there is a certaine *Decorum*, that we may not vse the same termes in their busines. as we might very wel doe in a meaner persons, the case being all one. such reuerence is due to their estates. As for example, if an Historiographer shal write of an Emperour or King, how such a day hee ioyned battel with his enimie, and being ouer-laide ranne out of the felde, and tooke his heeles, or put spurre to his horse and fled as fast as hee could: the termes be not decent, but of a meane souldier or captaine, it were not vndecently spoken. And as one, who translating certaine bookes of *Virgils Æneidos* into English meetre, said that *Æneas* was fayne to trudge out of Troy: which terme became better to be spoken of a beggar, or of a rogue, or a lackey: for so wee vse to say to such maner of people, be trudging hence.

Another Englishing this word of *Virgill* [*fato profugus*] called *Æneas* [*by fate a fugitive*] which was vndecently spoken, and not to the Authours intent in the same word: for whom he studied by all means to auance aboue all other men of the world for vertue and magnanimitie, he meant not to make him a fugitive. But by occasion of his great distresses, and of the hardnesse of his destinies, he would haue it appeare that *Æneas* was enforced to flie out of Troy, and for many yeeres to be a romer and a wandrer about the world both by land and sea [*fato profugus*] and neuer to find any resting place till he came into *Italy*, so as ye may euidently perceiue in this terme [*fugitive*] a notable indignity offred to that princely person, and by th'other word (a wanderer) none indignitie at all, but rather a terme of much loue and commiseration. The same translatour when he came to these wordes: *Insignem pietate virum, tot volvere casus tot adire labores compulit*. Hee turned it thus, what moued *Iuno* to tugge so great a captaine as *Æneas*, which word tugge spoken in this case is so vndecent as none other coule haue bene deuised, and tooke his first originall from

the cart, because it signifieth the pull or draught of the oxen or horses, and therefore the leathers that beare the chiefe stresse of the draught, the cartars call them tugges, and so wee vse to say that shrewd boyes tuggle each other by the eares, for pull.

Another of our vulgar makers, spake as illfaringly in this verse written to the dispraise of a rich man and couetous. Thou hast a misers minde (thou hast a princes pelfe) a lewde terme to be spoken of a princes treasure, which in no respect nor for any cause is to be called pelfe, though it were neuer so meane, for pelfe is properly the scrappes or shreds of taylors and skinners, which are accompted of so vile price as they be commonly cast out of dores, or otherwise bestowed vpon base purposes: and carrieth not the like reason or decencie, as when we say in reproch of a niggard or vserer, or worldly couetous man, that he setteth more by a little pelfe of the world, than by his credit or health, or conscience. For in comparison of these treasours, all the gold or siluer in the world may by a skornefull terme be called pelfe, and so ye see that the reason of the decencie holdeth not alike in both cases. Now let vs passe from these examples, to treat of those that concerne the comelineffe and decencie of mans behauiour.

And some speech may be whan it is spoken very vndecent, and yet the same hauing afterward somewhat added to it may become prety and decent, as was the flowte worde vsed by a captaine in Fraunce, who sitting at the lower end of the Duke of *Guyfès* table among many, the day after there had bene a great battaile foughten, the Duke finding that this captaine was not seene that day to do any thing in the field, taxed him priuily thus in al the hearings. Where were you Sir the day of the battaile, for I saw ye not? the captaine answered promptly: where ye durst not haue bene: and the Duke began to kindle with the worde, which the Gentleman perceiuing, said speedily: I was that day among the carriages, where your excellencie would not

for a thousand crownes haue bene seene. Thus from vndecent it came by a wittie reformation to be made decent againe.

The like hapned on a time at the Duke of North-umberlandes bourd, where merry *John Heywood* was allowed to sit at the tables end. The Duke had a very noble and honorable mynde alwayes to pay his debts well, and when he lacked money, would not flick to sell the greatest part of his plate: so had he done few dayes before. *Heywood* being loth to call for his drinke so oft as he was dry, turned his eye toward the cupbord and sayd I finde great misse of your graces standing cups: the Duke thinking he had spoken it of some knowledge that his plate was lately sold, said somewhat sharpely, why Sir will not those cuppes serue as good a man as your selfe. *Heywood* readily replied. Yes if it please your grace. but I would haue one of them stand still at myne elbow full of drinke that I might not be driuen to trouble your men so often to call for it. This pleafant and speedy reuers of the former wordes holpe all the matter againe, whereupon the Duke became very pleasaunt and dranke a bolle of wine to *Heywood*, and bid a cup should alwayes be standing by him.

It were to busie a peece of worke for me to tell you of all the parts of decencie and indecency which haue bene obserued in the speeches of man and in his writings, and this that I tell you is rather to solace your eares with pretie conceits after a sort of long scholasticall preceptes which may happen haue doubled them, rather then for any other purpose of institution or doctrine, which to any Courtier of experience, is not necessarie in this behalfe. And as they appeare by the former examples to rest in our speech and writing: so do the same by like proportion consist in the whole behaiour of man, and that which he doth well and commendably is euer decent, and the contrary vndecent, not in euery mans iudgement alwayes one, but after their feuerall discretion and by circumstance diuerfly, vs by the next Chapter shalbe shewed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of decencie in behauiour which also belongs to the consideration of the Poet or maker.



And there is a decency to be obserued in euery mans action and behauiour aswell as in his speach and writing which some peraduenture would thinke impertinent to be treated of in this booke, where we do but informe the commendable fashions of language and stile: but that is otherwise, for the good maker or poet who is in decent speach and good termes to describe all things and with prayse or dispraise to report euery mans behauiour, ought to know the comelineffe of an action aswell as of a word and thereby to direct himselfe both in praise and perswasion or any other point that perteines to the Oratours arte. Wherefore some examples we will set downe of this maner of decency in behauiour leauing you for the rest to our booke which we haue written *de Decoro*, where ye shall see both partes handled more exactly. And this decencie of mans behauiour aswell as of his speach must also be deemed by discretion, in which regard the thing that may well become one man to do may not become another, and that which is seemely to be done in this place is not so seemely in that, and at such a time decent, but at another time vndecent, and in such a case and for such a purpose, and to this and that end and by this and that euent, perusing all the circumstances with like consideration. Therefore we say that it might become king *Alexander* to giue a hundreth talentes to *Anaxagoras* the Philosopher, but not for a beggerly Philosopher to accept so great a gift, for such a Prince could not be impouerished by that expence, but the Philosopher was by it excessiuely to be enriched, so was the kings action proportionable to his estate and therefore decent, the Philosophers, disproportionable both to his profession and calling and therefore indecent.

And yet if we shall examine the same point with a clearer discretion, it may be said that whatsoever it might become king *Alexander* of his regal largesse to bestow vpon a poore Philosopher vnasked, that might aswell become the Philosopher to receiue at his hands without refusal, and had otherwise bene some empeachment of the kings abilitie or wisedome, which had not bene decent in the Philosop[h]er, nor the immoderatnesse of the kinges gift in respect of the Philosophers meane estate made his acceptance the lesse decent, since Princes liberalities are not measured by merite nor by other mens estimations, but by their owne appetits and according to their greatnesse. So said king *Alexander* very like himselfe to one *Perillus* to whom he had geuen a very great gift, which he made curtesy to accept, saying it was too much for such a mean person, what quoth the king if it be too much for thy selfe, hast thou neuer a friend or kinsman that may fare the better by it? But peradventure if any such immoderat gift had bene craued by the Philosopher and not voluntarily offred by the king it had bene vndecent to haue taken it. Euen so if one that standeth vpon his merite, and spares to craue the Princes liberalitie in that which is moderate and fit for him, doth as vndecently. For men should not expect till the Prince remembred it of himselfe and began as it were the gratification, but ought to be put in remembrance by humble sollicitations, and that is duetifull and decent, which made king *Henry* th'eight her Maiesties most noble father, and for liberality nothing inferiour to king *Alexander* the great, aunswere one of his priuie chamber, who prayd him to be good and gracious to a certaine old Knight being his seruant, for that he was but an ill begger, if he be ashamed to begge we wil thinke scorne to giue. And yet peradventure in both these cases, the vndecencie for too much crauing or sparing to craue, might be easily holpen by a decent magnificence in the Prince, as *Amazis* king of *Ægypt* very honorably considered, who asking one day for one

Diopithus a noble man of his Court, what was become of him for that he had not fene him wait of long time. one about the king told him that he heard fay he was sicke and of some conceit he had taken that his Maiestie had but slenderly looked to him, vsing many others very bountifully. I beshrew his fooles head quoth the king, why had he not sued vnto vs and made vs priue of his want, then added, but in truth we are most to blame our selues, who by a mindeful beneficence without fute should haue supplied his bashfulnesse, and forthwith commaunded a great reward in money and pension to be sent vnto him, but it hapned that when the kings messengers entred the chamber of *Diopithus*, he had newly giuen vp the ghost: the messengers forrowed the case, and *Diopithus* friends fate by and wept, not so much for *Diopithus* death, as for pitie that he ouerliued not the comming of the kings reward. Therupon it came euer after to be vsed for a prouerbe that when any good turne commeth too late to be vsed, to cal it *Diopithus* reward.

In Italy and Fraunce I haue knowen it vsed for common pollicie, the Princes to differre the bestowing of their great liberalities as Cardinalships and other high dignities and offices of gayne, till the parties whom they should seeme to gratifie be so old or so sicke as it is not likely they should long enioy them.

In the time of *Charles* the ninth French king, I being at the Spaw waters, there lay a Marshall of Fraunce called *Monsieur de Sipier*, to vse those waters for his health, but when the Phisitions had all giuen him vp, and that there was no hope of life in him, came from the king to him a letters patents of fix thousand crownes yearely pension during his life with many comfortable wordes: the man was not so much past remembraunce, but he could say to the messenger *trop tard, trop tard*, it should haue come before, for in deede it had bene promised long and came not till now that he could not fare the better by it.

And it became king *Antiochus*, better to bestow the faire Lady *Stratonica* his wife vpon his sonne *Demetrius* who lay sicke for her loue and would else haue perished, as the Physicians cunningly discouered by the beating of his pulse, then it could become *Demetrius* to be inamored with his fathers wife, or to enioy her of his giift, because the fathers act was led by discretion and of a fatherly compassion, not grutching to depart from his deereft possession to saue his childes life, where as the sonne in his appetite had no reason to lead him to loue vnlawfully, for whom it had rather bene decent to die, then to haue violated his fathers bed with safetie of his life.

No more would it be seemely for an aged man to play the wanton like a child, for it stands not with the conueniency of nature, yet when king *Agessilaus* hauing a great fort of little children, was one day disposed to solace himself among them in a gallery where they plaied, and tooke a little hobby horse of wood and bestrid it to keepe them in play, one of his friends seemed to mislike his lightnes, ô good friend quoth *Agessilaus*, rebuke me not for this fault till thou haue children of thine owne, shewing in deede that it came not of vanitie but of a fatherly affection, ioying in the sport and company of his little children, in which respect and as that place and time serued, it was dispenceable in him and not indecent.

And in the choise of a mans delights and maner of his life, there is a decencie, and so we say th'old man generally is no fit companion for the young man, nor the rich for the poore, nor the wise for the foolish. Yet in some respects and by discretion it may be otherwise, as when the old man hath the gouernment of the young, the wife teaches the foolish, the rich is wayted on by the poore for their reliefe, in which regard the conuersation is not indecent.

And *Proclus* the Philosopher knowing how euery indecencie is vnpleasant to nature, and namely, how vncomely a thing it is for young men to doe as old men

doe (at leastwise as young men for the most part doe take it) applyed it very wittily to his purpose: for hauing his sonne and heire a notable vnthrif, and delighting in nothing but in haukes and hounds, and gay apparrell, and such like vanities, which neither by gentle nor sharpe admonitions of his father, could make him leaue. *Proclus* himselfe not onely bare with his sonne, but also vsed it himselfe for company, which some of his friends greatly rebuked him for, saying, ô *Proclus*, an olde man and a Philosopher to play the foole and lasciuious more than the sonne. Mary, quoth *Proclus*. and therefore I do it, for it is the next way to make my sonne change his life, when he shall see how vndecent it is in me to leade such a life, and for him being a yong man, to keepe companie with me being an old man, and to doe that which I doe.

So is it not vnseemely for any ordinarie Captaine to winne the victory or any other auantage in warre by fraud and breach of faith: as *Hanniball* with the Romans, but it could not well become the Romaines managing so great an Empire, by examples of honour and iustice to doe as *Hanniball* did. And when *Parmenio* in a like case perswaded king *Alexander* to breake the day of his appointment, and to set vpon *Darius* at the sodaine, which *Alexander* refused to doe, *Parmenio* saying, I would doe it if I were *Alexander*, and I too quoth *Alexander* if I were *Parmenio*: but it behooueth me in honour to fight liberally with mine enemies, and iustly to ouercome. And thus ye see that was decent in *Parmenios* action, which was not in the king his masters.

A great nobleman and Counfeller in this Realme was secretlie aduised by his friend, not to vse so much writing his letters in fauour of euery man that asked them, specially to the Iudges of the Realme in cases of iustice. To whom the noble man answered, it becomes vs Councillors better to vse instance for our friend, then for the Iudges to sentence at instance: for whatsoeuer we doe require them, it is in their choise

to refuse to doe, but for all that the example was ill and dangerous.

And there is a decencie in chusing the times of a mans busines, and as the Spaniard sayes, *es tiempo de negociar*, there is a fitte time for euery man to performe his businesse in, and to attend his affaires, which out of that time would be vndecent: as to sleepe al day and wake al night, and to goe a hunting by torch-light, as an old Earle of Arundel vsed to doe, or for any occasion of little importance, to wake a man out of his sleepe, or to make him rise from his dinner to talke with him, or such like importunities, for so we call euery vnseasonable action, and the vndecencie of the time.

Callicratides being sent Ambasiador by the Lacedemonians, to *Cirus* the young king of Persia to contract with him for money and men toward their warres against the Athenians, came to the Court at such vnseasonable time as the king was yet in the midst of his dinner, and went away againe saying, it is now no time to interrupt the kings mirth. He came againe another day in the after noone, and finding the king at a rere-banquet, and to haue taken the wine somewhat plentifully, turned back againe, saying, I thinke there is no houre fitte to deale with *Cirus*, for he is cuer in his banquets: I will rather leaue all the busines vndone, then doe any thing that shall not become the Lacedemonians: meaning to offer conference of so great importaunce to his Countrey, with a man so distempered by fursset, as hee was not likely to geue him any reasonable resolution in the cause.

One *Eudamidas* brother to king *Agis* of *Lacedemonia*, comming by *Zenocrates* schoole and looking in, saw him sit in his chaire, disputing with a long hoare beard, asked who it was, one answered, Sir it is a wise man and one of them that searches after vertue, and if he haue not yet found it quoth *Eudamidas* when will he vse it, that now at this yeares is seeking after it, as who would say it is not time to talke of matters when

they should be put in execution. nor for an old man to be to seeke what vertue is, which all his youth he should haue had in exercife.

Another time comming to heare a notable Philosopher dispute, it happened, that all was ended euen as he came, and one of his familiars would haue had him requested the Philosopher to beginne againe, that were indecent and nothing ciuill quoth *Eudamidas*, for if he should come to me supperlesse when I had supped before, were it seemely for him to pray me to suppe againe for his companie.

And the place makes a thing decent or indecent, in which consideration one *Euboidas* being sent Embassadour into a forraine realme, some of his familiars tooke occasion at the table to praise the wiues and women of that country in presence of their owne husbands, which th'embassadour misliked, and when supper was ended and the gueses departed, tooke his familiars aside, and told them it was nothing decent in a strange country to praise the women, nor specially a wife before her husbands face, for inconueniencie that might rise thereby, aswell to the prayser as to the woman, and that the chiefe commendation of a chaste matrone, was to be knowen onely to her husband, and not to be obserued by straungers and gueses.

And in the vse of apparell there is no litle decency and vndecencie to be perceiued, as well for the fashon as the stufte, for it is comely that euery estate and vocation should be knowen by the differences of their habit: a clarke from a lay man: a gentleman from a yeoman: a souldier from a citizen, and the chiefe of euery degree from their inferiours, because in confusion and disorder there is no manner of decency.

The Romaines of any other people most seuerely censurers of decency, thought no vpper garment so comely for a ciuill man as a long playted gowne, because it sheweth much grauitie and also pudicitie, hiding euery member of the body which had not bin pleasant to behold. In somuch as a certain *Proconfull*

or Legat of theirs dealing one day with *Ptolome* king of Egypt, seeing him clad in a straite narrow garment very lasciuiously, discouering euery part of his body, gaue him a great checke for it: and said, that vnlesse he vsed more sad and comely garments, the Romaines would take no pleasure to hold amitie with him, for by the wantonnes of his garment they would iudge the vanitie of his mind, not to be worthy of their constant friendship. A pleasant old courtier wearing one day in the sight of a great counsellour, after the new guise, a french cloake skarce reaching to the wast, a long beaked doublet hanging downe to his thies, and an high paire of silke netherstocks that couered all his buttockes and loignes, the Councillor maruelled to see him in that sort disguised, and otherwise than he had bin woont to be. Sir quoth the Gentleman to excuse it: if I should not be able whan I had need to pisse out of my doublet, and to do the rest in my netherstocks (vsing the plaine terme) all men would say I were but a lowte, the Councillor laughed hartily at the absurditie of the speech, but what would those fower fellowes of Rome haue said trowe ye? truely in mine opinion, that all such persons as take pleasure to shew their limbes, specially those that nature hath commanded out of sight, should be inioyned either to go starke naked, or else to resort backe to the comely and modest fashon of their owne countrie apparell, vsed by their old honorable auncestors.

And there is a decency of apparel in respect of the place it is to be vsed: as, in the Court to be richely apparrelled: in the countrey to weare more plain and homely garments. For who would not thinke it a ridiculous thing to see a Lady in her milke-houise with a veluet gowne, and at a bridall in her cassock of mockado: a Gentleman of the Countrey among the bushes and briers, goe in a pounced dublet and a paire of embrodered hosen, in the Citie to weare a frise Ierkin and a paire of leather breeches? yet some such phantasticals haue I knowen, and one a certaine knight, of all

other the most vaine, who commonly would come to the Seſſions, and other ordinarie meetings and Com-miſſions in the Countrey, ſo bedect with buttons and aglets of gold and ſuch coſtly embroderies, as the poore plaine men of the Countrey called him (for his gayneſſe) the golden knight. Another for the like cauſe was called Saint Sunday: I thinke at this day they be ſo farre ſpent, as either of them would be content with a good cloath cloake: and this came by want of diſcretion, to diſcerne and deeme right of decencie, which many Gentlemen doe wholly limite by the perſon or degree, where reaſon doeth it by the place and preſence: which may be ſuch as it might very well become a great Prince to weare courſer apparrell than in another place or preſence a meaner perſon.

Neuertheleſſe in the uſe of a garment many occaſions alter the decencie, ſometimes the qualitie of the perſon, ſometimes of the caſe, otherwhiles the countrie cuſtome, and often the conſtitution of lawes, and the very nature of uſe it ſelfe. As for example a king and prince may uſe rich and gorgious apparell decently, ſo cannot a meane perſon doo, yet if an herald of armes to whom a king giueth his gowne of cloth of gold, or to whom it was incident as a fee of his office, do were the ſame, he doth it decently, becauſe ſuch hath alwaies bene th'allowances of heraldes: but if ſuch herald haue worne out, or fold, or loſt that gowne, to buy him a new of the like ſtuffe with his owne mony and to weare it, is not decent in the eye and iudgement of them that know it.

And the country cuſtome maketh things decent in uſe, as in Aſia for all men to weare long gownes both a foot and horſebacke: in Europa ſhort gaberdins, or clokes, or iackets, euen for their vpper garments. The Turke and Perſian to weare great tolibants of ten, fiſteene, and twentie elles of linnen a peece vpon their heads, which can not be remooued: in Europe to were caps or hats, which vpon euery occaſion of ſalutation we uſe to put of, as a ſigne of reuerence.

In th'Eaſt partes the men to make water couring like women, with vs ſtanding at a wall. With them to congratulat and ſalute by giuing a becke with the head, or a bende of the bodie, with vs here in England, and in Germany, and all other Northerne parts of the world to ſhake handes. In France, Italie, and Spaine to embrace ouer the ſhoulder, vnder the armes, at the very knees, according to the ſuperiors degree. With vs the women giue their mouth to be kiſſed, in other places their cheek, in many places their hand, or in ſteed of an offer to the hand, to ſay theſe words *Bezo los manos*. And yet ſome others ſurmouting in all courtly ciuilitie will ſay, *Los manos e los pies*. And aboue that reach too, there be that will ſay to the Ladies, *Lombra de ſus piſadas*, the ſhadow of your ſteps. Which I recite vnto you to ſhew the phraſe of thoſe courtly ſeuitours in yeelding the miſtreſſes honour and reuerence.

And it is ſeen that very particular uſe of it ſelfe makes a matter of much decencie and vndecencie, without any countrey cuſtome or allowance, as if one that hath many yeares worne a gowne ſhall come to be ſeen weare a iakquet or ierkin, or he that hath many yeares worne a beard or long haire among thoſe that had done the contrary, and come ſodainly to be pold or ſhauen, it will ſeeme onely to himſelfe, a deſight and very vndecent, but alſo to all others that neuer vſed to go ſo, vntill the time and cuſtome haue abrogated that miſlike.

So was it here in England till her Maieſties moſt noble father for diuers good reſpects, cauſed his owne head and all his Courtiers to be polled and his beard to be cut ſhort. Before that time it was thought more decent both for old men and young to be all ſhauen and to weare long haire either rounded or ſquare. Now againe at this time the young Gentlemen of the Court haue taken vp the long haire trayling on their ſhoulders, and thinke it more decent: for what reſpect I would be glad to know.

The Lacedemonians bearing long busbies of haire, finely kept and curled vp, vsed this ciuill argument to maintaine that custome. Haire (say they) is the very ornament of nature appointed for the head, which therfore to vse in his most sumptuous degree is comely, specially for them that be Lordes, Maisters of men, and of a free life, hauing abilitie and leasure inough to keepe it cleane, and so for a signe of feignorie, riches and libertie, the masters of the Lacedemonians vsed long haire. But their vassals, seruants and slaues vsed it short or shauen in signe of seruitude and because they had no meane nor leasure to kembe and keepe it cleanly. It was besides comberfome to them hauing many businesse to attende, in some seruices there might no maner of filth be falling from their heads. And to all fouldiers it is very noysome and a dangerous disadvantage in the warres or in any particular combat, which being the most comely profession of euery noble young Gentleman, it ought to perswade them greatly from wearing long haire. If there be any that seeke by long haire to helpe or to hide an ill featured face, it is in them allowable so to do, because euery man may decently reforme by arte, the faultes and imperfections that nature hath wrought in them.

And all singularities or affected parts of a mans behaiour seeme vndecent, as for one man to march or iet in the street more stately, or to looke more solemnely, or to go more gayly and in other coulours or fashioned garments then another of the same degree and estate.

Yet such singularities haue had many times both good liking and good succeffe, otherwise then many would haue looked for. As when *Dinocrates* the famous architect, desirous to be knowen to king *Alexander* the great, and hauing none acquaintance to bring him to the kings speech, he came one day to the Court very strangely apparelled in long skarlet robes, his head compast with a garland of Laurell, and his face all to be slicked with sweet oyle, and stode in the kings

chamber, motioning nothing to any man: newes of this stranger came to the king, who caused him to be brought to his presence, and asked his name, and the cause of his repaire to the Court. He answered, his name was *Dinocrates* the Architect, who came to present his Maiestie with a platforme of his owne deuising, how his Maiestie might buylde a Citie vpon the mountaine Athos in Macedonia, which should beare the figure of a mans body, and tolde him all how. Forfooth the breast and bulke of his body should rest vpon such a flat: that hil should be his head, all set with foregrowen woods like haire: his right arme should stretch out to such a hollow bottome as might be like his hand: holding a dish conteyning al the waters that should serue that Citie: the left arme with his hand should hold a valley of all the orchards and gardens of pleasure pertaining thereunto: and either legge should lie vpon a ridge of rocke, very gallantly to behold, and so should accomplish the full figure of a man. The king asked him what commoditie of soyle, or sea, or nauigable riuer lay neere vnto it, to be able to sustaine so great a number of inhabitants. Truly Sir (quoth *Dinocrates*) I haue not yet considered thereof: for in trueth it is the barest part of all the Countrey of Macedonia. The king smiled at it, and said very honourably, we like your deuice well, and meane to vse your seruice in the building of a Citie, but we wil chuse out a more commodious scituation: and made him attend in that voyage in which he conquered Asia and Egypt, and there made him chiefe Surueyour of his new Citie of Alexandria. Thus did *Dinocrates* singularity in attire greatly further him to his aduancement.

Yet are generally all rare things and such as breede maruell and admiration somewhat holding of the vndecent, as when a man is bigger and exceeding the ordinary stature of a man like a Giaunt, or farre vnder the reasonable and common fize of men, as a dwarfe, and such vndecencies do not angre vs, but either we pittie them or scorne at them.

But at all insolent and vnwoonted partes of a mans behaiour we find many times cause to mislike or to be mistrustfull, which proceedeth of some vndecency that is in it, as when a man that hath alwaies bene strange and vnacquainted with vs, will suddenly become our familiar and domestick: and another that hath bene alwaies sterne and churlish, wilbe vpon the suddaine affable and curteous, it is neyther a comely sight, nor a signe of any good towards vs. Which the subtill Italian well obserued by the successes thereof, saying in Prouerbe.

*Chi me fa meglio che non fuole,
Tradito me ha o tradir me vuole.*

*He that speaks me fairer, than his woont was too
Hath done me harme, or meanes for to doo.*

Now againe all maner of conceites that stirre vp any vehement passion in a man, doo it by some turpitude or euill and vndecency that is in them, as to make a man angry there must be some iniury or contempt offered, to make him enuy there must proceede some vnderferued prosperitie of his egall or inferiour, to make him pitie some miserable fortune or spectacle to behold.

And yet in euery of these passions being as it were vndecencies, there is a comelinesse to be discerned. which some men can keepe and some men can not, as to be angry, or to enuy, or to hate, or to pitie, or to be ashamed decently, that is none otherwise then reason requireth. This surmise appeareth to be true, for *Homer* the father of Poets writing that famous and most honourable poeme called the *Illiades* or warres of Troy: made his commencement the magnanimous wrath and anger of *Achilles* in his first verse thus: *μεγην αιδη θεα
πρωταδεον ἀγχιγείονε.* Sing foorth my muse the wrath of *Achilles* *Peleus* sonne: which the Poet would neuer haue done if the wrath of a prince had not beene in some fort comely and allowable. But when *Arrianus* and *Curtius* historiographers that wrote the noble gestes of king *Alexander* the great, came to prayse him for

many things, yet for his wrath and anger they reproched him, because it proceeded not of any magnanimitie, but vpon surfet and distemper in his diet, nor growing of any iust causes, was exercised to the destruction of his dearest friends and familiers, and not of his enemies, nor any other waies so honorably as th'others was, and so could not be reputed a decent and comely anger.

So may al your other passions be vsed decently though the very matter of their originall be grounded vpon some vndecencie, as it is written by a certaine king of Egypt, who looking out of his window, and seing his owne sonne for some grieuous offence, carried by the officers of his iustice to the place of execution: he neuer once changed his countenance at the matter, though the sight were neuer so full of ruth and atrocitie. And it was thought a decent countenance and constant animositie in the king to be so affected, the case concerning so high and rare a peece of his owne iustice. But within few daies after when he beheld out of the same window an old friend and familiar of his, stand begging an almes in the streete, he wept tenderly, remembring their old familiarity and considering how by the mutabilitie of fortune and frailtie of mans estate, it might one day come to passe that he himselfe should fall into the like miserable estate. He therfore had a remorse very comely for a king in that behalfe, which also caused him to giue order for his poore friends plentiful reliefe.

But generally to weepe for any sorrow (as one may doe for pitie) is not so decent in a man: and therefore all high minded persons, when they cannot chuse but shed teares, wil turne away their face as a countenance vndecent for a man to shew, and so will the standers by till they haue suppressed such passion, thinking it nothing decent to behold such an vncomely countenance. But for Ladies and women to weepe and shed teares at euery little greefe, it is nothing vncomely, but rather a signe of much good nature and meeknes of minde, a most decent propertie for that sexe; and therefore they be

for the more part more deuout and charitable, and greater geuers of almes than men, and zealous relieuers of prifoners, and befecchers of pardons, and fuch like parts of commiferation. Yea they be more than fo too: for by the common prouerbe, a woman will weepe for pitie to fee a golling goe barefoote.

But moft certainly all things that moue a man to laughter, as doe thefe fcurrilities and other ridiculous behauiours. it is for fome vndecencie that is found in them: which maketh it decent for euery man to laugh at them. And therefore when we fee or heare a natural foole and idiot doe or fay any thing foolifhly, we laugh not at him: but when he doeth or fpeaketh wifely, becaufe that is vnlike him felfe: and a buffonne or counterfet foole, to heare him fpeake wifely which is like himfelfe, it is no fport at all, but for fuch a counterfait to talke and looke foolifhly it maketh vs laugh, becaufe it is no part of his naturall. for in euery vncomlineffe there muft be a certaine abfurditie and difproportion to nature, and the opinion of the hearer or beholder to make the thing ridiculous. But for a foole to talke foolifhly or a wifeman wifely, there is no fuch abfurditie or difproportion.

And though at all abfurdities we may decently laugh, and when they be no abfurdities not decently, yet in laughing is there an vndecencie for other refpectes fometime, than of the matter it felfe, which made *Philippus* fonne to the firft Chriften Emperour, *Philippus Arabicus* fitting with his father one day in the theatre to behold the fports, giue his father a great rebuke becaufe he laughed, faying that it was no comely countenance for an Emperour to bewray in fuch a publicke place, nor fpecially to laugh at euery foolifh toy: the pofteritie gaue the fonne for that caufe the name of *Philippius Agelaflos* or without laughter.

I haue feene forraine Embaffadours in the Queenes prefence laugh fo diffolutely at fome rare paftime or fport that hath beene made there, that nothing in the world could worfe haue becomen them, and others

very wise men, whether it haue ben of some pleasant humour and complexion, or for other default in the spleene, or for ill education or custome, that could not vtter any graue and earnest speech without laughter, which part was greatly discommended in them.

And *Cicero* the wisest of any Romane writers, thought it vncomely for a man to daunce: saying, *Saltantem sobrium vidi neminem*. I neuer saw any man daunce that was sober and in his right wits, but there by your leaue he failed, nor our young Courtiers will allow it, besides that it is the most decent and comely demeanour of all exultations and reioycements of the hart, which is no lesse naturall to man then to be wise or well learned, or sober.

To tell you the decencies of a number of other behauiours, one might do it to please you with pretie reportes, but to the skilfull Courtiers it shalbe nothing necessary, for they know all by experience without learning. Yet some few remembraunces wee will make you of the most materiall, which our selues haue obserued, and so make an end.

It is decent to be affable and curteous at meales and meetings, in open assemblies more solemne and straunge, in place of authoritie and iudgement not familiar nor pleasant, in counsell secret and sad, in ordinary conferences easie and apert, in conuersation simple, in capitulation subtile and mistrustfull, at mournings and burials sad and sorrowfull, in feasts and bankets merry and ioyfull, in household expence pinching and sparing, in publicke entertainment spending and pompous. The Prince to be sumptuous and magnificent, the priuate man liberall with moderation, a man to be in giuing free, in asking spare, in promise slow, in performance speedy, in contract circumspect but iust, in amitie sincere, in ennimitie wily and cautious [*dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit*, saith the Poet] and after the same rate euery sort and maner of businesse or affaire or action hath his decencie and vndecencie, either for the time or place or person or

some other circumstance, as Priests to be sober and sad, a Preacher by his life to giue good example, a Iudge to be incorrupted, solitarie and vnacquainted with Courtiers or Courtly entertainements, and as the Philosopher saith *Oportet indicem esse rudem et simplicem*, without plaite or wrinkle, fower in looke and churlish in speech, contrariwise a Courtly Gentleman to be loftie and curious in countenance, yet sometimes a creeper, and a curry fauell with his superiours.

And touching the person, we say it is comely for a man to be a lambe in the house, and a Lyon in the field, appointing the decencie of his qualitie by the place, by which reason also we limit the comely parts of a woman to consist in foure points, that is to be a shrewe in the kitchin, a saint in the Church, an Angell at the bourd, and an Ape in the bed, as the Chronicle reports by Mistresse *Shore* paramour to king *Edward* the fourth.

Then also there is a decency in respect of the persons with whom we do negotiate, as with the great personages his egals to be solemne and furly, with meaner men pleasant and popular, stoute with the sturdie and milde with the meek, which is a most decent conuersation and not reprochfull or vnseemely, as the prouerbe goeth, by those that vse the contrary, a Lyon among sheepe and a sheepe among Lyons.

Right so in negotiating with Princes we ought to seeke their fauour by humilitie and not by sternnesse, nor to trafficke with them by way of indent or condition, but frankly and by manner of submission to their wils, for Princes may be lead but not driuen, nor they are to be vanquisht by allegation, but must be suffred to haue the victorie and be relented vnto: nor they are not to be chalenged for right or iustice, for that is a maner of accusation: nor to be charged with their promises, for that is a kinde of condemnation: and at their request we ought not to be hardly entreated but easily, for that is a signe of desfidence and mistrust in their bountie and gratitude: nor to recite

the good seruices which they haue receiued at our hands, for that is but a kind of exprobration, but in crauing their bountie or largesse to remember vnto them all their former beneficences, making no mention of our owne merites, and so it is thankfull, and in praying them to their faces to do it very modestly : and in their commendations not to be excessiue for that is tedious, and alwayes fauours of futtelty more then of sincere loue.

And in speaking to a Prince the voyce ought to be lowe and not lowde nor shrill, for th'one is a signe of humilitie th'other of too much audacitie and presumption. Nor in looking on them seeme to ouerlooke them, nor yet behold them too stedfastly, for that is a signe of impudence or litle reuerence, and therefore to the great Princes Orientall their seruitours speaking or being spoken vnto abbase their eyes in token of lowlines, which behauiour we do not obserue to our Princes with so good a discretion as they do : and such as retire from the Princes prefence, do not by and by turne tayle to them as we do, but go backward or sideling for a reasonable space, til they be at the wal or chamber doore passing out of sight, and is thought a most decent behauiour to their foueraignes. I haue heard that king *Henry* th'eight her Maiesties father, though otherwise the most gentle and affable Prince of the world, could not abide to haue any man stare in his face or to fix his eye too stedily vpon him when he talked with them : nor for a common futer to exclame or cry out for iustice, for that is offense and as it were a secret impeachment of his wrong doing, as happened once to a Knight in this Realme of great worship speaking to the king. Nor in speeches with them to be too long, or too much affected, for th'one is tedious th'other is irksome, nor with lowd acclamations to applaude them, for that is too popular and rude and betokens either ignorance, or feldome accesse to their prefence, or little frequenting their Courts : nor to shew too mery or light a countenance,

for that is a signe of little reuerence and is a peece of a contempt.

And in gaming with a Prince it is decent to let him sometimes win of purpose, to keepe him pleasant, and neuer to refuse his gift, for that is vndutifull: nor to forgiue him his losses, for that is arrogant: nor to giue him great gifts, for that is either insolence or follie: nor to feast him with excessiue charge for that is both vaine and enuious, and therefore the wise Prince king *Henry* the seuenth her Maiesties grandfather, if his chaunce had bene to lye at any of his subiects houses, or to passe moe meales then one, he that would take vpon him to defray the charge of his dyet, or of his officers and houshold, he would be maruelously offended with it, saying what priuate subiect dare vndertake a Princes charge, or looke into the secreet of his expence? Her Maiestie hath bene knowne oftentimes to mislike the superfluous expence of her subiects bestowed vpon her in times of her progresse.

Likewise in matter of aduise it is neither decent to flatter him for that is seruile. neither to be rough or plaine with him, for that is dangerous, but truely to Counsell and to admonish, grauely not greuouly, sincerely not fourely: which was the part that so greatly commended *Cincas* Counsellour to king *Pirrhus*, who kept that decencie in all his perswasions, that he euer preuailed in aduice, and carried the king which way he would.

And in a Prince it is comely to giue vnasked, but in a subiect to aske vnbidden: for that first is signe of a bountifull mynde, this of a loyall and confident. But the subiect that craues not at his Princes hand, either he is of no desert, or proud, or mistrustfull of his Princes goodnesse: therefore king *Henry* th'eight to one that entreated him to remember one Sir *Anthony Rouse* with some reward for that he had spent much and was an ill beggar: the king aunswered (noting his insolencie,) If he be ashamed to begge, we are ashamed to giue, and was neuerthelesse one of the most liberall Princes of the world.

And yet in some Courts it is otherwise vsed, for in Spaine it is thought very vndecent for a Courtier to craue, supposing that it is the part of an importune: therefore the king of ordinarie calleth euery second, third or fourth yere for his Checker roll, and bestoweth his *mercedes* of his owne meere motion, and by discretion, according to euery mans merite and condition.

And in their commendable delights to be apt and accommodate, as if the Prince be geuen to hauking, hunting, riding of horses, or playing vpon instruments, or any like exercise, the seruitour to be the same: and in their other appetites wherein the Prince would seeme an example of vertue, and would not mislike to be egalled by others: in such cases it is decent their seruitours and subiects studie to be like to them by imitation, as in wearing their haire long or short, or in this or that sort of apparrell, such excepted as be only fitte for Princes and none els, which were vndecent for a meaner person to imitate or counterfet: so is it not comely to counterfet their voice, or looke, or any other gestures that be not ordinary and naturall in euery common person: and therefore to go vpright, or speake or looke assuredly, it is decent in euery man. But if the Prince haue an extraordinarie countenance or manner of speech, or bearing of his body, that for a common seruitour to counterfet is not decent, and therefore it was misliked in the Emperor *Nero*, and thought vncomely for him to counterfet *Alexander* the great, by holding his head a little awrie, and neerer toward the tone shoulder, because it was not his owne naturall.

And in a Prince it is decent to goe slowly, and to march with leysure, and with a certaine granditie rather than grauitie: as our soueraine Lady and mistresse, the very image of maiestie and magnificence, is accustomed to doe generally, vnlesse it be when she walketh apace for her pleasure, or to catch her a heate in the colde mornings.

Neuertheleffe, it is not so decent in a meaner person, as I haue obserued in some counterfet Ladies of the Countrey, which vse it much to their owne derision. This Comelines was wanting in Queene *Marie*, otherwise a very good and honourable Princeesse. And was some blemish to the Emperor *Ferdinando*, a most noble minded man, yet so carelesse and forgetfull of himselfe in that behalfe, as I haue seene him runne vp a paire of staires so swift and nimble a pace, as almost had not become a very meane man, who had not gone in some hastie businesse.

And in a noble Prince nothing is more decent and welbeseeming his greatnesse, than to spare foule speeches, for that breedes hatred, and to let none humble suiters depart out of their presence (as neere as may be) discontented. Wherein her Maiestie hath of all others a most Regall gift, and nothing inferior to the good Prince *Titus Vespasianus* in that point.

Also, not to be passionate for small detriments or offences, nor to be a reuenger of them, but in cases of great iniurie, and specially of dishonors: and therein to be very sterne and vindicative, for that fauours of Princely magnanimitie: nor to seeke reuenge vpon base and obscure persons, ouer whom the conquest is not glorious, nor the victorie honourable, which respect moued our soueraign Lady (keeping alwaies the decorum of a Princely person) at her first comming to the crowne, when a knight of this Realme, who had very insolently behaued himselfe toward her when she was Lady *Elizabeth*, fell vpon his knee to her, and besought her pardon: suspecting (as there was good cause) that he should haue bene sent to the Tower, she said vnto him most mildly: do you not know that we are descended of the Lion, whose nature is not to harme or pray vpon the mouse, or any other such small vermin?

And with these examples I thinke sufficient to leaue, geuing you information of this one point, that all your figures Poeticall or Rhethoricall, are but obseruations

of strange speeches, and such as without any arte at al we should vse, and commonly do, euen by very nature without discipline. But more or lesse aptly and decently, or scarcely, or aboundantly, or of this or that kind of figure, and one of vs more then another, according to the disposition of our nature, constitution of the heart, and facilitie of each mans vtterance: so as we may conclude, that nature her selfe suggesteth the figure in this or that forme: but arte aydeth the iudgement of his vse and application, which geues me occasion finally and for a full conclusion to this whole treatise, to enforme you in the next chapter how art should be vfed in all respects, and specially in this behalfe of language, and when the naturall is more commendable then the artificiall, and contrariwise.

CHAP. XXV.

That the good Poet or maker ought to dissemble his arte, and in what cases the artificiall is more commended then the naturall, and contrariwise.



And now (most excellent Queene) hauing largely said of Poets and Poetrie, and about what matters they be employed: then of all the commended fourmes of Poemes, thirdly of metricall proportions, such as do appertaine to our vulgar arte: and last of all set forth the poetickall ornament consisting chiefly in the beautie and gallantnesse of his language and stile, and so haue apparelled him to our seeming, in all his gorgeous habilliments, and pulling him first from the carte to the schoole, and from thence to the Court, and preferred him to your Maiesties seruice, in that place of great honour and magnificence to geue entertainment to Princes, Ladies of honour, Gentlewomen and Gentlemen, and by his many moodes of skill, to serue the many humors of men thither haunting and resorting, some by way of solace, some of serious aduise, and in matters aswell profitable as pleasant and honest. Wee haue in our humble conceit sufficiently performed

our promise or rather dutie to your Maiestie in the description of this arte, so alwaies as we leaue him not vn furnisht of one peece that best befeemes that place of any other, and may serue as a principall good lesson for al good makers to beare continually in mind, in the vsage of this science: which is, that being now lately become a Courtier he shew not himself a craftsman, and merit to be disgraded, and with scorne sent back againe to the shop, or other place of his first facultie and calling, but that so wisely and discreetly he behaue himselfe as he may worthily retaine the credit of his place, and profession of a very Courtier, which is in plaine termes, cunningly to be able to dissemble. But (if it please your Maiestie) may it not seeme inough for a Courtier to know how to weare a fether, and set his cappe a flaunt, his chaine *en echarpe*, a straight buskin *alingleffe*, a loose *alo Turquesque*, the cape *alla Spaniola*, the breech *a la Françoise*, and by twentie maner of new fashioned garments to disguise his body, and his face with as many countenances, whereof it seemes there be many that make a very arte, and studie who can shew himselfe most fine, I will not say most foolish and ridiculous? or perhaps rather that he could dissemble his conceits as well as his countenances, so as he neuer speake as he thinkes, or thinke as he speaks, and that in any matter of importance his words and his meaning very feldome meete: for so as I remember it was concluded by vs setting foorth the figure *Allegoria*, which therefore not impertinently we call the Courtier or figure of faire semblant, or is it not perchance more requisite our courtly Poet do dissemble not onely his countenances and conceits, but also all his ordinary actions of behauiour, or the most part of them, whereby the better to winne his purposes and good aduantages, as now and then to haue a iourney or sicknesse in his sleeue, thereby to shake of other importunities of greater consequence, as they vse their pilgrimages in Fraunce, the Diet in Spaine, the baines in Italy? and when a man is whole to fame

himselfe sicke to shunne the businesse in Court, to entertaine time and ease at home, to salve offences without discredite, to win purposes by mediation in absence, which their presence would eyther impeach or toon greatly preferre, to harken after the popular opinions and speech, to entend to their more priuate folaces, to practize more deeply both at leasure and libertie, and when any publique affaire or other attempt and counsaile of theirs hath not receaued good successe, to auoid therby the Princes present reproofe, to coole their chollers by absence, to winne remorse by lamentable reports, and reconciliation by friends intreatie. Finally by sequestering themselues for a time fro the Court, to be able the freelier and cleerer to discerne the factions and state of the Court and of al the world besides, no lesse then doth the looker on or beholder of a game better see into all points of auantage, then the player himselfe? and in dissembling of diseases which I pray you? for I haue obserued it in the Court of Fraunce, not a burning feuer or a plurisie or a palsie, or the hpdropick and swelling gowte, or any other like disease, for if they be such as may be either easily discerned or quickly cured, they be ill to dissemble and doo halfe handfomly serue the turne.

But it must be either a dry dropsie, or a megrim or letarge, or a fistule *in ano*, or some such other secret disease, as the common conuerfant can hardly discover, and the Phisition either not speedily heale, or not honestly bewray? of which infirmities the scoffing *Pasquil* wrote, *Vlcus vesicæ renum dolor in pene scirrhus*. Or as I haue seene in diuers places where many make themselues hart whole, when in deede they are full sicke, bearing it stoutly out to the hazard of their health, rather then they would be suspected of any lothsome infirmity, which might inhibit them from the Princes presence, or enterteinment of the ladies. Or as some other do to beare a port of state and plentie when they haue neither penny nor possession, that they may not seeme to droope, and be reiected as

vnworthy or insufficient for the greater seruices, or to be pitied for their pouertie, which they hold for a marueilous disgrace, as did the poore Squire of Castile, who had rather dine with a sheepes head at home and drinke a cruse of water to it, then to haue a good dinner giuen him by his friend who was nothing ignorant of his pouertie. Or as others do to make wife they be poore when they be riche, to shunne thereby the publicke charges and vocations, for men are not now a dayes (specially in states of *Oligarchie* as the most in our age) called somuch for their wisedome as for their wealth, also to auoyde enuie of neighbours or bountie in conuersation, for whofoeuer is reputed rich cannot without reproch, but be either a lender or a spender. Or as others do to seeme very busie when they haue nothing to doo, and yet will make themselves so occupied and ouerladen in the Princes affaires, as it is a great matter to haue a couple of wordes with them, when notwithstanding they lye sleeping on their beds all an after noone, or sit solemnly at cardes in their chambers, or enterteyning of the Dames, or laughing and gibing with their familiars foure houres by the clocke, whiles the poore suter desirous of his dispatch is answered by some Secretarie or page *il fault attendre, Monsieur* is dispatching the kings businesse into Languedock, Prouence, Piemont, a common phraze with the Secretaries of France. Or as I haue obserued in many of the Princes Courts of Italie, to seeme idle when they be earnestly occupied and entend to nothing but mischieuous practizes, and do busily negotiat by coulor of otiation. Or as others of them that go ordinarily to Church and neuer pray to winne an opinion of holinesse: or pray still apace, but neuer do good deede, and geue a begger a penny and spend a pound on a harlot, to speake faire to a mans face, and foule behinde his backe, to set him at his trencher and yet sit on his skirts for so we vse to say by a fayned friend, then also to be rough and churlish in speech and apparance, but inwardly affectionate and fauouring,

as I haue fene of the greatest podeslates and graueſt iudges and Prefidentes of Parliament in Fraunce.

Theſe and many ſuch like diſguiſings do we find in mans behauiour, and ſpecially in the Courtiers of forraine Countreyes, where in my youth I was brought vp, and very well obſerued their maner of life and conuerſation, for of mine owne Countrey I haue not made ſo great experience. Which parts, neuertheleſſe, we allow not now in our Engliſh maker, becauſe we haue geuen him the name of an honeſt man, and not of an hypocrite: and therefore leauing theſe manner of diſſimulations to all baſe-minded men, and of vile nature or miſterie, we doe allow our Courtly Poet to be a diſſembler only in the ſubtilties of his arte: that is, when he is moſt artificiall, ſo to diſguiſe and cloake it as it may not appeare, nor ſeeme to proceede from him by any ſtudie or trade of rules, but to be his naturall: nor ſo euidently to be deſcried, as euery ladde that reades him ſhall ſay he is a good ſcholler, but will rather haue him to know his arte well, and little to vſe it.

And yet peraduenture in all points it may not be ſo taken, but in ſuch onely as may diſcouer his groſſenes or his ignorance by ſome ſchollerly affectation: which thing is very irkeſome to all men of good trayning, and ſpecially to Courtiers. And yet for all that our maker may not be in all caſes reſtrayned, but that he may both vſe, and alſo manifeſt his arte to his great praiſe, and need no more be aſhamed thereof, than a ſhomaker to haue made a cleanly ſhoe, or a Carpenter to haue buylt a faire houſe. Therefore to diſcuſſe and make this point ſomewhat cleerer, to weete, where arte ought to appeare, and where not, and when the naturall is more commendable than the artificiall in any humane action or workmanſhip, we wil examine it further by this diſtinction.

In ſome caſes we ſay arte is an ayde and coadiutor to nature, and a furtherer of her actions to good effect, or peraduenture a meane to ſupply her wants, by ren-

forcing the causes wherein shee is impotent and defective. as doth the arte of phisicke, by helping the naturall concoction, retention, distribution, expulsion, and other vertues, in a weake and vnhealthie bodie. Or as the good gardiner seasons his soyle by fundrie sorts of compost: as mucke or marle, clay or sande, and many times by bloud, or lees of oyle or wine, or stale, or perchaunce with more costly drugs: and waters his plants, and weedes his herbes or floures, and prunes his branches, and vnleaves his boughes to let in the sunne: and twentie other waies cheriseth them, and cureth their infirmities, and so makes that neuer, or very seldome any of them miscarry, but bring forth their flours and fruites in season. And in both these cases it is no smal praise for the Phisition and Gardiner to be called good and cunning artificers.

In another respect arte is not only an aide and coadiutor to nature in all her actions, but an alterer of them, and in some sort a surmounter of her skill, so as by meanes of it her owne effects shall appeare more beautifull or straunge and miraculous, as in both cases before remembred. The Phisition by the cordials hee will geue his patient, shall be able not onely to restore the decayed spirites of man, and render him health, but also to prolong the terme of his life many yeares ouer and aboue the stint of his first and naturall constitution. And the Gardiner by his arte will not onely make an herbe, or flowr, or fruite, come forth in his season without impediment, but also will embellish the same in vertue, shape, odour and taste, that nature of her selfe would neuer haue done: as to make single gilliflowre, or marigold, or daisie, double: and the white rose, redde, yellow, or carnation, a bitter mellon sweete, a sweete apple, foure, a plumme or cherrie without a stone, a peare without core or kernell, a goord or cucumber like to a horne, or any other figure he will: any of which things nature could not doe without mans help and arte. These actions also are most singular, when they be most artificiall.

In another respect, we say arte is neither an aider nor a furmounter, but onely a bare immitatour of natures works, following and counterfeyting her actions and effects, as the Marmesot doth many countenances and gestures of man, of which sorte are the artes of painting and keruing, whereof one represents the naturall by light colour and shadow in the superficial or flat, the other in a body massife expressing the full and emptie, euen, extant, rabbated, hollow, or whatfoeuer other figure and passion of quantitie. So also the Alchimist counterfeits gold, siluer, and all other mettals, the Lapidarie pearles and pretious stones by glasse and other substances falsified, and sophisticate by arte. These men also be praised for their craft, and their credit is nothing empayred, to say that their conclusions and effects are very artificiall. Finally in another respect arte is as it were an encounter and contrary to nature. producing effects neither like to hers, nor by participation with her operations, nor by imitation of her paternes, but makes things and produceth effects altogether strange and diuerse, and of such forme and qualitie (nature alwaies supplying stufte) as she neuer would nor could haue done of her selfe, as the carpenter that builds a house, the ioyner that makes a table or a bedstead, the tailor a garment, the Smith a locke or a key, and a number of like, in which case the workman gaineth reputation by his arte, and praise when it is best expressed and most apparant, and most studiously. Man also in all his actions that be not altogether naturall, but are gotten by study and discipline or exercise, as to daunce by measures, to sing by note, to play on the lute, and such like, it is a praise to be said an artificiall dauncer, singer, and player on instruments, because they be not exactly knowne or done, but by rules and precepts or teaching of schoolemasters. But in such actions as be so naturall and proper to man, as he may become excellent therein without any arte or imitation at all, (custome and exercise excepted, which are requisite to euery action not numbred

among the vitall or animal) and wherein nature should seeme to do amisse, and man suffer reproch to be found destitute of them: in those to shew himselfe rather artificiall then naturall, were no lesse to be laughed at, then for one that can see well enough, to vse a paire of spectacles, or not to heare but by a trunke put to his eare, nor feele without a paire of ennealed glooues, which things in deede helpe an infirme sence, but annoy the perfit, and therefore shewing a disabilitie naturall mooue rather to scorne then commendation, and to pitie sooner then to prayse. But what else is language and vtterance, and discourse and perswasion, and argument in man, then the vertues of a well constitute body and minde, little lesse naturall then his very sensuall actions, sauing that the one is perfited by nature at once, the other not without exercise and iteration? Peraduenture also it wilbe granted that a man sees better and discernes more brimly his collours, and heares and feesles more exactly by vse and often hearing and feeling and seing, and though it be better to see with spectacles then not to see at all, yet is their praise not egall nor in any mans iudgement comparable: no more is that which a Poet makes by arte and precepts rather then by naturall instinct: and that which he doth by long meditation rather then by a suddaine inspiration, or with great pleasure and facillitie then hardly (and as they are woont to say) in spite of Nature or Minerua, then which nothing can be more irksome or ridiculous.

And yet I am not ignorant that there be artes and methodes both to speake and to perswade and also to dispute, and by which the naturall is in some sorte relieved, as th'eye by his spectacle, I say relieved in his imperfection, but not made more perfit then the naturall, in which respect I call those artes of Grammar, *Logicke*, and *Rhetorick* not bare imitations, as the painter or keruers craft and worke in a forraine subiect viz. a liuely partraite in his table of wood, but by long and studious obseruation rather a repetition or

reminiscens naturall, reduced into perfection, and made prompt by vse and exercise. And so whatsoeuer a mans speakes or perfwades he doth it not by imitation artificially, but by obseruation naturally (though one follow another) because it is both the same and the like that nature doth suggest: but if a popingay speake, she doth it by imitation of mans voyce artificially and not naturally being the like, but not the same that nature doth suggest to man. But now because our maker or Poet is to play many parts and not one alone, as first to deuise his plat or subiect, then to fashion his poeme, thirdly to vse his metricall proportions, and last of all to vtter with pleasure and delight, which restes in his maner of language and stile as hath bene said, whereof the many moodes and straunge phrascs are called figures, it is not altogether with him as with the crafts man, nor altogether otherwise then with the crafts man, for in that he vscth his metricall proportions by appointed and harmonicall measures and distaunces, he is like the Carpenter or Ioyner, for borrowing their tymber and stufte of nature, they appoint and order it by art otherwise then nature would doe, and worke effects in apparance contrary to hers. Also in that which the Poet speakes or reports of another mans tale or doings, as *Homer* of *Priamus* or *Vlisses*, he is as the painter or keruer that worke by imitation and representation in a forrein subiect, in that he speakes figuratiuely, or argues subtilly, or perfwades copiously and vehemently, he doth as the cunning gardiner that vsing nature as a coadiutor, furdurs her conclusions and many times makes her effectes more absolute and straunge. But for that in our maker or Poet, which restes onely in deuise and issues from an excellent sharpe and quick inuention, holpen by a cleare and bright phantasie and imagination, he is not as the painter to counterfaite the naturall by the like effects and not the same, nor as the gardiner aiding nature to worke both the same and the like, nor as the Carpen-

ter to worke effectes vtterly vnlike, but even as nature her felfe working by her owne peculiar vertue and proper instinct and not by example or meditation or exercise as all other artificers do, is then most admired when he is most naturall and least artificiall. And in the feates of his language and vtterance, because they hold aswell of nature to be suggested and vttered as by arte to be polished and reformed. Therefore shall our Poet receaue prayse for both, but more by knowing of his arte then by vnseasonable vsing it, and be more commended for his naturall eloquence then for his artificiall, and more for his artificiall well dissembled, then for the same ouermuch affected and grossely or vndiscretly bewrayed, as many makers and Oratours do.

The Conclusion.



And with this (my most gracious fougaine Lady) I make an end, humbly beseeching your pardon, in that I haue presumed to hold your cares so long annoyed with a tedious trifle, so as vnlesse it proceede more of your owne Princely and naturall mansuetude then of my merite, I feare greatly least you may thinck of me as the Philosopher Plato did of *Aniceris* an inhabitant of the Citie *Cirene*, who being in troth a very actiue and artificiall man in driuing of a Princes Charriot or Coche (as your Maiestie might be) and knowing it himselfe well enough, comming one day into Platos schoole, and hauing heard him largely dispute in matters Philosophicall, I pray you (quoth he) geue me leaue also to say somewhat of myne arte, and in deede shewed so many trickes of his cunning how to lanche forth and stay, and chaunge pace, and turne and winde his Coche, this way and that way, vphill downe hill,

and also in euen or rough ground, that he made the whole assemblie wonder at him. Quoth Plato being a graue personage, verely in myne opinion this man should be vtterly vnfit for any seruice of greater importance then to driue a Coche. It is a great pitie that so prettie a fellow, had not occupied his braynes in studies of more consequence. Now I pray God it be not thought so of me in describing the toyes of this our vulgar art. But when I consider how euery thing hath his estimation by opportunitie, and that it was but the studie of my yonger yeares in which vanitie rained. Also that I write to the pleasure of a Lady and a most gracious Queene, and neither to Priestles nor to Prophetes or Philosophers. Besides finding by experience, that many times idlenesse is lesie harmefull then vnprofitable occupation, dayly seeing how these great aspiring mynds and ambitious heads of the world seriously searching to deale in matters of state, be often times so busie and earnest that they were better be vnoccupied, and peraduenture altogether idle, I presume so much vpon your Maiesties most milde and gracious iudgement howsoever you conceiue of myne abilitie to any better or greater seruice, that yet in this attempt ye wil allow of my loyall and good intent alwayes endeavouring to do your Maiestie the best and greatest of those seruices I can.



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and euery thing in them
conteyned.

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Metastasis, or figure of remoue, otherwise called the flitter.	194 [p. 240]
Parecnasis, or the straggler, otherwise called the figure of digression.	195 [p. 240]
Expediitio, or the dispatcher.	195 [p. 241]
Dialogismus, or the right reasoner.	196 [p. 242]
Gnome, or the director, otherwise [Sententia] the sagefayer.	197 [p. 243]
Simathrismus, or the heaping figure.	197 [p. 243]
Apostrophe, or the turne tale.	198 [p. 244]
Hipotiposis, or the counterfait, otherwise called the figure of representation.	199 [p. 245]
Prosopographia, or the counterfet countenance.	199 [p. 245]
Prosopopeia, or the false impersonation.	200 [p. 246]
Chronographia, or the counterfait of time.	200 [p. 246]
Topographia, or counterfait of place.	200 [p. 246]
Pragmatographia, or counterfait action.	201 [p. 246]
Omoiosis, or the figure of resemblance.	201 [p. 247]
Icon, or resemblance by purtrait, and ymagerie.	204 [p. 250]
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FINIS.

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English Reprints.

JAMES HOWELL, B.A.

Clerk of the Council.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL.

1642.

COLLATED WITH THE SECOND EDITION OF 1650.

Senefco non Segnefco.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

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LONDON :

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1 Dec. 1869.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

I. *As a separate publication.*

- 1 1642. London. 1 vol. 12mo. *Editio princeps*: see title at p. 7.
 2 1650. [7 May.] Instructions and Directions for Forren Travell [then as in
 London. first edition, with the addition of] With a new Appendix for
 1 vol. 12mo. Travelling into *Turkey* and the *Levant* parts.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. *As a separate publication.*

- 3 1368. 15 June. Lond. 8vo. *English Reprints*. See title at p. 1.



SHORT ACCOUNTS of JAMES HOWELL.

* Probable or approximate dates.

It is impossible to give here any adequate notice of Howell's career, or of his many works: both original and trans-lative. I trust, in the course of next year, 1870, to include among the 'English Reprints' a satisfactory edition of his principal work *Epistolarum Ho-Eliaenarum*; which grew into completeness in four successive instalments, published severally in 1645, 1647, 1650, and 1655; and in that edition to give the usual Chronicle of his Life, Works, and Times.

Two short accounts of him must therefore suffice for the present.

1. A contemporary, Sergeant-Major PETER FISHER, Poet Laureate to the Protector, edited in 1664, *Mr. Howell's Poems upon divers Emergent Occasions*. In his address *To the Reader*, Fisher thus characterizes the works of Howell, then a Septuagenarian in years and a Patriarch in literature.

Not to know the Author of these Poems, were an Ignorance beyond Barbarism, as 'twas said of a famous person in France: yet I held it superfluous to prefix his Name in the Title-Page, he being known and easily distinguished from others by his Genius and Style, as a great Wit said lately of him,

Author Hic ex Calamo notus ut ungue Leo.

He may be called the prodigy of his Age, for the variety of his Volumes: for from his *Διήπολογία*, or *Parly of Trees*, to his *Θυζολογία*, or *Parly of Beasts*, not inferiour to the other there hath pass'd the Press above forty of his Works on various subjects; useful not onely to the present times, but to all posterity.

And 'tis observed, that in all his Writings there is something still *New*, either in the *Matter*, *Method* or *Fancy*, and in an untrodden Tract. Moreover, one may discover a kinde of Vein of *Poesie* to run through the body of his *Prose*, in the Concinnity and succinctness thereof all along.

He teacheth a new way of Epistolizing; and that *Familiar Letters* may not onely consist of Words, and a bombast of Complements, but that they are capable of the highest Speculations and solidst kind of Knowledge.

He chalks out a Topical and exact way for *Foreign Travel*, not roving in general Precepts onely.

In all his Histories there are the true Rules, Laws and Language of History observed.

What infinite advantages may be got by his *Dictionaries* and *Nomenclature* by all Professions and Nations!

How strongly and indeed unanswerably doth he assert the *Royal Right* in divers learned Tracts, to the unbeguiling and conversion of many thousands abroad as well as at home! &c.

Touching these Poems, most of them nere saw publick Light before: for I got them in *Manuscripts*, whereof I thought fit to give the Reader an Advertisement."

2. ANTHONY-A-WOOD gives this account of his life *Ath. Oxon.* iii. 744, E.J. 1817.
1594.

'JAMES HOWELL was born in Caermarthenshire, particularly, as I conceive, at Abernant, of which place his father was minister. In what year he was born, I cannot precisely tell you, yet he himself saith, that his ascendant was that hot constellation of Cancer about the midst of the dog-days.'

[1608. Feb. 20. His elder brother Thomas, of Jesus Coll. Oxon., takes his B.A.—Wood, *Fasti Oxon.*]

1610. æt. 16. After he had been educated in grammar learning in the free-school at Hereford, he was sent to Jesus coll. in the beginning of 1610, aged 16 years.

[1612. July 9. His brother Thomas takes his M.A.—Wood, *Fasti Oxon.*]

1613. Dec. 17. 'James takes his B.A.'—Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* i. 352. He æt. 19. took a degree in arts, and then, being a pure cadet, a true

cosmopolite, not born to land, lease, house, or office, was in a manner put to it to seek his fortune. But by the endeavours of friends and some money that his father assisted him with, he travelled for three years into various countries, wher by he

- advantaged himself much in the understanding of several languages.'
1622. æt. 28. 'Some years after his return, he was sent into Spain 1622, to recover of the king of that place a rich English ship, seized on by his vice-roy of Sardinia for his master's use, upon some pretence of prohibited goods therein.'
1623. æt. 29. 'He was elected fellow of Jesus coll.'
- *1625. æt. 31. 'Three years after his return, he was entertained by Emanuel lord Scrope, Earl of Sunderland, and Lord President of the North, and by him was made his secretary. So that residing in York for that purpose, he was by the mayor and aldermen of Richmond chose a Burgess for their corporation for that parliament that began at Westminster in the year 1627.'
1627. æt. 33. 'Four years after he went secretary to Robert earl of Leicester, ambassador extraordinary from our king to the king of Denmark: before whom and his children he shew'd himself a quaint orator by divers Latin speeches spoken before them, shewing the occasion of their embassy, to condole of death of Sophia, queen dowager of Denmark, grandmother to Charles I. king of England.'
1631. æt. 37. 'Afterwards going through several beneficial employments, particularly the assisting the clerks of the council,' he 'was at length, in the beginning of the civil war, made one of those clerks.'
1642. *Sept. æt. 48. 'But being prodigally inclined, and therefore running much into debt, he was seized on by order of a certain committee (after the king was forc'd from his parliament) and committed prisoner to the Fleet.'
- 'So that having nothing to trust to but his wits, and to the purchase of a small spot of ground upon Parnassus (which he held in fee of the Muses), he solely dedicated himself to write and translate books; which, tho' several of them are meer scribbles, yet they brought him in a comfortable subsistence, during his long stay there.'
- [1644. July
1646. æt. 66.] His brother Thomas consecrated Bishop of Bristol, but dies in 1646.
1660. æt. 66. 'After the King's return in 1660, we never heard of his restoration to his place of clerk of the council, (having before flatter'd Oliver and sided with the commonwealth's men), only that he was made the King's historiographer, being the first in England that bore that title; and having no beneficial employment, he wrote books to his last.'
- 'At length after he had taken many rambles in this world in his younger years, and had suffered confinement in his last,' he 'gave way to fate in the beginning of Novemb. in 1666, and was buried on the north side of the Temple church in London, near the round walk. Soon after was a monument set up in the wall over his grave, with this inscription thereon. *Jacobus Howell Cambro-Britannus, Regius Historiographus, (in Anglia primus) qui post varias peregrinationes, tandem naturæ cursum peregit, satur annorum et famæ, domi forisque huc usque erraticus, hic fixus 1666.* This monument was pulled down in 1683, when the said Temple church was beautified and repaired.'
- 'He had a singular command of his pen, whether in verse or prose, and was well read in modern histories, especially in those of the countries wherein he had travelled, had a parabolical and allusive fancy, according to his motto *Senesco non Segnesco*. But the reader is to know that his writings having been only to gain a livelihood, and by their dedications to flatter great and noble persons, are very trite and empty, stolen from other authors without acknowledgment, and fitted only to please the humours of novices.'

Wood's account of Howell may be accepted *pro tem.*; his estimate of him should be laid by for future investigation.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL.



AMUEL PURCHAS in his addrefs *To the Reader*, prefixed to his celebrated *Pilgrimes*, 1625, thus ſpeaks of foreign travel :—

As for Gentlemen, Trauell is accounted an excellent Ornament to them ; and therefore many of them comming to their Lands ſooner than to their Wits, aduenture themſelues to ſee the Faſhions of other Countries, where their ſoules and bodies find temptations to a twofold Whoredom, whence they ſee the World as *Adam* had *knowledge of good and euill*, with the loſſe or leſſening of their eſtate in this *Engliſh* (and perhaps alſo in the heavenly) Paradife, and bring home a few ſmattering termes, flattering garbes, Apith crings, foppish fancies, fooliſh guiſes and diſguiſes, the vanities of Neighbour Nations (I name not *Aaples*) without furthering of their knowledge of God, the World, or themſelues. I ſpeake not againſt Trauell, ſo vſefull to vſefull men, I honour the induſtrious of the liberall and ingenuous in arts, bloud, education : and to preuent exorbitancies of the other, which cannot trauell farre, or are in danger to trauell from God and themſelues, at no great charge I offer a World of Trauellers to their domeſticke entertainment. . . .

In the ſame ſpirit, ſeventeen years afterwards, Howell wrote his *Instructions for Forreine Travell*,—our firſt Handbook for the Continent. He intended it as a cautionary Guide to young Engliſh gentlemen who went abroad to complete their education, and to make their firſt acquaintance with Life and Manners.

In itſelf the book is very diſcurſive. A ſurvey of foreign politics, much ſhrewd ſpeculation in language, deſcriptions of foreign cuſtoms ; and in particular, a notable diſcrimination of the differing characters of the Frenchman and the Spaniard of his day ; theſe are mingled with the legitimate ſubject of the treatiſe : while at the cloſe, he offers an apology for Epiſcopacy, and is as ſevere as Purchas upon home-imported

fooleries. So that, while the Author wanders, Posterity gains.

One historic allusion may be made. It is interesting to connect this Tract on Travelling with the Life of our great Epic poet. John Milton, then a young man of thirty years of age, journeyed through France to Italy and back, in 1638-9. Inverting Howell's information, we may gather some impressions of Milton's foreign tour.

In the present Reprint, the second edition of 1650 has been collated with the first. Its variations—mainly grammatical—are shown between [], and its *Appendix* has been added.

The *Appendix* is not the result of actual observation. Howell never travelled 'into *Turky* and the *Levant* parts.' It is a brief memorandum compiled from general sources of information.

Altogether these *Instructions* give us an interesting glimpse of the Continent between 1618—when Howell first went abroad, staying away three years—and 1642. They are the counsels of a man, himself notable on many accounts. A thorough Welshman, Howell became a celebrated English author in his day. He was past forty years of age before his first book was published. Then for the remaining twenty odd years of his life, with an incessant and unwearying industry, he wrote, compiled, or translated book after book, each varying greatly in subject. Lastly, he is one of the earliest instances of a literary man successfully maintaining himself with the fruits of his pen.

INSTRUCTIONS
FOR
FORREINE
TRAVELL.

Shewing by what *cours*, and in
what *compasse of time*, one may
take an exact Survey of the King-
domes and States of Christen-
dome, and arrive to the practicall
knowledge of the Languages,
to good purpose.

— *Post motum dulcior inde Quies.*

LONDON,
Printed by *T. B.* for *Humphrey Mofley*,
at the *Princes Armes*, in *Paules*
Church-yard. 1642.

To the growing Glory

OF

Great Brittain,

Prince CHARLES.

A parallell 'twixt His *Highnesse*, and
the *Black Prince*.

SIR,



Ales had one Glorious Prince of haire and hue
(Which colour sticks unto Him still) like
You :

He travell'd far, He won His spurs in
France, (chance
And tooke the King, the KING, ô monstrous [wondrous]
Then His victorious troupes afresh He gathers
And with the gray Goose-wing his shafts [shaft] new
He beats a march up the Pyrene Hills, (fethers,
And the Cantabrian clime with terror fills,
To re-inthronc Don Pedro Castile's King,
Of which heroique Act all Stories ring.

Your Royall Sire travell'd so far, and Thay
Of all our Princes only made that way.

Who knowes, Great Sir, but by just destiny,
Your bunch of (Youthfull) Plumes may further fly?
But Faulcon-like, You may with full summ'd wing
The Eagle cuff, and from his tallons wring
The *Prey, or in exchange seize on his Ore,
And fixe Your Standard on the Indian shore.

'Twas by ^ba Charles, France once the Empire got,
'Twas by a ^cCharles the Spaniard dreue that lot,
Why may not Brittainc challenge the next call,
And by a CHARLES be made Imperiall?

* Palatinat.
^b Carolus Magnus.
Carol. Quintus.

———— Sic Vaticinatur.

I.A. HOWELL.



The Substance of this *Discours*.

O*F the advantage, and preheminence of the Eye.*
Of Forraine Travell, and the progresse of Learning.
What previous abilities are required in a Traveller.
A caveat touching his Religion.
Precepts for learning the French Language.
What Authors to be made choyce of, for the Government
and History of France.
Of Books in generall.
Of Historians, and a method to reade them.
Of Private Meditation.
[*A large discourse of the strange difference 'twixt the dis-*
position of the French and Spaniard.]
Of Poets.
An estimat of the expences of a Nobleman, or of a pri-
vate Gentleman a broad.
Advertisements for writing of Letters.

I*nstructions for travelling in Spaine.*
Of barren and fruitful Countreys.
The strange contrariety 'twixt the French and the Spaniard,
the reasons natural and accidental.
Of their cariage, cloathing, and diet, &c.
Of the Spanish Language, how to be studied, and of its
affinity with the Latine.
Of Spanish Authors.
The advantage of conversing with Marchants.

P*recepts for travelling in Italy.*
Of the people and Language.
Of the Republique of Venice and other States there.
What observations are most usefull in any Countrey.

A digression into a politicall Discours of the Princes of Europe.

Of crossing the Alpes, and passing through Germany.

Of the Court of Bruxells, and the Netherlands.

Of the wonderfull Stratagems used in those wars.

The best Authors for the Belgick Story.

Of the States of Holland, and their admired Industry, and Navall strength.

[*Cautions not to be deluded by false Manuscripts.*]

A *Discours of the vulgar languages of Europe, with their severall Dialects.*

Of the richnesse of the English Tongue.

Of the Pattuecos a People nere the heart of Spaine, never discovered til of late yeares.

Of the abuse of Forrain Travell.

Of S. Thomas Moore Traveller.

Of Ptolomeys Travellers, and of the most materiall use of Travel.

What cours a Traveller must take at his returne home.

Of the Parliamentary Governement of England, and her happinesse therein above other Countreys.

Of the Mathematiques ; of Chymistry.

[*Caveat for not Engaging too far in Chymistry.*]

CONTENTS OF THE APPENDIX, ADDED IN THE
SECOND EDITION OF 1650.

T *He Extent of the Turks Dominions*
The best waies for a Traveller to goe to Constantinople.

Of Greece

Of Constantinople

The first sight makes the firmest impressions

Of the Turkish Religion how it differs from others

Of their Civill Government

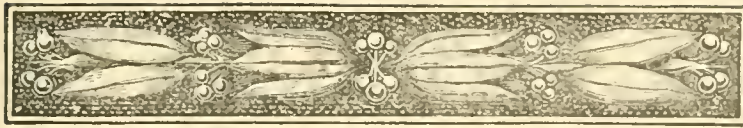
The speedinesse of Turkish Justice

Of the Turkes Militia

Of their Punishments

Of their Morall behaviour

Of the Cran Cayr.]



INSTRVCTIONS

[AND DIRECTIONS]

FOR

Forraine Travell.

SECTION. I.



Amongst those many advantages, which conluc to enrich the mind with [variety of] Knowledge, to rectify [and ascertain] the Iudgement, and [to] compose outward manners; [and build one up to the highest story of perfection, *Peregrination*, or] *Forraine Travell* is none of the least.

But to bee a Sedentary *Traveller* only, penn'd up between Wals, and to stand poring all day upon a Map, [upon Artificiall *Globes* or *Planisphares*,] upon imaginary Circles and Scales, is like him, who thought to come to bee a good Fencer, by looking on *Agrippa's* [or *Don Lius de Nervius'*] book-postures only: As also to run over and traverse the world by *Hearesay*, and traditionall relation, with other mens eyes, and so take all things upon courtesie, is but a confused and imperfect kind of speculation, which leaveth but weake and distrustfull notions behind it; in regard the *Eare* is

not so authentique a witnesse as the *Eye*; because the *Eye*, by which as through a cleare christall Casement, wee discern the various works of *Art* and *Nature*, and in one instant comprehend halfe the whole Vniverse in so small a roome after so admirable a manner, I say the *Eye* having a more quick and immediat commerce and familiarity with the *Soule* (being the principall of her *Cinq ports*, and her *Centinell* [being as it were her *centinell*, or the principall of her *Cinq ports*]) taketh in farre deeper Ideas, and so makes firmer and more lasting impressions. conveying the obiekt more faithfully [and clearely] to the memory, where it remains afterward upon [lasting] record in particular *topically* notes, [markes,] and indelible characters: For though I confesse with the *Stagirite*, that *Hearing* is the sense of *Learning* (and of *Faith* also, as the holy Text tels me) yet the *Sight* surpasseth it by many degrees [in point of activity and excellency], if [whether] you respect the curious workeman-ship [with the delicatenes] of the Organ, [and the advantage of situation being] *the readiest roade to the heart, and love's best Intelligencer and Usher*: As also for the penetrative apprehension of the object, with the intuitive vertue and force of affection, it worketh inwardly, as we find upon *good record* that a *heard of Sheepe* conceived once by the strength of the *Eye*, as likewise for the wonderfull quicknesse of this *Sense*, [Moreover this sense hath the preheminance of all the rest for the wonderfull quicknes of its motion,] which is such that it makes the *effect* oftentimes [seem to] fore-run the *cause*, as we see the *Lightning*, before wee *Hear* the *Thunder*, though thunder be first in Nature, being by the violent eruption it makes out of the [a] Cloud, the cause of such fulgurations. And [hereunto that] although one should reade all the Topographers that ever writ of, or anatomiz'd a Town or Countrey, and mingle Discourse with the most exact observers of the Government thereof, and labour to draw and draine out of them all they possibly know or can remember; Yet one's own

Ocular view, and personall conversation will still find out something new and unpointed at by any other, either in the cariage [behaviour] or the *Genius* of the people, or in the *Policy* and municipall customes of the Countrey, or in the quality of the *Clime* and *Soyle*, and so enable him to discourse more knowingly and confidently and vwith a kind of *Authority* thereof; It being an Act of parlament in force amongst all Nations: *That one Eye-witnesse is of more validity than ten Auricular.*

Moreover as *every one* is said to abound with his owne *sense*, and that among the race of man-kind, *Opinions* and *Fancies*, are found to be as various as the severall *Faces* and *Voyces*; So in each individuall man there is a differing facultie of *Observation*, of *Judgement*, of *Application*, vvhich makes that every one is best satisfied, and most faithfully instructed by himselfe, I do not meane soley by himselfe, (*for so he may have a foole to his Master*) but *Books* also, and conversation with the *Dead* must concur, for they are likewise good Teachers, and edifie infinitely; yet the study of living men, and a collation of his own *Optique* observations and judgement vwith theirs, vwork much more strongly, and where these meet (I meane the living and the dead) they perfect.

And indeed this is the prime use of *Peregrination*, which therefore may be not improperly called a *moving Academy*, or the true *Peripatetique Schoole*: This made *Ulysses* to be cryed up so much amongst the *Greeks* for their greatest wise man, because he had *Travelled* through many strange Countreys, and observed the manners of divers Nations, having seene, as it was said and sung of him, more *Cities* than there were *Houses* in *Athens*, which was much in that [green] age of the World: and the *Greatest* of their Emperours did use to glory in nothing so often, *as that he had surveyed more Land with his Eye, than other Kings could comprehend with their thoughts.*

Amongst other people of the Earth, *Islanders* seeme

to stand in most need of *Forraine Travell*, for they being cut off (as it were) from the rest of the Citizens of the World, have not those obvious accessses, and contiguity of situation, and [with] other advantages of society, to mingle with those more refined Nations, whom Learning and Knowledge did first *Vrbanize* and polish. And [Now] as all other things by a kind of secret instinct of Nature follow the motion of the Sun, so it is observed that the *Arts* and *Sciences* which are the greatest helps to Civility, and all *Morall* endowments as well as *Intellectuall*, have wheel'd about and travell'd in a kind of concomitant motion with that great Luminary of Heaven: They *budded* first amongst the *Brachmans* and *Gymnosophists* in *India*, then they *bloffom'd* amongst the Chaldeans and Priests of *Egypt* whence they came down the *Nile*, and crossed over to *Greece*, and there [where] they may bee said to have *borne ripe fruit*, having taken such firme rooting, and making so long a *Plantation* in *Athens* and else where: Afterwards they found the way to *Italy*, and thence they clammer'd over the Alpian hills to visit *Germany* and *France*, whence the *Britaines* with other North-west Nations of the lower World fetch'd them over; and it is not improbable that the next Flight they will make, will bee to the Savages of the new discovered World [*in America*], and so turne round, and by this circular perambulation visit the *Levantine*s again.

Hence we see what a *Traveller Learning* hath beene having in conformitie of cours, been a kind of companion to *Apollo* himfelfe: And as the Heavenly bodies are said to delight in movement and perpetuall circumgyration, wherein as *Pythagoras*, who by the *Delphian* Oracle was pronounced, the wisest man that ever *Greece* bredd, did hold, there was a kind of Musique and Harmonious concent that issued out of this regular motion, which we cannot perceive, because being borne in it, it is connaturall to us, so it is observed to be the Genius of all active and generous Spirits,

Quêis meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan.

[*Whom Titian with his gentle ray,
Hath Moulded of a finer clay;*]

To have been always transported with a desire of *Travell*, and not to be bounded, or confined within the shoares and narrow circumference of an *Island*, without ever-treading any peece of the *Continent*; whereas on the other side, meane and vulgar spirits, whose *Soules* fore no higher than their *Sense*, love to hover ever about home, lying still as it were at dead anchor, moving no further than the length of the cable, whereunto they are tyed, not daring to lance out into the maine, to see the wonders of the deep: Such a one was hee of whom *Claudian* speakes, to have had his *birth*, *breeding*, and *buriall* in one Parish; [whence he never had fallied out the whole course of his life:] such slow and sluggish spirits may be said to bee like *Snailles* or *Tortuises* in their shels, crawling always about their own home, or like the *Cynique*, shut up alwayes in a Tub.

Amongst other Nations of the World the *English* are observed to have gained much, and improved themselves infinitely by voyaging both by Land and Sea, and of those foure *Worthies* who compassed about the Terrestriall Globe, I find the major part of them were *English*, but the scope of this Discours is to prescribe precepts for *Land Travell* only (for the other requires another Tract apart) and first,

*A Iove principium ———
Sic feret antennas aura fecunda tuas.*

[*Begin with Iove, then an auspicious gale
Will fill thy sayles, and to safe harbour hale.*]

SECT. II.



It is very requisite that hee who exposeth himselfe to the hazard of *Forraine Travell*, should bee well grounded and settled in his *Religion*, the *beginning* and *basis* of all Wisdome, and somewhat versed in the Controversies 'twixt us and [other Churches,] the Church of *Rome*, which I presume he hath done in the *Univerfity*, where (I take it for granted, hee hath been matriculated, and besides his initiation in the *Arts* and *Sciences*, and [hath] learn't to chop *Logick* (and [now] *Logick* though she be no *Science* of her self, but as she is subservient to another, *Like the Shoemakers Last*, that may bee applyable to any foot, yet no *Science* can bee rightly studied without her method, nor indeed can the termes of *Art* be well understood, or any Scholler-like discours fram'd but by *her*) where I say, [I presume that my Traveller hath bin first an Univerfity man,] besides these studies, [where besides other introductions to knowledge,] he hath sucked the pure milke of true Religion, and Orthodoxall truth, and such a one will be rather confirmed, than shaken in the tenets of his *Faith*. when he seeth [the indecencies, irreuerence, and bold Prophane postures in some churches, as well as] the sundry fond fantastique formes, which have crept into the solemne service [worship] of God, [in other places] since the primitive times, for the *practise* of the *Roman* Church is worse than her *positions*, [Now for the *Roman* Church, he may obserue that some of her *Practises* have given men more occasion of Forfaking Her, than her *Positions*,] so that [for] I have knowne some, [divers] who were [being] wrought upon very far by the one, [to be] averted [from her] again by the other. I meane by [the multitud of] her Ceremonies, which in some places are so mimicall, and set forth in such antique postures, that it may be not improperly sayd, [that they give her Enemies occasion of advantage to say, that] whereas *Religion*

should go array'd in a grave *Matron*-like habit, [they vse to cloath her by the dresse of som Saints] they have clad her rather like a wanton *Courtisane* in light dresse: [to please the outward base and the common people.] Such a one, I meane he that is well instructed in his own *Religion*, may passe under the torrid Zone, and not bee Sun-burnt, if he carry this *bon-grace* about him, or [and] like the River *Danube* which scornes to mingle with the muddy streame of *Sava*, though they run both in one Channell, or like [the chaste River] *Arcthusa*, which *Travell*eth many hundred miles through the very bowels of the *Sea*, yet at her journey's end issueth out fresh again, without the least mixture of saltnesse or brackishnesse: So such a one may passe and repasse through the very midst of the *Roman See*, [(or *Genewa lake* either)] and shoot the most dangerous *Gulphe* thereof, and yet returne home an *untainted* [English] Protestant; nay he will be confirmed in zeale to his owne *Religion*, and illuminated the more with the brightnesse of the truth thereof; by the glaring lights and specious glosses, which the other useth to cast; For *Opposita juxta se posita magis clucescunt*. Nay the more he is encompassed with the superstitions, of the contrary, [with the *coldnes* of some Churches and the too many ceremonies of others,] the more he will bee strengthened in his own *Faith*; like a good Well useth to be hotter in Winter than Summer, *per Antiperistasin*, that is, by the coldnesse [frigidity] of the circumambient ayre, which in a manner besiegeth it round, and so makes the intrinsique heate, unite and concentre it selfe the more strongly to resist the invading Enemy.

After *Religion*, it is fitting he should be well versed in the *Topography*, *Government* and *History* of his own Country, for some are found *Foris sapere*, and *domi cœcutire*, to be *Eagles* abroad, and stark *Buzzards* at home, being not able to satisfie a stranger by exchange of discours, in any thing touching the State of their owne Countrey.

To this end it were not amisse to run over *Cambden*,

Sir *John Smiths* Common-wealth, with those short pieces of Story, as [*Heywood,*] *Daniel* and others who have written of the *English* Kings since the Conquest, and extract out of them, what traverses of war, what other passages and entercourses of State have happened 'twixt us and other Nations since the last Conquest, specially the *French* our nearest neighbors : It is also very behooffull, that he have a passable understanding of the *Latine* tongue, whereof the *Italian*, the *Spanish*, and *French*, are but as it were *branches* of the same Tree : they are but *Dialects* or *Daughters*, and having gain'd the good will of the *Mother*, hee will quickly prevayle with the *Daughters*.

[It is requisite] That hee understand the use of the Map and Globe, to find out the Longitude and Latitude of all places, and to observe and compare the temper of them as hee shall passe along.

Lastly [tis most fitting] that hee seriously contemplate within himself, how the eyes of all the World are upon *Him*, as his are upon the *World*, [let him consider] what his parents, kindred and acquaintance, yea his Prince will expect at his returne : [Let him think] That he is now in the very forge of his hopes, either upon making or marring : That (being of Noble extraction) he is like to be a Star of the greatest Magnitude in the Spheare of his owne Countrey, therefore common qualities will not serve his turne, that the higher the building is, the more it requires exquisit forme and symmetry, that *Nobility* without inward ornaments is *as faire gilded shels without kernels, or like a fattin doublet with canvas linings*, whereas on the other side Vertue reflecting upon a Noble subject, is as the Sunbeames falling [glancing] upon a rock of Cristall, which makes the reverberation stronger and far more resplendent, or as rich gold-embrodery, upon a piece of [*Florence*] Tissue : Such thoughts as these will worke much upon an ingenious Spirit, and bee as a golden Spur, to set him forward, and cheere him in this high roade of Vertue, and Knowledge.

SECT. III.



He first Countrey that is most requisite for the *English* to know, is *France*, in regard of neighboured, of conformity in Government in divers things and necessary intelligence of State, and of [with] the use one shall have of that Language wheresoever he passe [passeth now] further : And the younger one goeth to *France* the better [it is]. because of the hardnesse [difficulty] of the accent and pronunciation [to an english mouth], which will be hardly overcome by one who hath passed his minority, and in this point the *French Tongue* may bee said to be like *Fortune*, who, being a woman, loves youth best. Whereas for other Tongues, one may attaine to speake [the speaking of] them to very good purpose, and get their good will at any age ; the *French Tongue* by reason of the huge difference 'twixt their writing and speaking, will put one often into fits of despaire and passion, as wee read of one of the Fathers, who threw away *Perfius* against the wals, saying, *si non vis intelligi debes negligi*, [if thou wilt not be vnderstood go hang thy selfe ;] but the Learner [of French] must not bee daunted [choleric] awhit at that, but [though she neither writes as she speakes, nor pronounce as she writes, yet she must not shake you off so, but] after a little intermission hee must come on more strongly, and with a pertinacity of resolution set upon her again and againe, and woe her as one would do a coy Mistres, with a kind of importunity, untill he overmaster her [and she will be very plyable at last].

Indeed some of riper plants [years] are observed to over-a^ct themselves herein, for while they labour to *trencher le mot*, to cut the word, as they say, and speake like naturall *French-men*, and to get the true genuine tone (and [now] every tongue hath a tone or tune peculiar to her self, specially the *French*, which hath a whining kind of querulous tone specially amongst the peasantry, which I beleieve proceeded from that pittifull slavery

[subjection] they are brought unto) I say while they labour for this, they fall a lisping and mincing, and to distort and strain their mouths and voyce, so that they render themselves fantastique and ridiculous; let it bee sufficient for one of riper yeares, to speake *French* intelligibly, roundly, and congruously without such forc'd affectation.

The *French tongue* like the [Gentry of that] Nation, is a bold and hardy speech, therefore the learner must not be bashfull or meale mouth'd in speaking any thing, whatsoever it is, let it come forth confidently whither true or false *Sintaxis*; for a bold vivacious spirit hath a very great advantage in attaining the *French*, or indeed any other Language [over a soft and bashfull nature]: He must be cautious not to force any *Anglicismes* upon the *French Tongue*, that is certaine vulgar Phrases, Proverbs, and Complements, which are peculiar to the *English*, and not vendible or used in *French*, as I heard of one that could not forbear a great while to salute his Land-Lord by *bon matin*: Another would be alwayes complaining at play of his *mauvaise Fortune*: Another when at the racket court he had a ball struck into his hazard, hee would ever and anon cry out, *estes vous là avec vos Ours*, Are you there with your Beares? which is ridiculous in any other language but *English*, for every speech hath certaine *Idiomes*, and customary *Phrases* of its own, and the *French*, of all other, hath a kind of contumacy of phrase, in respect of our manner of speaking, proper to it selfe.

He must alwayes have a *Diary* about him, when he is in motion of Journeys, to set down what [either his eares heare, or] his *Eyes* meetes with most remarkable in the day time, out of which he may raise matter of discours at night, and let him take it for a rule, that *Hee offend lesse who writes many toyes, than he, who omits one serious thing*. For the Penne maketh the deepest furrowes, and doth fertilize, and enrich the memory more than any thing else.

Littera scripta manet, sed manant lubrica verba.

It were very requisite to have a book of the *Topographical* description of all places, through which hee passeth; and I think *Bertius*, or the Epitome of *Ortelius*, which are small and portable, would bee the best. At his first comming to any Citie he should repaire to the chief Church (if not Idolatrous) to offer up his sacrifice of thanks, that hee is safely arrived thither, and then some have used to get on the top of the highest Steeple, where one may view with advantage, all the Countrey circumjacent, and the site of the City, with the advenues and approaches about it; and so take a Landskip of it.

Being come to *France*, his best cours will be to retire to some Vniversity about the *Loire*, unfrequented by the *English*, for the greatest bane of *English* Gentlemen abroad, is too much frequency and communication with their own Countrey-men, and there let him apply himselfe seriously to gaine the practicall knowledge of the *Language*, and for the time *hoc agere*. [Which hee may doe by studying matter as well as words. And] This hee may do with more advantage, if hee repaires sometimes to the *Courts of Pleading*, and to the *Publique Schooles*; For in France they presently fall from the *Latine*, to dispute in the vulgar tongue: So that it were not amisse for him to spend some time in the *New Academy*, erected lastly by the *French* Cardinall in *Richelieu*, where all the *Sciences* are read in the *French* tongue, which is done of purpose to refine, and enrich the Language [as well as to encourage the Gentry to the Arts].

Some have used it as a prime help to advance Language, to have some ancient Nunne for a *Divota*, with whom hee may chat at the grates, when hee hath little else to do, for the *Nunnes* speake a quaint Dialect, and besides they have most commonly all the *Newes* that passe, and they will entertaine discours till one bee weary, if hee bestow on them now and then some small bagatels, as *English Gloves* or *Knifs*, or *Ribands*; and before hee go over, hee must furnish himselfe with such

small curiosities; but this I dare not advise him to [this must be done with much caution], in regard the *Hazard* one way may bee greater, than the *Advantage* the other way.

In this retirement he must assigne some peculiar dayes to read the *History* of the Countrey exactly, which is a most usefull and delightfull study: For in *History*, that great *Treasury of Time*, and *promptuary of Heroique actions*, there are words to speake, and works to imitat, with rich and copious matter to raise Discours upon: *History*, next to *Eternity* only triumphs over *Time*, she, only after *God Almighty* can do miracles, for shee can bring back *Age past*, and give life to the *Dead*, to whom she serves as a sacred shrine to keep their names immortall.

Touching *Books* he must choose them, as hee should do his *Friends*, *Few*, but *Choyce* ones, yet he may have many *Acquaintance*: And as for *morall* society, the greatest *Wisdome* of a man is discerned in a judicious election of his friends, which are as *Commentaries* upon one's selfe, and are more necessary than fire and water, as the *Philosopher* said: So for speculative and private conversation with *Authors* our *dead Associates*, there must bee most judgement used in the choice of them, specially when there is such a confusion of them, as in *France*, which as *Africk* produceth alwayes somthing New, for I never knew week passe in *Paris*, but it brought forth some new kinds of *Authors*; but let him take heed of *Tumultuary*, and *disjointed* *Authors*, as well as of *frivolous*, and *pedantique*.

And touching *Bookes*, as a noble speculative *Lord* of this Land said, some are to be *tasted* only, some *chewed*, and some *swallowed*: Hereunto I will adde that some are to be *dissected* and *anatomized* into *Epi-tomes* and *Notes*.

To this purpose for the generall *History* of *France*, *Serres* is one of the best, and for the moderne times *d'Aubigni*. *Pierre Mathieu*, and *du Pleix*; for the politicall and martiall government, *du Haillan*, de

la Noüe, Bodin, and the Cabinet; Touching *Commines*, who was contemporary with *Machiavil*, 'twas a witty speech of the last Queen mother of *France*, that *he made more Heretiques in Policy, than Luther ever did in Religion*: Therefore he requires a reader of riper years.

The most difficult taske in gaining a forrain language is to turne *English* into it, for to translate another *Tongue* into *English*, is not halfe so hard nor profitable. In reading hee must couch in a faire Alphabetique paper-book the notablest occurrences, such alliances, and encounters of warre (speciall in the *last Race* of the Kings) that have intervned 'twixt *England* and *France*, and set them by themselves in Sections. When he meets with any great businesse, hee must observe therein the *preceding Counsels, the action it selfe, the motives of it, and the mould wherein it was cast, the progresse and even of it* [*with the aym and end of it*], which if successeful, he must note by what kind of Instruments, confederations and cours of policy it was carried, if not, where the difficulties and defects lay. The manner and method in reading of *Annalists* is infinitely advantagious, if one take his rise handsomely from the beginning, and follow the series of the matter, the Epoch of the times, and regular succession and contemporarineffe of Princes; otherwise if one read skippingly and by snatches, and not take the *thread* of the story along, it must needs puzzle and distract the memory, wherein *his observations will lye confusedly huddled up, like a skeine of intangle silk*.

For *Sundayes* and *Holydayes*, there bee many Treatises of Devotion in the *French* tongue, full of pathetick ejaculations and Heavenly raptures, and his *Closet* must not be without some of these. For he must make account before hand that his *Closet* must bee his *Church*, and chiefeſt *Chappel* abroad. Therefore it were necessary when he fixeth in any place, to have alwayes one in his chamber, whether to retire early and late, to his *soliloquies* and meditations, *the golden*

keyes wherewith hee must open and shut the day, and let in the night, and [with] deaths Cousin-german [when goeth to bed].

Peter du Moulin hath many fine pieces to this purpose, du Pleſſis, Allencour, and others; and let him bee converſant with ſuch Books only upon Sundayes, and not mingle humane Studies with them. His Cloſet alſo muſt be his Rendez-vous, whenſoever hee is ſurprized with any fit of penſivenefſe (as thoughts of Country and Kindred will often affect one) For no earthly thing exhilarats the heart more, and rayſeth the ſpirits to a greater height of comfort than converſation with God, than peace with Heaven, than Spirituall Meditation, whereby the Soule melts into an inconceivable ſweetneſſe of delight, and is delivered from all diſtempers, from all tumultuary confuſion and diſturbance of thoughts: And [Note] there is none, let him have the humors never ſo well balanced within him, but is ſubject unto [ſuch diſtempers and] anxiety of mind ſometimes, for while we are compoſed of foure differing Elements, wherewith the humours within us ſymboliſe we muſt have perpetuall ebbings and flowings of mirth and melancholy, which have their alternatiſ turnes in us, as naturally as it is for the night to ſucceed the day: For as the Phyſicians hold there is no perfection of corporall health in this life, but a convaleſſence at beſt, which is a medium 'twixt health and ſickneſſe, ſo is it in the ſtate of the mind. [There is no compleat and incontrouled comfort.] This extends from the Lord to the Laquay, from the Peaſant to the Prince, whoſe Crown is oftentimes inlayed with thornes, whoſe robe is furred with feares, whercof the Ermine is no ill Embleme, having as many black ſpots in it as white; Nor is there any thing ſo hereditary to mankind as vexation of ſpirit, which doubtleſſe was the ground the Pagan Philoſopher built his opinion upon, that the Rationall ſoule was given to Man, for his ſelfe-puniſhment and martyrdome,

— Man often is
A tyrant to himſelfe, a Phalaris.

But as when we go abroad, we cannot hinder the birds of the ayre to fly and flutter about our heads, yet we may hinder them to roost or nestle within our haire: So while we travaile in this life, we cannot prevent but myriads of melancholy cogitations, and [swarmes of] thoughtfull cares and longings will often seaze upon our imaginations, yet we may hinder these thoughts to build their nests within our bosomes, and [or] to descend from the head to the heart and take footing there; if they do, I told you before, what's this best cordiall to expell them thence.

There bee some French Poets will affoord excellent entertainment, specially Du Bartas, and 'twere not amisse to give a slight salute to Ronzard, Desportes, and the late Theopile: And touching Poets, they must be used like flowers, some must be only [some serve only to be] smelt unto, but some are good to bee thrown into a Limbique [and] to be Distilled; whence the memory may carry away the Elixir of them, for true Poetry is the quintessence, or rather the Luxury of Learning. Let him runne over also the Proverbs of every Countrey, and cull out the choicest of them, for many of them carry much weight, wit, and caution, with them.

And every Nation hath certaine Proverbs and Adages peculiar to it selfe; Neither would it be time ill spent to reade Æsop in every tongue, and make it his taske to relate some Fable every day to his Governor or some other by heart.

Thus the life of a Traveller is spent either in Reading, in Meditation, or in Discours: by the first hee converseth with the Dead, by the second with Himselfe, by the last with the Living, which of all the three is most advantagious for attaining a Language, the life whereof consists in societie and communication; let his Chamber be street ward to take in the common cry and Language, and [to] see how the Town is serv'd [and the world wags about him], for it will bee no unprofitable diversion to him, but for his Closet let it bee in the inner part.

SECT. IV.



Having by the retirement aforesaid attained to a conversable Knowledge in the *French* tongue, hee may then adventure upon *Paris*, and the Court, and visit Ambassadors, and going in the equipage of a young Nobleman. hee may entertaine a Cook, a Laquay, and some young [*French*] youth for his Page, to parley and chide withall, (whereof he shall have occasion enough) and to get some faire lodgings to keep house of himself, and [but] sometimes he may frequent Ordinaries, for it will much breake and enbolden him : } As for expences, he must make accompt that every servant he hath (whereof there should be none *English* but his *Gouverneur*) every one will stand him in 50 pounds a piece *per annum* ; And for his owne expences, he cannot allow himselfe lesse than 300 l.] I include herein all sorts of exercises, his *Riding*, *Dancing*, *Fencing*, the *Racket*, *Coach-hire*, with other casuall charges, together with his *Apparell*, which if it bee *fashionable*, it matters not how *plaine* it is, it being a ridiculous vanity to go gaudy amongst Strangers [in a strange Country, specially in *France*], it is, as if one should light a candle to the Sun.

The time that he spends in *Paris*, must be chiefly employed to improve himselfe in the exercises aforesaid, for there the choycest Masters are of any part of Christendome. Hee must apply himselfe also to know the fashion and garb of the Court, observe the Person and Genius of the Prince, enquire of the greatest Noble-men, and their Pedigree (which I recommend to his speciall consideration) of the Favorits and Prime Counsellors of State, the most eminent Courtiers, and if there bee any famous man, to seek conversation with him, for it was the saying of a great *Emperour*, *that he had rather go fifty miles to heare a wise man, than five to see a faire City*.

For private Gentlemen and Cadets, there be divers *Academies* in *Paris*, Colledge-like, where for 150 pistols a yeare, which come to about 110 l. sterling *per annum* of our money, one may be very well accommodated, with lodging and diet for himselfe and a man. and be taught to Ride, to Fence, to manage Armes, to Dance, Vault, and ply the *Mathematiques*.

There are in *Paris* every week commonly some *Odde*, *Pamphlets* and *Pasquils* dispersed, and drop'd up and down; for there is no where else that monstrous liberty (yet *London* hath exceeded her farre now of late, the more I am sory) which with the *Gazets* and *Courants* hee should do well to reade weekly, and raise Discours thereon, for though there be many triviall passages in them. yet are they couched in very good Language, and one shall feele the generall pulse of *Christendome* in them, and know the names of the most *famous men* that are up and down the World in action.

Some do use to have a small leger booke fairely bound up table-book-will [table-book wife], wherein when they meet with any person of note and eminency. and journey or pension with him any time, they desire him to write his Name, with some short Sentence. which they call *The mot of remembrance*, the perusall whereof will fill one with no unpleasing thoughts of dangers and accidents passed.

One thing I must recomend to his speciall care, that he be very punctuall in writing to his Friends once a month at least, which hee must do exactly, and not in a carelessie perfunctory way, *For Letters are the Ideas and truest Mirror of the Mind, they shew the inside of a man*, and by them it will be discerned how he improveth himselfe in his courses abroad: there will be plenty of matter to fill his letters withall once a month at least: And by his *Miffives* let it appeare that he doth not only *Remember*, but *meditate* on his Friend; not to scribble a few cursory lines, but to write elaborately and methodically, and thereby hee will quickly come

to the habit of writing well: And [Now] of all kind of *Humane Meditations*, those of ones absent Friends be the pleasantst, specially when they are endeared and nourished by correspondence of Letters, which by a Spirituall kind of power do [can] enamour, and mingle Soules more sweetly than any embraces.

SECTION. V.



Having Wintered thus in *Paris*, that hodge (though dirty) Theater of all Nations (and Winter is the fittest season to be there) and plyed [also] his exercises to some perfection, the fittest Countrey for him to see next is *Spaine*, and in his Journey thither he shall traverse the whole diameter of *France* one way, and passing through *Gascogne* and *Languedoc*, hee shall prepare himselfe by degrees to endure the heate of the *Spanish* clime; let him not encumber himselfe with much luggage: and for his *Apparell*, let him as soon as he enters *Spaine* go after their fashion, for as a *Spaniard* looks like a bug-bear in *France* in his own cut, so a *Frenchman* appeares ridiculous in *Spaine*: nor would I advise him to cary about him any more money than is absolutly necessary to defray his expences. for some in this particular have beene *Peny-wise* and *Pound-foolish*, who in hopes of some small benefit in the rates, have left [lost] their principall, exposing their *Persons* and *Purses*, to dayly hazard, and inviting (as it were) unto them danger for their *Companion*, and feare for their *bed-fellow*.

For although Sir *Thomas More* wisheth one to carry always his *Friends* about him, abroad, by which hee meanes *pieces of gold*: Yet too great a number of such *Friends*, is an *encomber* and may betray him: It will make his Journey all along to be a *Motus trepidationis*. And he that loades himselfe with a charge of money, when he may carry it about him with such security, and ease, in a small piece of paper, I meane a Letter of credit, or Bill of exchange; is as wise as he, who

carried the coach-wheele upon his back, when he might have trilled it before him all along.

In *Spaine* hee must bee much more carefull of his diet, abstemious from fruit, more reserved and cautelous in his Discours, but entertaine none at all touching *Religion*, unlesse it be with *Silence*; a punctuall repaire of visits, extraordinary humble in his comportment; for the *Spaniards*, of all other, love to be respected at their own homes, and cannot abide an insolent cariage in a Stranger; On the other side, *Courtesie* and *Morigeration*, will gaine mightily upon them, and *courtesie* is the chiefeest cognisance of a Gentleman, which joyned with discretion, can only *Travaile* all the World over without a *Passport*, and of all sorts of Friends, he is the cheapest who is got by *Courtesie*, and *Complement* only: Moreover a respectfull and humble cariage, is a mighty advantage to gaine Intelligence and Knowledge; *It is the Key that opens the breast, and unlocks the heart of any one: He that looked downward, saw the Stars in the water, but he who looked only upward could not see the water in the Stars:* therefore there is much more to bee got by *Humility* than otherwise.

One thing I would dissuade him from, which is from the excessive commendation and magnify[i]ng of his own Countrey; for it is too much observed, that the *English* suffer themselves to be too [over] much transported with this subject, [using] to undervalue and vilifie other Countreys, for which I have heard them often censured. *The Earth is the Lords, and all the corners thereof, he created the Mountaines of Wales, as well as the Wiles of Kent; the rugged Alpes, as well as the Fertile plaines of Campagnia, the boggy fenues of Frizeland, as well as the daintiest Valleys [Champions] in France;* and to inveigh against, or deride a Countrey for the barrenesse thereof, is tacitly [by inference] to taxe God Almighty of *Improvvidence* and *Partiality*. And it had beene wished, some had beene more temperate in this theme at their being in the *Spanish* Court, in the yeare 1623. For my part, as the *Great Philosopher* holds it for a maxime,

that *Mountainous people*, are the most pious; so are they observed to be the hardiest, as also the barrener a Country is, the more Masculine and Warlike the spirits of the Inhabitants are, having as it were more of men in them; Witnesse the *Scythian* and *Goth*, and other rough-hewen hungry Nations, which so often over-ranne *Italy*, for all her *Policy* and *Learning*; and herein Nature may seeme to recompence the hard condition of a Countrey the other way.

Having passed the *Prencers* hee shall palpably discern (as I have observed in another larger *Discours*) the suddenest and strangest difference 'twixt the Genius and Garb of two People, though distant but by a very small separation, as betwixt any other upon the surface of the Earth; I knowe *Nature delights and triumphs in dissimilitudes*; but here, shee seemes to have industriously, and of set purpose studied it; for they differ not onely *Accidentally* and *Outwardly* in their *Cloathing* and *Cariage*, in their *Diet*, in their *Speaches* and *Customes*: but even *Essentially* in the very *faculties of the Soule*, and *operations* thereof, and in every thing else, *Religion* and the forme of a *Rationall* creature only excepted; which made *Doctor Garcia* thinke to aske a *Midwife* once, whither the *Frenchman* and *Spaniard* came forth into the World in the same posture from the womb or no.

Go first to the *Operations* of the *Soule*, the one is *Active* and *Mercuriall*, the other is *Speculative* and *Saturnine*: the one *Quick* and *Ayry*, the other *Slow* and *Heavy*; the one *Discursive* and *Sociable*, the other *Revered* and *Thoughtfull*; The one addicts himselfe for the most part to the study of the *Law* and *Canons*, the other to *Positive* and *Schoole Divinity*; the one is *Creatura sine Præterito et Futuro*, the other hath too much of both; the one is a *Prometheus*, the other an *Epinethus*; the one *apprehends and forgets quickly*, the other doth both *slowly*, with a judgement more abstruse and better fixed, *et in se reconditum*; the one will dispatch the weightiest affaires as hee walke along in the

streets, or at meales, the other upon the least occasion of businesse will retire solemnly to a room, and if a Fly chance to hum about him, it will discompose his thoughts, and puzzle him: It is a kind of sicknesse for a *Frenchman* to keep a *Secret* long, and all the drugs of *Egypt* cannot get it out of a *Spaniard*.

The *French* capacity, though it apprehend and assent unto the *Tenets* of *Faith*, yet he resteth not there, but examines them by his *owne reason*, debates the businesse *pro et contra*, and so is often gravelled upon the quick sands of his own brain, the *Spaniard* cleane contrary by an *implicite Faith* and *generall Obedience* beleeveth the *Canons* and *Determination* of the *Church*, and presently subjects his *Understanding* thereunto, he sets bounds to all his *Wisdome* and *Knowledge*, and labours to avoyd all *Speculation* [doubtings and dissertation] thereon, fearing through the frailty of his *Intellectuals*, to fall into some Error.

Go to their *Garb* and *Clothing*, the one weares *long haire*, the other *short*; the one goes *thin and open clad*, the other *close and warm*, so that although the Sun should dart down his rayes like lances upon him, yet he could not bee brought to open one button of his doublet; the one goes *gay without*, the other *underneath*; the one weares his *Cloake long*, the other *short*; so, that one might give him a Suppositor with his *Cloake* about him, if need were; the one puts on his *Doublet first*, the other *last*; the *Frenchman* buttoneth alwayes *down-ward*, the *Spaniard upward*; the one goes *high-heeled*, the other *low and flat*, yet looks as high as the other; the one carrieth a *Combe* and *Looking-glasse* in his pocket, the other a piece of *bayes* to wipe off the dust of his shooes: And if the one hath a Fancy to *stars* [*starch*] his mustachos, the other hath a leather *bigothero* to lye upon them all night; the first thing the one pawns, being in necessity, is his *Shirt*, the other his *Cloak*, and so by degrees his *Cassoke* goes off, and then his *Doublet*; the one cares more for the *Back*, and outward appearance, the other prefers the *Belly*;

the one is constant in his fashion, for the other 'tis impossible to put him in a constant kind of *Habit*,

————— *You may as soone*

Cut out a kirtle for the Moone.

Go to their *Diet*, the one drinks *Watered Wine*, the other *Wine watered*; the one *begins* his repast, where the other *ends*; the one *begins* with a *Sallet*, and *light meat*, the other concludeth his repast so; the one begins with his *boyled*, the other with his *roast*; the *Frenchman* will *Eate* and *Talke*, and *Sing* sometimes, and to his *Teeth* and his *Tongue* go often together, the *Spaniards Teeth* only walk, and fals closely to it with as little noyse and as solemnly as if he were at *Massé*.

Go to their *Gate*, the *Frenchman* walks *fast*, (as if he had a *Sergeant* always at his heeles,) the *Spaniard* *slowly*, as if hee were newly come out of some quartan *Ague*; the *French* go up and down the streets *confusedly* in clusters, the *Spaniards* if they be above three, they go two by two, as if they were going a *Procefsion*; the *French* *Laquays* march *behind*, the *Spaniards* *before*; the one *beckens* upon you with his hand cast *upward*, the other *downward*; the *Frenchman* will not stick to pull out a *Peare* or some other thing out of his pocket, and eate it as he goes along the street, the *Spaniard* will starve rather than do so, and *would never forgive himselfe, if he should commit such a rudenesse*; the *Frenchman* if he spies a *Lady* of his acquaintance, he will make boldly towards her, salute her with a kisse, and offer to *Vsher* her by the hand or arme, the *Spaniard* upon such an encounter, useth to recoyle backward, with his hands hid under his Cloack, and for to *touch or kisse* her, he holds it a *rudenesse beyond all barbarisme*, a kind of sacriledge; the *Frenchmen* is best and most proper on *Horseback*, the *Spaniard* a *foot*; the one is good for the *Onset*, the other for a *retrait*: the one like the *Wind* in the Fable, is full of ruffling fury, the other like the *Sun*, when they went to try their strength upon the Passengers Cloake. The one takes the *ball before the bound*, *A la volée*, the other *slayeth for the*

fall; the one *shuffleth the Cards better*, the other *playes his game more cunningly*; your *French-man* is much the fairer *Duellist*, for when hee goeth to the *Field*, he commonly puts off his doublet and opens his breast; the *Spaniard* cleane contrary, besides his shirt, hath his doublet quilted, his coat of maile, his cassock, and strives to make himselfe impenetrable.

Go to their *Tune*, the one delights in *Ionique*, the other altogether in the *Dorique*.

Go to their *Speech*, the one *Speakes oft*, the other *feldome*; the one *Fast*, the other *slowly*; the one *man-gleth, cuts off, and eates many Letters*, the other *pronounceth all*; the one *contracts and enchaines* his words, and *speakes presingly and short*, the other delights in *long breathed Accents*, which he prolates with such *pauses*, that before he be at the period of his Sentences, one might reach a *Second thought*: The ones *Mind* and *Tongue* go commonly together (and the *first* comes sometimes in the arreare) the others *Tongue* comes flagging a furlong after his *mind*, in such a distance, that they feldome or never meet and jstle one another.

In fine *Mercury* swayeth ore the one, and *Saturne* ore the other, infomuch that out of the premisses, you may inferre, that there is an *Intellectuall, Politicall, Morall* and *Naturall* op[p]osition betweene them both in their *Comportement, Fancies, Inclinations, Humours*, and the very *Understanding*, so that one may say, *What the one is, the other is not*; and [all this] in such a vifible discrepancy, that if one were fetched from the remotest parts of the Earth, [which] the Sunne displayeth his beames upon, yea from the very *Antipods*, he would *agre* with either better, than they do one with another.

SECT. VI.



ND truly I have many times and oft busied my spirits, and beaten my brains here-upon, by taking information from *dead and living men*, and by my own *practicall observations*, to know the true cause of this

strange *antipathy* betwixt two such potent and so neare neighbouring Nations, which bringeth with it such [so great a] mischief into the World; and keepes *Christendome* in a perpetuall alarme: For although the *Ill Spirit* bee the principall Author thereof, as *being the Father and fomentor of all discord and hatred* (it being also part of the *Turkes letany, that warres should continue still betwene these two potent Nations*) to hinder the happy fruit that might grow out of their Vnion: yet nevertheless it must bee thought that hee cannot shed this poyson, and sow these cursed tares, unlesse hee had some grounds to work his designe upon.

And to fly to the ordinary termes of *Sympathy* and *Antipathy*, I know it is the *common refuge of the ignorant, when being not able to conceive the true reason of naturall Actions and Passions in divers things, they fly to indefinite generality, and very often to these inexplicable termes of Sympathy and Antipathy.*

Some as Doctor *Garcia*, and other Philosophicall Authors, attribute this opposition to the *qualities of the clymes and influences of the Stars, which are known to beare sway over all Sublunary bodies, insomuch that the position of the Heavens, and Constellations, which hang over Spaine, being of a different vertue and operation to that of France, the temper and humours of the Natives of the one, ought to bee accordingly disagreeing with the other.*

An opinion which may gaine credit and strength from the authority of the famous Hippocrates, who in his Book of Ayre, Water, and Climes, affirmeth that the diversity of Constellations, cause a diversity of Inclinations, of humors and complexions; and make the bodies whereupon they operate, to receive fundry sorts of impressions. Which reason may have much apparance of truth, if one consider the differing fancies of these two Nations, as it hath reference to the Predominant Constellations, which have the vogue, and qualifie the Seasons amongst them.

For then when the heate beginneth in Spaine, the violence thereof lasteth a long time without intension, or re-

mission, or any considerable change, the humour of the Spaniard is just so, for if he resolves once upon a thing he perseveres, he ponders and dwells constantly upon it, without wavering from his first deliberation; it being one of his prime axiomes, that *Deliberandum est diu, quod statuendum est semel*.

It is farre otherwise in France, for be it Sommer or Winter, Autumne or Spring, neither the cold nor heate, nor serenity of Ayre continueth nere so long, without a sensible vicissitude and change; so that it may be truly said there in the morning,

Nescis quid ferus Vesper trahat.

Therefore it being granted that all Elementary bodies depend upon the motion and vertue of the Heavenly; the people of France must of necessity partake of the inconsistency of the Clime, both in their passions and dispositions.

But this reason though probable enough, resolves not the question to the full; for although we should acknowledge, that the Celestiall bodies by their influxions, do domineere over Sublunary creatures, and tesse and tumble the humours and the masse of bloud, as they list; it cannot be said, notwithstanding, that this vertue extends to those actions that depend immediatly upon the absolute empire of the Will, with the other faculties and powers of the soule, which are meerey Spirituall, as Love and Hatred, with the like.

They that dispute thus, have much reason on their side, yet if we consider well the order and method that our Understanding and Wils do use in the production of their actions, we shal find, that the influence of the Heavenly bodies must have something to do therein, though indirectly and accidentally: for all Terrestriall creatures by a graduall kind of subordination, being governed by the Heavenly, it must needs follow that whatsoever is naturall in man, as the organs of the body, and all the senses must feele the power of their influence.

Now is the Soule so united and depends so farre upon the senses, that she cannot produce any act, unlesse they ministerially concurre and contribute thereunto, by present-

ing the matter to her, which is the intelligibles species: Whence it necessarily comes to passe, that in regard of this straight league and bond, which is betwene them, she partakes somewhat, and yealds to that dominion, which the Starres have over the sensuall appetite, which together with the Will, are dispossed off, and incited (I will not say forced) by their influxes.

And as that famous Wisard, the oldest of the Trismegisti, did hold, that the Intelligences which are affixed to every Spheare, doe worke through the organs of the body upon the faculties of the mind. (an opinion almost as old as the World it selfe) so it may be said more truly, that by the sensuall appetite, by the frailty and depravation of the will, the Heavenly bodies worke very farre upon the Spirituall Powers and passions of the Soule, and affect them diversly, though by accident and indirectly, as I shew before. The position therefore of the Heavens and Asterismes, which governe the Spanish Clime, being different in their vertue and operations to them of France, the Minds and Fancies of both People, must by a necessary consequence bee also different.

Yet [But] notwithstanding that this assertion be true, yet it doth not follow, that the *Influxions of the Starres and diversity of Climes*, are the sole cause of this *Antipathy and Averseness*, for there are many *Nations* which live under farre more distant and differing *Climes*, which disaffect not one another in that degree, therefore there must be some other concurring *Accidents* and extraordinary motive of this evill.

I reade it vpon record in the *Spanish Annales*, that *Lewis the eleventh* desiring a personall Conference with the King of *Castile*, they both met upon the borders, the *Spaniards* came full of Iewels and Gold Chaines and richely apparelled: *Lewis*, though otherwise, a wise and gallant Prince, yet had he an humour of his own, to weare in his hat a Medaille of Lead, which he did at his enterview, nor were his attendants, but *Regis ad Exemplum*, but meanelly accoutred; which made the *Spaniards* despise them, and make disdainfull Libels

of them, which broake out afterwards into much *contempt* and *disaffection*, which came to bee aggravated more and more.

And if we say that the *Devil* made use of this occasion to engender that violent *Hatred*, which raignes between these two *Nations*. it would not bee much from the purpose, for *the least advantage in the World is sufficient for him to infuse his venom where he finds hearts never so little disposed to receive it*, either by *naturall* or *contingent* causes.

Add hereunto the vast extent of greatnesse the *Spaniard* is come to within these *Six score yeares*, by his sundry new acquett, which fills the *French* full of jealousies, of emulation, and apprehension of feare, and 'tis an olde Aphorisme, *Oderunt omnes, quem metuant*.

Furthermore, another concurring motive may be, that there passe usually over the *Pyreneys*, from *Gascoigne* and *Bearne* great numbers of poore *French* tatterdimallians, being as it were the Scumme of the Countrey, which do all the fordid and abject offices to make a purse of money, whereof *Spaine* is fuller than *France*; from *Spaine* also there come to *France* many poore *Spaniards* to bee cured of the Kings Evill; the common people of both *Nations* measuring the whole by the part, and thinking all to be such, it must needs breed mutuall apprehensions of disdain and aversion between them; so that what was at first *Accidentall* seemes in tract of time, and by these degrees to diffuse it selfe like Originall sinne from Father to Sonne, and become *Naturall*.

But I have beene transported too farre by this speculation, considering that I proposed to my selfe brevity at first in this small discours.

SECT. VII.



ND now being come from *France* to *Spaine*, make accoump for matter of fertility of soyle, that *you are come from Gods blessing, to the warme Sun*, who is somewhat too liberall of his beames here; which makes the

ground more barren, and consequently to be a kind of Wildernesse in comparifon of *France*, if you respect the number of People, the multitude of Townes, Hamlets, and Houses: for about the third part of the continent of *Spaine* is made up of huge craggie Hills and Mountaines, amongst which one shall feele in some places more difference in point of temper of heat and cold in the ayre, then 'twixt Winter and Sommer under other Climes. But where *Spaine* hath water and *Valleis* there she is extraordinarily fruitfull *such blefsings humility carrieth alwayes with her.* So that *Spaine* yeeldeth to none of her neighbours in perfection of any thing, but only in *Plenty*; which I beleewe was the ground of a Proverbe they have amongst them, *No ay cosa mala en Espana, fino lo que habla*, there is nothing ill in *Spaine*, but that which speakes: And did *Spaine* excell in *Plenty*, as she doth in *perfection* of what she produceth, especially did she abound in *Corne*, whereof she hath not enough for the fortieth mouth [month], as also had she *Men* enough whereof, besides the *Warres*, so many *Colonies* draine her, shee would prove formidable to all her *Neighbours*.

But let the *French* glory never so much of their Country as *being the richest embroidery of Nature upon Earth*, yet the *Spaniard* drinks better *Wine*, eates better *Fruits*, weares finer *Cloth*, hath a better *Sword* by his side, [goes better shod] and is better *Mounted* than he.

Being entred *Spaine*, he must take heed of *Posling* in that hot Countrey in the Summer time, for it may stirre the masse of bloud too much. When hee comes to *Madrid* (for I know no other place secure enough for a Protestant Gentleman to live in, by reason of the residence of our Ambassador [, though Merchants be free every where]) he may take new *Spanish* servants, for I presume he discharged his *French* when he forooke *Paris*: There hee shall find the King constant all the Seasons of the yeare in the midst of his Kingdom, *as the heart in the body, or the Sun in the Firmament, whence the one giveth vigor to the little world, th'other to the great in equall proportion.* And the first

thing he must fall to, is *Language*, which hee shall find far more easie than the *French*, for in point of crabbednesse there is as much difference betweene the *French* and *Spanish*, as 'twixt *Logique* and [Naturall] *Philosophy*, the like may be said of the *Italian*, for a reasonable capacity may attaine both these Languages, sooner than *French* it selfe.

There was a *Spanish Doctor*, who had a fancy that *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *French*, were spoken in *Paradise*, that God Almighty *commanded in Spanish*, the Tempter *perswaded in Italian*, and Adam *begged pardon in French*.

I presume by the helpe of his *Governour* he hath made an introduction into the *Spanish* tongue before hee left *France*, so that in one Sommer and Winter he may easily come to speake it discourfively, and to good purpose; being in my judgement the easiest of all Languages, by reason of the openesse, and fulnesse of pronunciation, the agreement 'twixt the *Tongue* and the *Text*, and the freedome [it hath] from *Apostrophes*, which are the knots of a *Language*, as also for the proximity it hath with the *Latine*, for the *Spanish* is nought else but mere *Latine*, take a few *Morisco* words away, which are easily distinguished by their gutturall pronunciation, and these excepted, it approacheth nearer and resembleth the *Latine* more than *Italian*, her eldest Daughter, for I have beaten my braines to make one Sentence good *Italian* and congruous *Latin*, but could never do it, but in *Spanish* it is very feafable, as for Example, in this *Stanza*,

*Infauſta Grecia tu paris Gentes,
Lubricas, ſodomiticas, dolofas,
Machinando fraudes cautelofas,
Ruinando animas innocentes, etc.*

which is *Latin* good enough, and yet is it vulgar *Spanish*, intelligible by every Plebeian.

Mariana and *Acoſta*, are the moſt authentique *Annaliſts* of *Spaine*, and *Alvares* for the moderne ſtory, *Lope de Vegas* works wil give good entertainment for *Verſe*, and *Guevara* for pure Proſe: Nor ſhall he

be distracted with that confusion of Authors, as in *France*, and else where, for the *Spaniard* writes *seldom* but *foundly*, and in a quite differing straine from other *Nations* of Christendome, favouring rather of an *African* fancy, which argues that the *Moore* did much mingle with him.

About the fall of the lease it were not amisse to make a iourney to *South Spaine*, to see *Sevill*, and the *Contratation House of the West Indies*, and (if he can) to get a copy of the *Constitutions* thereof, which is accounted the greatest *Mystery* in the *Spanish* Government, but he must shew himself neither too *busy*, nor too *bold* in this searh; And if he be there at the arrivall of the Plate-Fleet, which usually commeth about that time, he shall see such a *Grandeza*, that the *Roman* Monarchy in her highest flourish never had the like. nor the *Gran Signior* at this day.

There he may converse with *Marchants*, and their conversation is much to bee valued, for many of them are very gentile and knowing men in the affaires of the State, by reason of their long sojourn and actual negotiations, and [law] processes in the Countrey: and in a short time, one may suck out of them, what they have been many yeares a gathering: And very materiall it is to know here, as every where else, what commodities the Countrey affoordeth most usefull for us, either for necessity or pleasure: And what *English* commodities are there in greatest request, and what proportions the Market usually beareth, for in the *commutative part of Government and Mercantile affaires*, lieth the most usefull part of policy 'twixt Countrey and Countrey; but this hee shall observe better in *Italy*, where the Prince holdeth it no disparagement to co-adventure, and put in his stake with the *Marchant*: So that the old *Clodian* Law is now of no force at all amongst them.

From *South Spaine* he may returne by *Granada*, *Murcia* and *Valencia*, and so to *Barcelona*, and then take the Gallies for *Italy*, for there are divers Fleets

paſſe in the yeare from thence with treaſure, and croſſe the Mediterranean to *Genoa*. And it is not amiſſe to ſee ſomething *by Sea*, and to embarque in a Fleet of Gallies will much adde to ones experience, and knowledge in Sea affaires, and in the *Art of Navigation*, which is more uſefull and important for *Engliſhmen*, and indeed for all *Iſlanders*, than others, becauſe their ſecurity depends upon the Sea, and upon woodden Horſes.

Naviget hinc alia jam mihi linter aqua.

SECT. VIII.



Having put foot aſhoare in *Genoa*, I will not wiſh him to ſtay long there, in regard the very worſt *Italian* dialect is ſpoken there, and beſides, as it is proverbially ſaid, there are in *Genoa*, *Mountaines without wood*, *Sea without fiſh*, *Women without ſhame*, and *Men without conſcience*, which makes them to be termed the *white Moores*: And when a *Few* (and the *Fews* are held the moſt Mercuriall people in the World, by reaſon of their ſo often transmigrations, perſecutions, and *Necceſſity*, which is the *Mother of Wit*) [I ſay when a *Few*] meeteth with a *Genoway*, and is to negotiat with him, he puts his fingers in his eyes, fearing to be overreached by him, and outmatched in cunning.

From thence let him haſten to *Toſcany*, to *Siena*, where the prime *Italian* dialect is ſpoken, and not ſtirre thencetill he be maſter of the Language in ſome meaſure.

And being now in *Italy* that great limbique of working braines, he muſt be very circumſpect in his cariage, for ſhe is able to turne a *Saint* into a *Devill*, and deprave the beſt natures, if one will abandon himſelfe [to pleaſure], and become a prey to diſſolut courſes and wantonneſſe.

The *Italian*, being the greateſt embracer of pleaſures, [and] the greateſt Courtier of Ladies of any other. Here he ſhall find Vertue and Vice, Love and Hatred, Atheiſme

and Religion in their extremes; being a witty contemplative people; and *Corruptio optimi est pessima*. Of the best wines you make your tartest vinegar.

Italy hath beene alwayes accounted the Nurse of *Policy*, *Learning*, *Musique*, *Architecture*, and *Limning*, with other perfections, which she disperseth to the rest of *Europe*, nor was the *Spaniard* but a dunce, till he had taken footing in her, and so grew subtilized by co-alition with her people. *She is the prime climat of Complement, which oftentimes puts such a large distance 'twixt the tongue and the heart, that they are seldome relatives, but they often give the lye one to another; some will offer to kisse the hands, which they wish were cut off, and would be content to light a candle to the Devill, so they may compassse their owne ends: He is not accounted essentially wise, who openeth all the boxes of his breast to any.*

The *Italians* are for the most part of a speculative complexion (as I have discovered more amply in another *Discours*) and he is accounted little lesse than a foole, who is not melancholy once a day; they are only bountifull to their betters, from whom they may expect a greater benefit; To others the purse is closest shut, when the mouth openeth widest, nor are you like to get a cup of wine there, unlesse your grapes be known to be in the wine-presse.

From *Siena* he may passe to *Milan*, and so through the *Republiques* territories to *Venice* where he shall behold a thing of wonder, an *Impossibility in an impossibility*, a rich magnificent City seated in the very jaws of *Neptune*, where being built and bred a *Christian* from her very infancy, (a *Prerogative* she justly glorieth of above all other States,) she hath continued a *Virgin* ever since, nere upon twelve long ages, under the same forme and face of Government, without any visible change or symptome of decay, or the least wrinkle of old age, though, her too neer neighbour, the *Turk* had often set upon her skirts and fought to deflowre her, wherein he went so farr that he took from her *Venus*

joynture, [I meane the Iland of Ciprus,] which she had long possessed, and was the sole Crown she ever wore. But if one in Story observes the cours of her actions, he shall find that she hath subsisted thus long as much by *Policy* as *Armes*, as much by reach of *Wit*, and *advantage of treaty*, as by open *strength*, it having beene her practise ever and anon to sow a piece of *Fox* tayle to the skinne of *S. Marks Lyon*.

Here one shall find the most zealous [and politicall] Patriots of any [place], yet some would maintaine (though I do not) that *the Venetians, are but indifferently wise single, though they be very Politique when they are together in the Senat*.

Having observed in the *Republique of Venice* what is most remarquable (and there are many things in that Government worth the carying away, specially the sight of *Nova Palma*, a Castle built after the newest rules of Fortification) he may visit the other ancient Townes of *Italy*, and so to *Naples*, where he may improve his knowledge in *Horfmanship*, and then repasse through other free States, whereof *Italy* is full: And truly a wonder it is to see how in so small an extent of ground, which take all dimensions together, is not so big as *England*, there should bee so many absolute and potent *Princes* by Sea and Land, which I beleeeve is the cause of so many *Dialects* in the *Italian* tongue which are above ten in number: As hee traverseth the Countrey hee must note the trace, forme and site of any famous *Structure*, the Platforms of *Gardens*, *Aqueducts*, *Grots*, *Sculptures*, and such particularites belonging to *accommodation* or *beauty of dwelling*, but specially of *Castles*, and *Fortresses*, wherewith *Italy* abounds, the whole Countrey being frontier almost all over.

[In the perambulation of *Italy* young Travellers must be cautious, among diuers other to avoyd one kind of *Furbery* or cheat, whereunto many are subiect, which is, that in som great Townes, specially *Rome* and *Venice*, there are certain Brokers of manuscripts, who are no other then Mountibanks in that kind, that

use to insinuate themselves to the society of strangers, and bring them with a shew of reservednesse such and such papers magnifying them for rare extraordinary peeces, and dangerous to bee divulg'd, whereas they prove oftentimes old flat things that either are printed already in *Tè, oro politico*, *Boterus*, or *Bodin*; Or they are some absolet peeces reflecting happily upon the times of *Cosmo de Medici*, or touching the expulsion of the Jesuits out of the territories of *St. Marc*, or the creation of some Pope, and such like, which do nothing at all advantage one to be acquainted with the present face of things; In the Court of *Spain* there are likewise such Interlopers, and I have known divers Dutch Gentlemen grossly guld by this cheat, and som English bor'd also through the nose this way, by paying excessive prices for them.]

SECTION. IX.



And with the *naturall* situation of Countreyes, a *Traveller* should observe also the *Political* position thereof, how *some* are seated like *Mercury* amongst the *Planets*, who for the most part is either in combustion or obscurity, being under brighter beames than his own; Such is *Savoy* and *Lorraine*, and other Princes of *Italy*, who are between more potent neighbours than themselves, and are like *skreens* tossed up and down and never at quiet: And they that are so situated may say, as the *Moufe* once answered the *Cat*, who asking how she did, made answer, *I should be far better, if you were further off.*

How the state of the *Papedome* running from the *Tirrhone* to the *Adriatique* Sea, is sited in *Italy*, as *France* is in *Europe*, in the midst, and so fittest to embroyle or preserve in peace, to disunite or conjoyne the forces of their neighbours, and so most proper to be *Umpires* of all quarrels.

How the Dominions of *Spaine* are like the *Planets*

in the Heaven lying in vast uneven distances one from the other: But cleane contrary those of France, are so knit and clustered together, that they may be compared all to one fixed constellation.

How Germany cut out into so many Principalities, into so many *Hanſiaticque* and *Imperiall* Townes, is like a great River ſluced into ſundry Channels, which makes the maine ſtreame farre the weaker. The like may be ſaid of *Italy*.

How the *Signory* of *Venice* is the greateſt rampart of *Chriſtendome* againſt the *Turk* by *Sea*, and the hereditary territories of the houſe of *Austria*, by *Land*, which may be a good reaſon of State, why the *Colledge of Electors* hath continued the Empire in that *Line* theſe 200 yeares.

He muſt obſerve the *quality* of the power of Princes, how the *Cavalry* of *France*, the *Infantry* of *Spaine*, and the *English Ships*, leagued together, are fitteſt to conquer the World, to pull out the *Ottoman Tyrant* out of his *Seraglio*, from betweene the very armes of his fifteen hundred Concubines.

How the power of the *North-Eaſt* part of the *European* World is balanced between the *Dane*, the *Swede*, and the *Pole*, etc. And the reſt between great *Brittaine*, *France*, and *Spaine*; as for *Germany* and *Italy*, their power being divided 'twixt ſo many, they ſerve only to balance themſelves, who if they had one abſolute Monarch a piece, would prove terrible to all the reſt.

Spaine in point of treaſure hath the advantage of them al, She hath a *Veteran Army* always afoot; but She is thinne peopled, She hath many Colonies to ſupply, which iſe ſquandered up and down in diſadvantageous unfociable diſtances. Her people are diſaffected by moſt nations, and incompatible with ſome; She wants bread, She hath bold acceſſible coaſts, and Her *Weſt Indy Fleet*, beſides the length of the paſſage, and uncertainty of arrivall, is ſubject to caſualties of *Sea*, and danger of interception by Enemies: And if England ſhould breake out with Her in good earneſt into acts of hoſtility, thoſe

Islands, which the English have peopled, colonized, and fortified lately (being warned by Saint Christopher) in the carrere to Her mines, would be found to be no small disa[d]vantage to Her.

France swarmes with men, and now (more than ever) with Soldiers. She is a body well compacted (though often subject to Convulsions, and high fits of Feavers, the bloud gathering up by an unequall diffusion into the upper parts) and it is no small advantage to Her, that Her forme is circular, so that one part may quickly run, to succour the other: She abounds with Corne, and being the thorough fare of Christendome. She can never want money; She hath those three things which the Spaniard said would make Her eternall, viz. Rome, the Sea, and Counsell; for She hath the Pope for Her friend (having had his breeding in Her twenty yeares together). Shee hath Holland for Her Arsenall, and Richelieu for Counsell; who since he fate at the helme, hath succeeded in every attempt, with that monstrous cours of Felicity: They of the Religion, are now Town-lesse and Arme-lesse, and so are Her greatest Peeres most of them out of Office and Provincially command. So that if one would go to the intrinsique value of things, France will not want much in weight of the vast untweldy bulk, and disjointed body of the Spanish Monarchie.

Great Britaine being encircled by the Sea, and there being an easie going out for the Natives, and a dangerous landing for Strangers, and having so many invincible Castles in motion (I meane Her Ships) and abounding inwardly with all necessaries, and breeding such men, that I may well say, no King whatsoever hath more choyce of able bodies to make Soldiers of, [for the number,] having also most of Her trade intrinsique, with many other Insulary advantages, She need not feare any one Earthly power, if She bee true to Her selfe; yet would She be puzzled to cope with any of the other two single, unlesse it be upon the defensive part, but joyning with Holland She can give them both the Law at Sea, and leaguings with any of the other two, She is able to put the third shrewdly to it.

Now it cannot be denied, but that which giveth the

greatest check to the Spanish Monarchy is France : And there is no lesse truth than caution in that saying, that the yeare of the Conquering of France, is the morning of the Conquest of England (and vice versa.) It hath not been then without good reason of State, that England since that monstrous height of power that Spaine is come to of late, hath endeavoured rather to strengthen France (to beare up against Her) than to enfeeble Her, having contributed both her power and purse to ransom one of her Kings, at that time when Spaine began to shoot out Her branches so wide : Besides, during the last Ligue. which raged so long through all the bowels of France with that fury, when there was a designe to Cantonize the whole Kingdome : Quene Elizabeth though offered a part, would not accept of it. for feare of weakning the whole : Therefore this chaine of reciprocall conversation. linking them together so strongly ; England may well be taken for a sure Confederate of France, while France containes Her selfe within her present bounds, but if Shee should reduce the Spaniard to that desperate passe in the Netherlands. as to make him throw the helve after the hatchet, and to relinquish those Provinces altogether, it would much alter the case : for nothing could make France more suspectfull to England than the addition of those Countreyes, for thereby they would come to be one continued piece, and so England her overthwart neighbour, should bee in a worse case than if the Spaniard had them entirely to himselfe. For it would cause Her to put Her selfe more strongly upon Her Guard, and so increase Her charge and care.

To conclude this point, there cannot be a surer maxime and fuller of precaution for the security of England, and Her Allies, and indeed for all other Princes of this part of the World, than Barnevelt gave of late yeares, a little before he came to the fatall block.

Decrescat Hispanus, ne crescat Francus.

But I have been transported too farre by this ticklish digression, which requires an ampler and more serious Discours.

In fine, with these particulars, a *Traveller* should observe the likenesse and sympathy of distant Nations, as the *Spaniard* with the *Irish*, the *French* with the *Pole*, the *German* (specially *Holsteinmen*) with the *English*, and in *Italy* there have beene many besides my selfe, that have noted the countenance and condition of some people of *Italy*, specially those that inhabite *Lombardy*, to draw neere unto the ancient *Brittaines* of this *Island*, which argues, that the *Romanes*, who had their *Legions* here so many hundred yeares together, did much mingle and clope with them. Amongst other particulars, the old *Italian* tunes and rithmes both in conceipt and cadency, have much affinity with the *Welsh*, (and the genius of a people is much discovered by their profody) for example,

Vlisse ô lasso, ô dolce Amor' i' muoro, etc.

This agrees pat with the fancy of the *Welch Bards*, whose greatest acutenesse consists in *Agnominations* and in making one word to tread as it were upon the others heele, and push it forward in like letters, as in the precedent example, whereof many *Italian* Authors are full, appeareth.

SECT. X.



He must also observe the number of *Languages* and difference of *Dialects*, as neere as he can, in every Countrey as hee passeth along.

The French have *three dialects*, the *Wallon* (vulgarly called among themselves *Romand*), the *Provensall*, (whereof the *Gascon* is a *subdialect*) and the speech of *Languedoc*: They of *Bearne* and *Navarre* speak a Language that hath affinity with the *Bascuence* or the *Cantabrian* tongue in *Biscanie*, and amongst the *Pyrenean* mountaines: The *Armorican* tongue, which they of low *Brittaine* speake (for there is your *Bas-Breton*, and the *Breton-Brittonant* or *Breton Gallois*, who speakes *French*) is a dialect of the old *Brittish* as

the word *Armorica* imports, which is a meere *Welsh* word, for if one observe the *Radicall* words in that Language they are the same that are now spoken in *Wales*, though they differ much in the composition of their sentences, as doth the *Cornish*: Now some of the approvedst *Antiquaries* positively hold the Originall Language of the *Celts*, the true ancient *Gaules*, to be *Welsh*: And amongst other Authors they produce no meaner than *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*, to confirme this opinion: For *Cæsar* saith that the *Druides of Gaule understood the Brittish Druids*, who it seemes were of more account for their Philosophy, because as he saith, the *Gaules* came usually over to be taught by them, which must bee by *conference*, for there were few books then: Besides *Tacitus* in the life of *Julius Agricola* reporteth, that the Language of the *Brittaines* and the *Gaules* little differed, I restraints my selfe to the middle part of *France* called *Gallia Celtica*, for they of *Aquitaine* spake a language that corresponded with the old *Spanish*, they of *Burgundy* and *Champagny* with the *German*, and most part of *Provence* spake *Greek*, there having beene a famous Colony of *Grecians* planted in *Marfeilles*: Other small differences there are up and down in other Provinces of *France*, as the low *Norman* useth to contract many words, as he will often say, *J'ay un pct à faire*, for *J'ay un petit affaire*, and the *Poitevin* will mince the word, and say, *ma Mese, mon pese*, for *ma Mere, mon Pere*; but these differences are not considerable.

The *Spanish* or *Castilian* tongue, which is usually called *Romance*, and of late years *Lengua Christiana*, (but it is called so only amongst themselves) for a *Spaniard* will commonly aske a stranger whether hee can speake *Chris'tian*, that is, *Castillian*? The *Spanish* (I say) hath but one considerable dialect, which is the *Portugues*, which [this] the *Fewes* of *Europe* speake more than any other language, and [because] they hold that the *Messias* shall come out that Tribe, that [which] speake the *Portingal* language; other small differences

there are in the pronunciation of the *gutturall* letters in the *Castillian*, but they are of small moment. They of the Kingdome of *Valencia* and *Catalunia* (*Goth-land*) speake rather a language mixed of *French*, and *Italian*: In the Mountaines of *Granada* (the *Alpuxarras*) they speake *Morisco*, that last part of *Spaine* that was inhabited by the *Moores*, who had possessed it above 700 yeares.

But the most ancient speech of *Spaine* seemes to have beene the *Basque* or the *Cantabrian* tongue spoken in *Guipuscoa*, the *Asturias* and in some places amongst the *Pyrenes*; but principally in the Province of *Biscaye*, which was never conquered by *Roman*, *Cartaginian*, *Goth*, *Vandall* or *Moore*, which Nations overranne all the rest of *Spaine*. (though some more, some lesse) therefore whensoever the King of *Spaine* commeth to any of the territories of *Biscaye*, hee must pull off his shooes upon the frontiers, when he treads the first step, being as it were *Virgin holy ground*. And as it is probable that the *Basque* is the primitive language of *Spaine*, so doubtlesse the people of that Countrey are a remnant of the very *Aborigenes*, of her first Inhabitants. For it is an infallible Rule, that if you desire to find out (the *Indigenæ*) the ancientest people or language of a Countrey, you must go amongst the Mountaines and places of fastnesse, as the *Epirotiques* in *Greece*, the *Heylanders* in *Scotland*, the *Brittaines* in *Wales*, with whom (I meane the last) the *Biscayner* doth much symbolize in many things, as in the position and quality of ground, in his candor and humanity towards Strangers more than any other people of *Spaine*, [together with] his cryed up Antiquity; for the *Spaniards* confesse the ancientest race of Gentry to have been preserved there: So that a *Biscayner* is capable to be a *Cavalier* of any of the *three habits* without any scrutiny to be made by the *Office*, whether he be, *limpio de la sangre de los Moros*, that is, *cleare of the bloud of the Moores* or no, 'tis enough that he be a *Montanero*, that he be borne amongst the Mountaines of *Biscaye*. And many may be the reasons why Hilly people keep

their standings so well, for being inured to labour, and subject to the inclemency of the Heavens, distemperatures of Ayre, to short Commons, and other incommodities, they prove the hardier and abler men, and happily with the *elevation* of the ground their spirits are *heightned*, and so prove more courageous and forward to repel an invading enemy.

Adde hereunto, that the craggineffe and steepineffe of places up and down is a great advantage to the dwellers, and makes them inaccessible, for they serve as *Fortresses erected by Nature her selfe, to protect them from all incursions*: as *Cæsar* complaines of some places in *Seythia*, that *Difficilius erat hostem invenire, quam vincere*.

And now for further prooffe that the *Cantabrian* language is the ancientest of *Spaine*, I thinke it will not be much from the purpose, if I insert here a strange discovery that was made not much above *halfe a hundred yeares ago.* about the very midle of *Spaine*, of the *Pattuecos*, a people that were never knowne upon the face of the Earth before, though *Spaine* hath been a renown'd famous Countrey visited and known by many warlik Nations: They were discovered by the flight of a Faulcon, for the *Duke of Alva* hauking on a time neere certaine hills, not farre from *Salamanca*, one of his Hauks which he much valued, flew over those Mountaines, and his men not being able to find her at first, they were sent back by the Duke after her; these Faulknors clammering up and down, from hill to hill and luring all along, they lighted at last upon a large pleasant Valley, where they spied a company of naked Savage people, locked in between an *assembly* of huge crags and hills indented and hemmed in (as it were) one in another: As simple and Savage they were, as the rudest people of any of the two *Indies*, *wherof some thought a man on horseback to be one creature with the horse*: These Savages gazing awhile upon them, flew away at last into their caves, for they were *Troglodites*, and had no dwelling but in the hollowes of the rocks:

The Faulconers observing well the track of the passage, returned the next day, and told the Duke, that in lieu of a hauke, they had found out a New World, a New People never knowne on the continent of *Spaine*, since *Tubal Cain* came first thither: A while after, the *Duke of Alva* went himsele with a Company of Muscateers, and Conquered them, for they had no offensive weapon but slings; they were *Pythagoreans*, and did eat nothing that had life in it, but excellent fruits, rootes and springs there were amongst them; they worshipped the Sun, and new Moone, their language was not intelligible by any, yet many of their simple words were pure *Bascuence*, and their *gutturall* pronunciation the very same, and a *gutturall pronunciation is an infallible badge of an ancient language*; And so they were reduced to Christianity, but are to this day discernable from other *Spaniards* by their more tawny complexions, which proceeds from the reverberation of the Sun-beams glancing upon those stony mountaines wherewith they are encircled, and on some sides trebly fenced, which beames reflects upon them with a greater strength and so tannes them.

But I did not think to have staid so long in *Spain* now, nor indeed the last time I was there, but he that hath to deale with that Nation, must have good store of *Phlegme* and patience, and both for his stay, and successe of businesse, may often reckon without his host [upon the businesse went about, and for any one to prescribe a precise time to conclude any businesse there, is to reckon without ones host].

SECTION. XI.



Vt these varieties of *Dialects* in *France* and *Spaine*, are farre lesse in number to those of *Italy*; Nor do I beleeeve were there ever so many amongst the *Greeks*, though their Countrey was indented and cut out into so many *Islands*, which as they differed in position of

place, so there was some reason they should differ something in propriety of Speech: There is in *Italy* the *Toscan*, the *Roman*, the *Venetian*, the *Neapolitan*, the *Calabrese*, the *Genovese*, the *Luquesse*, the *Milanese*, the *Parmasan*, the *Piemontese*, and others in and about *Abouzzo*, and the *Apennine hills*; and all these have severall Dialects and Idioms of Speech, and the reason I conceive to be, is the multiplicity of Governments, there being in *Italy*, one Kingdome, three Republicques, and five or six absolute Principalities, besides the *Pope-dome*, and their *Lawes*, [the *Lawes* of all these] being different, their *Language* also groweth to be so but the prime *Italian* dialect, take *Accent* and *Elegance* together, is *Lingua Toscana in boca Romana*. The *Toscan tongue in a Roman mouth*.

There is also a Mongrell *Dialect* composed of *Italian* and *French*, and some *Spanish* words are also in it, which they call *Franco*, that is used in many of the *Islands* of the *Aegean Sea*, and reacheth as farre as *Constantinople*, and *Natolie*, and some places in *Afrique*, and it is the ordinary speech of Commerce 'twixt *Christians*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, and *Greeks* in the *Levant*.

Now for the Originall Language in *Italy*, as the *Mesapian* and *Hebruscan tongue*, there is not a syllable left any where, nor do I know any Countrey where the old *primitive Languages*, are so utterly and totally extinguished without the least trace left behind, as in *Italy*.

Touching the *Latine Tongue*, which is one of the ancientest Languages of *Italy*, but not so ancient as those I spake of before, the received opinion is, that the inundation of the *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Longbards*, were her first Corrupters but it is not so, as the Learned *Bembo*, and our no lesse Learned *Brerewood* are of opinion; for as the *Latine Tongue* grew to perfection by certaine degrees, and in *Cæsar* and *Cicero's* times (whereof the one for *purity*, the other for *copiousnesse*, were the best that ever writ) she came to the highest flourish together with the *Empire*, so had shee insensible degrees of corruption amongst the vulgar, and intrin-

lique changes in her selfe before any forrain cause concurred ; for the *Salian Verses*, towards the end of the *Republique*, were scarce intelligible, no more were the capitulations of Peace 'twixt *Rome and Carthage* in *Polybius* his time : And every one knowes what kind of *Latine* stands upon record on the *Columna Rostrata* in the *Capitoll*, in memory of the famous Navall victory of *Duillius* the Consull, which happened but 150 yeares before *Cicero*. As also what *Latine* had the vogue in *Plautus* his time : And here it will not be much out of the byas, to insert (in this *Ogdoaslique*) a few verses of the *Latine* which was spoken in that age, which were given me by a worthy polite *Gentleman*,

Sic est, nam nenum laciens uls manaca, præ est

Andreas ; Ipsus Hortitor ergo duo

Dividiam estricem ut genii averruncet, et ultra

Calpar, si pote, Luræ insipet omnimodis,

Calpar, quod Nymphis nenum ebrium, at Argeliorum

Zitho, quod nostra hæc vincia dapfilit

Degulet, ha frux obgræari (haut numina pofce it)

Prodinit, topper morta modo orta necat.

So that as before, so after *Cicero's* time, the *Latine Tongue* wrought certaine changes in her selfe, before any mixture with Strangers, or the intervention of any forraine cause : For as Kingdomes and States with all other Sublunary things are subject to a tossing and tumbling, to periods and changes, as also all Naturall bodies corrupt inwardly and insensibly of themselves, so Languages are not exempt from this Fate, from those accidents, and revolutions that attend Time : For *Horace* complained in his dayes, that words changed as coynes did : Yet besides this home bredd change, it cannot be denyed but the *Latine Tongue*, had some forraine extrinsique cause to degenerate so farre into *Italian*, as the admission of such multiplicities of Strangers to be *Roman Citizens*, with the great number of slaves that were brought into the City ; Adde herunto at last those swarms of barbarous Nations, which in lesse than one hundred yeares thrice over-ran *Italy*, and tooke such footing in her :

And as in *Italy*, so likewise in *Spaine* and *France*, they corrupted the *Latine tongue*, though I beleieve she never tooke any perfect impressiön amongst the vulgar in those Countreyes, albeit the *Romains* laboured to plant her there, making it their practise (though not at first : for we reade of some *People* that petitioned unto them, that they might bee permitted to use the *Latine tongue*) with the *Law* to bring in their *Language* as a marke of Conquest.

But one may justly aske why the *Latine tongue* could receive no growth at all amongst the *Brittaines*, who were so many hundred years under the *Roman* government, and some of the *Emperours* living and dying amongst them? To this it may bee answered, that in *Brittaine* wee reade of no more than *four* colonies that were ever planted ; but in *Spaine* there were 29, and in *France* 26. But as I cannot cease to wonder that the *Romans* notwithstanding those Colonies and Legions that had so long cohabitation, and coalition with them, could take no impressiön at all upon the *Brittaines* in so long a tract of time in point of Speech, (notwithstanding that in some *other things* there be some resemblances observed 'twixt the people, as I said before) I wonder as much how such a multitude of *Greeke* words could creep into the *Welsh* language, some whereof for example sake, I have couched in this *Dislique*.

Αἶλας ὕδωρ, γένεσις, πῦρ, κοιλία γραῖα διδάσκω
Δαῖψα, μεθ.ι, κλ.ύω, ἡλιος, αἶσα, μέθυ. &c.

Which words *Englished* are, *Salt, water, birth, fire, the belly, an old woman, to teach, the earth, hony, to heare, the Sun, destiny, drunkard.*

Besides divers others, which are both *Greeke* and *Welsh*, both in pronounciation and sence.

Now for the *Greek tongue*, there is no question, but it was of larger extent than ever the *Roman* was, for these three respects, for the mighty *commerce* that Nation did exercise, for their humour in planting of *Colonies*, for

their *Learning and Philosophy*, for *Greek* is the *scientificall tongue* that ever was, in all which they went beyond the *Romans*: And it is not long ago since in some places of *Italy* her selfe, as *Calabria* and *Apulia*, the *Liturgy* was in the *Greek tongue*. Nor is some vulgar *Greek* so farre adulterated, and eloignated from the true *Greek*, as *Italian* is from the *Latin*, for there is yet in some places of the *Morcia* true *Greek* spoken vulgarly (you cannot say so of the *Latin* any where) only they confound these three letters, η , ι , υ , (*Eta*, *Iota*, *Upsilon*) and these two diphthongs $\epsilon\iota$ and $\omicron\iota$, all which they pronounce as *Ioata*. As for $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\ \sigma\omicron\iota\ \zeta\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota$, they pronounce $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\ \sigma\iota\ \zeta\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota$ for $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$, they say $\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$. There is also true *Greek* spoken in some parts of the lesser *Asia*, where there is no place upon the surface of the earth, for the proportion, where so many differing Languages are spoken, yet most of them are but *Dialects* and *subdialects*; so that of those two and twenty tongues, which *Mithridates* is recorded to have vnderstood, above two parts of three, I beleeeve, were but *dialects*.

I dare go no further *Eastward*, for it is beyond the bounds of so small a Volume as this, to speak of the *Levantine tongues*, that go from the *Liver to the Heart*, from the *Right hand to the Left*, as the most *Spacious Arabique*, which is spoken (or learnt) throughout al[l] the vast dominions of the *Mahumetan Empire*, and is the most *fixed* language now upon Earth, it being death to alter it, or *Translate the Alcoran* into any other language, to adde the least title to the first text, or comment upon it; a rare policy to *prevent schismes*, and *restraine the extravagant, and various restless fancies of humane braine*.

This page is also too narrow to comprehend any thing of the most large *Slavonique tongue*, which above other Languages hath this prerogative to have *two Characters*, one resembling the *Latine*, the other the *Greek*, and in many places the *Liturgy* is in both, one for *Sundayes and Holy-dayes*, the other for *working*

dayes. There are above *forty* severall Nations, both in *Europe* and *Asia*, which have the *Slavonick* for their vulgar speech, it reacheth from *Mosco*, the Court of the great *Knez*, to the *Turks Seraglio* in *Constantinople*, and so over the *Propontey* to divers places in *Asia*, it being the common language of the *Fanizaries*.

SECT. XII.



He *German* or *Teutonique* tongue also is of mighty extent, for not only the large Continent of *Germany* high and low, but the Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, *Denmarque*, *Swethland*, *Norway*, *Island*, and some parts of *Hungary* and *Poland* speake it vulgarly. And questionlesse the *German* is one of the first mother tongues of *Europe*, whereof *Scaliger* would have but *eleven*, though there be *four* or *five* more, but I find that they who are cryed up for great *Clearks* may erre, as he did in this, as also when hee made *Presler John* an *African* and placed him in *Ethiopia*, in the *Habassins* Countrey, whereas it is certaine that he was an *Asian*, and King of *Tenduc* in *Tartary* above two thousand miles distant, besides he was a *Nestorian* by his religion, and it is well known the *Habassines* are *Jacobites* and *Christians* from the girdle upward, and *Jews* downward, admitting both of *Baptism* and *Circumcision*.

And so ancient is the *German* tongue, that *Goropius Becanus* flattered himselfe with a fancy, that it was the language which was spoken in *Paradise*, which *Ortelius* also shewed a desire to beleeve; they grounded this conceipt upon these words, *Adam*, *Eve*, *Abel*, *Seth*, etc. which they would stretch to bee *German* words; also that their language came first from *Asia*, because *Godt*, *Fader*, *Moder*, *Broder*, *Star*, are found to signifie the same things both in the *German*, and *Persian* tongue.

There is no language so full of *Monosyllables* and knotted so with *Consonants* as the *German*, howsoever she is a full mouthed masculine speech: the speeches of

the *Kingdoms* before mentioned, are but *Dialects* derived from her; And the *English* is but a *Sub-dialect* or *branch of the Saxon Dialect*, which hath no other name in *Welsh* and *Irish* to this day; for take an *Englishman* *Capa pea*, from head to foot, every member hee hath is *Dutch*.

Yet since the *last Conquest* much *French* hath got in, and greatly embellished and smoothed the *English*, so that there is very much affinity between them, as for Example,

*La Fortune me tourmente,
La Vertu mecontente.*

Or,

*Mon desir est infiny,
D'entrer en Paradis.*

Which sayings are both *French* and *English*.

Of late yeares the *English tongue* hath much enriched her selfe. by borrowing of some choyce, well sounding and significant words from other Languages also; so that she may be compared to a *Poësie made up of many fragrant choyce Flowers*: And truly, without interest and passion, let it be spoken, there is in *English* as *true straines of Eloquence*, as *strong and sinewy Expressions*, as *elaborate and solid pieces of Fancy*, as *far fetched reaches of Invention*, and as *full of salt*, [there are] *Metaphor's as faithfully pursued*, *Similies as aptly applyed*, and as *well cloathed and girded about*; as in any Language whatsoever, both in *Poësie and Prose*; It must be granted that some other Languages, for their soft and smooth melting fluency, as having no abruptnesse of *Consonants*, have some advantage of the *English*; yet many of their fancies, which amongst themselves they hold to be *strong lines and quintessential fluffe*, being turned to another tongue become flat, and prove oftentimes but meere gingles, but what is witty in *English*, is so, with advantage, in any Language else, unlesse the conceipt be *topically*, or *personally*, and *peculiar* only to this *Island*.

But whither have I been thus transported? The Copiousnesse and pleasure of the Argument hath carried

mee a little further than I made account, for to bee a *πολύλωσις* to have the knowledge, specially the *practi-
call* knowledge (for the *Theory* is not nere so grateful nor
useful) of many languages is one of the richest and
pleasingst kind of *Notions* that is; And we find upon
the best record, that the first blessing which fell down
from Heaven upon those holy *Heralds* of Christianity,
the *Apostles*, was the knowledge of many tongues,
inspired into them immediatly by God Almighty
himselfe.

For what is *Imagination*, *Invention* and *Sense*, with-
out the faculty of *Speech*, without expression? Speech
is the instrument by which a *Foole* is distinguished from
a *Philosopher*: *Speech* is the *Index*, the *Interpreter*, the
Ambassador of the mind, and the *Tongue* the *Vehiculum*,
the *Chariot*, which conveyeth and carrieth the notions of the
Mind to *Reasons Palace*, and [so to] the impregnable *Tower*
of *Truth*: And although there be but one way thither, yet
there be many sorts of *Chariots*, some more sumptuous
and better harnessed than others; for amongst tongues there
be some farre more rich, more copious, and of stronger ex-
pressions than others: And amongst *Tongues* there is
also a kind of good fellowship, for they sometimes supply
one anothers wants, and mutually borrow and lend.

SECT. XIII.



Vt whether have I wandred? I had almost
forgot where I left my *Traveller*, but now
I remember wel it was in *Italy*. And
having surveyed *Italy*, that minion of *Na-
ture*, he may crosse the *Alpes*, and see some
of the *Cantons*, those rugged *Republiques*, and [with their]
Regiments, and then passe through many of the Stately
proud Cities of *Germany*, till hee comes to *Bruxels*, and
there he shall behold the face of a constant *Military*
Court, and *Provinciall Government*, with a *miscellany* of
all Nations, and if there be any *Leagers* a foot, or *Armies*
in motion, it should bee time well spent to see them

For the *Netherlands* have been for many yeares, as one may say, the very *Cockpit of Christendome*, the *Schoole of Armes*, and *Rendezvous of all adventurous Spirits*, and *Cadets*, which makes most Nations of *Europe* beholden to them for Soldiers. Therefore the History of the *Belgique* wars are very worth the reading, for I know none fuller of *stratagemes*, of *reaches of Policy*, of *variety of successes* in so short a time: nor in which more *Princes* have been engaged (though some more, some lesse) for *reasons of state*, nor a warre which hath produced such deplorable effects *directly* or *collaterally*, all *Christendome* over, both by *Sea* and *Land*.

Fean Petit in *French* is an approved Author, *Guicciardin*, *Don Carles Coloma* in *Spanish*, and *Sir Roger Williams* in *English*, with others, there you shall reade of one *Toteme* taken by a *Boat of Turfs*, and reprized many yeares after by a *Boat of Fagots*, another taken by the *flight of a Hawk*, another by a *load of Hey*, another by a *Cart full of Apples*, and many by *disguises*, *either of Boores, Fryers, or Marchands*.

Having spent some small time in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, he may by safe conduct, as is usuall, passe to *Holland*, where he shall find a People planted as it were under the *Sea*, out of whose jawes they force an habitation, with infinite expence and toyle, checking the impetuous cours of the angry *Ocean*, and shewing the World *how far Industry and Art, can curbe and controule Nature*: And very expedient it is, hee should take an exact Survey of the *States* of the *United Provinces*, because they are accounted the *surest Confederates of England*, and *her fastest Friends*, for interest of *Religion*, for community of *danger*, and consequently of reciprocall *preservation*.

And it will be a wonderfull thing to see what a mighty subsistence of wealth and a huge *Navigable power* that *State* is come too, by a rare unparallelled industry: For I dare avouch that the *Roman Commonwealth*, (though she had her head as well knit in her infancy as any that ever was) did not come neere her,

in so short a progresse of time, to such a growth of strength.

But it seemes all things conspired to rayse *Holland* to this passe: First, the *humour of the people*, being patient and industrious, and of a genius more inclinable to a *Democraticall* Government than to a *Monarchy*: Adde hereunto the *quality of the Countrey*, being every where half cut, and as it were inlayed with water, and thereby much fortified, and made in many places inaccessible; so that, if need were, *Holland* could turne her selfe into a huge pond when she list.

Hereunto concurred a further advantage of situation, having behind her the *Baltique* Sea, which affoords her all kind of Materials for shipping, and for all kind of Nutriment and Military forces *England* and *France*, both swarming with superfluous people, suspectfull of the *Spanish* greatnesse, and so not unwilling to contribute auxiliary strength for mutuall security and conservation.

Navigation and *Mercantile Negotiation*, are the two *Poles* whereon that *State* doth move, and to both these, it seemes, *Nature* her selfe hath expressely designed both Countrey and People; *Them* by an extraordinary kind of *Propensity*, the Countrey by apt *position*, for having no *Land* to manure [it], they plow the very bowels of the *Deep*, the *wrinkled fore-head of Neptune* being the *furrowes* that yealds them encrease.

Moreover, there being many great *Rivers* that slice and cut the Countrey up and down to disgorge themselves into the *Ocean*, those *Rivers* may be said to pay *them* tribute, as well as to the Sea, which *Rivers* branching themselves into large and bearing streames, do so fitly serve one another, and all the whole, that it may bee said, *Nature* in the frame of humane bodies, did not discover more *Art*, in distributing the veines and arteries, for the easy conveyance of the masse of bloud into each part, as she hath shewed here in dispersing those waters so orderly for trafique.

These *Rivers* bring her what the large continent of

Germany, and other Easterne Countreys affoord, and shee lying between them and the Sea, furniseth them with all far fetched *Indian*, *African*, and *Spanish* commodities.

Here you shall see the most industrious people upon earth, making a *rare vertue of necessity*, for the *same thing which makes a Parrot speake, makes them to labour*. For having nothing of their own, yet they abound with all things, and may be said, *to live by the idlencesse of some of their neighbours*, I am loth to name here *who* they are.

Here you shall find a people grow *Rich* also by that which useth to *impoverish* others, even by *Warre*, for *prizes and booties abroad, go to make a good part of their wealth*.

Yet in conversation they are but heavy, of a homely outside, and slow in action, which *slownesse* carrieth with it a notable *perseverance*, and this may bee imputed to the quality of that *mould of earth*, whereon they dwell, which may be said to *bee a kind of standing poole of Ayre*: And which is known to have such a force of assimilation, that when people of a more vivacious temper, come to mingle with them, at the second generation, they seeme to participate of the soyle and Ayre, and degenerate into meere *Hollanders*; the like is found dayly in Horses and Dogs, and all other animals.

Occulta est Batavæ quædam vis insita terræ.

One remarkable piece of Policy I forgot, that hee should observe in the United *Provinces*; *viz.* Why in so small an extent of ground they have so many rich, wellbuilt and populous Townes amongst them; one of the principall reasons is, because they appropriate some staple materiall commoditie to every one of the great Townes, as *Amsterdam* hath the trade of the *East and West Indies*, *Rotterdam* the *English Cloth*, *Dort* the *Rhenish Wines*, *Middelborough* the *French Wines*, *Treves* the *Scots trade*, the *Hage* the *residence of the Prince and the States*, *Haerlam* *subsist[s]* by *knitting and dying*, and so forth; which is a very laudable cours, not to suffer one place to swallow the wealth and traffique of

the whole, like the spleene in the naturall body, whose swelling makes all the rest of the members languish.

SECT. XIV.



Having thus passed the diameter of *France*, run over *Spaine*, crossed the Mediterranean to *Italy*, and observed the multiplicity of Governments therein; having thus climbed the *Alpes*, and traversed the best part of *Germany*, having also taken the length of the *Belgique Lion*. (of all which *France* for a *Kingdome*, *Venice* for a *Republique*, *Millan* for a *Duchy*, *Flanders* for a *County* beare the bell) having I say, Travelled through all these places, all which may bee done compleatly in *three yeares and foure months*, which *foure Months* I allow for itinerary removals and journeys, and the *Yeares* for residence in places; it will be high time now to hoysse sayle, and steere homwards, where being returned, hee must abhorre all affectations, all forced postures and complements: For *Forraine Travell* oftentimes makes many to wander from themselves, as well as from their Countrey, and to come back mere *Mimiques*, and so in going farre, to fare worse, and bring back lesse wit, than they carieth forth, they go out *Figures* (according to the *Italian Proverb*) and returne *Cyphers*, they retaine the *Vice* of a Countrey, and will discours learnedly thereon, but passe by, and forget the good, their *Memories* being herein like *haire feeses*, that keep up the branne, and let go the fine flowre: They strive to degenerate as much as they can from *Englishmen*, and all their talke is still *Forraine*, or at least, will bring it to be so, though it be by head and shoulders, magnifying other Nations, and derogating from their own: Nor can one hardly exchange three words with them, at an Ordinary (or else-where) but presently they are th'other side of the Sea, commending either the *Wines* of *France*, the *fruits* of *Italy*, or the *Oyle* and *Sallets* of *Spaine*.

Some also there are who by their *Countenance* more than by their *Cariage*, by their *Diseases*, more than by their *Discourses*, discover themselves to have been *Abroad* under hot *Climats*.

Others have a custome to bee always relating strange *things* and *wonders*, (of the humor of Sir *John Mandevile*) and they usually present them to the Hearers, through *multiplying glasses*, and thereby cause the thing to appeare far greater than it is in it self, they make *Mountaines of Mole-hills*, like *Charenton-Bridge-Echo*, which doubles the sound nine times. Such a Traveller was he, that reported the *Indian Fly*, to be as big as a *Fox*; *China birds*, to be as big as some *Horses*, and their *Mice* to be as big as *Monkeys*; but they have the wit to fetch this far enough off, because the Hearer may rather believe it, than make a voyage so far to disprove it.

Every one knowes the *Tale* of him, who reported hee had seen a *Cabbage* under whose leascs a Regiment of *Souldiers* were sheltered from a shower of raine: Another who was no Traveller (yet the wiser man) said, hee had passed by a place where there were 400 brasiers making of a *Cauldron*, 200 within, and 200 without, beating the nayles in; the Traveller asking for what use that huge *Cauldron* was? he told him, Sir it was to boyle your *Cabbage*.

Such another was the *Spanish Traveller*, who was so habituated to *hyperbolize*, and relate wonders, that he became ridiculous in al[l] companies, so that he was forced at last to give order to his man, when he fell into any *excesse this way*, and report any thing improbable, he should pul him by the sleeve: The Master falling into his wonted *hyperboles*, spoke of a *Church in China*, that was ten thousand yards long; his man standing behind and pulling him by the sleeve, made him stop suddenly: the company asking, I pray Sir, how broad might that Church be? he replied, but a yard broad, and you may thanke my man for pulling me by the sleeve, else I had made it fouresquare for you.

Others have another kind of *hyperbolizing* vaine, as they will say, *there's not a woman in Italy, but weares an Iron girdle next her skin in the absence of her husband, that for a pistoll one may be master of any mans life there; That there is not a Gentleman in France but hath his box of playsters about him; That in Germany every one hath a rouse in his pate, once a day; That there are [a] few Dons in Spaine that eat flesh once a week, or that hath not a Mistresse besides his wife; That Paris hath more Courtizans than London honest Women (which may admit a double sence;)* *That Seville is like a cheffebord table, having as many Moriscos as Spaniards; That Venice hath more Maquerelles, than Marchands; Portugall more Jews than Christians:* whereas it is farre otherwise, for the Devill is not so black as he is painted, no more are these Noble Nations and Townes as they are tainted: Therefore one should

Parcere paucorum diffundere crimen in omnes.

And it is a generous kind of civility to report alwayes the best.

Furthermore, there is amongst many others (which were too long to recite here) an odde kind of *Anglicisme*, wherein some do frequently expresse themselves, as to say *Your Boores of Holland, Sir; Your Iesuities of Spaine, Sir; Your Courtisans of Venice, Sir:* whereunto one answered (not impertinently) *My Courtisans Sir? Pox on them all for me, they are none of my Courtisans.*

Lastly, some kind of *Travellers* there are, whom their gate and strouting, their bending in the *hammes*, and *shoulders*, and looking upon their legs, with frisking and finging do speake them *Travellers*.

Others by a phantastique kind of *ribanding* themselves, by their modes of *habit*, and *cloathing* (and touching variety of *cloathing*, there be certaine odde ill-favoured old *Prophecies* of this *Island*, which were improper to recite here) do make themselves knowne to have breathed forraine ayre, like Sir *Thomas Moore's Traveller*, whom I will bring here upon the stage.

*Amicus et Sodalis est Lalus mihi,
 Britannique natus, altusque Insulâ :
 At cum Britannos Galliæ cultoribus
 Oceanus ingens, lingua, mores dirimant,
 Spernit tamen Lalus Britannica omnia ;
 Miratur expetitque cuncta Gallica
 Togâ superbit ambulans in Gallica,
 Amatque multum Gallicas lacernulas,
 Zonâ, locello, atque ense gaudet Gallico,
 Et calceis et subligare Gallico,
 Totoque denique apparatu Gallico,
 Nam et unum habet Ministrum, cumque Gallicum,
 Sed quem, licet velit, nec ipsa Gallia,
 Tractare quiret plus (opinor) Gallicè,
 Stipendii nihil dat, atque id Gallicè,
 Vestitque tritis pannulis, et Gallicè hoc,
 Alit cibo parvo et malo, idque Gallicè,
 Labore multo exerceat, atque hoc Gallicè,
 Pugnisque crebrò pulsât, idque Gallicè,
 In cætu, in via, et in foro, et frequentia
 Rixatur objurgatque semper Gallicè.
 Quid ? Gallicè illud ? imò semi-Gallicè,
 Sermonem enim, ni fallor, ille Gallicum,
 Tam callet omnem, quàm Latinum Psittacus.
 Crescit tamen ; sibi que nimirum placet,
 Verbis tribus si quid loquatur Gallicis,
 Aut Gallicis si quid nequit vocabulis,
 Conatur id verbis, licet non Gallicis,
 Sono saltem personare Gallico,
 Palato hiantè, acutulo quodam tono,
 Et fœminæ instar garrientis molliter,
 Sed ore pleno, tanquam id implcant fabæ,
 Balbutiens videlicet suaviter,
 Pressis quibusdam literis, Galli quibus
 Ineptientes abstinent, nihil secus
 Quam vulpe gallus, rupibusque Navita ;
 Sic ergo linguam ille et Latinam Gallicè,
 Et Gallicè linguam sonat Britannicam,
 Et Gallicè linguam refert Hispanicam,*

*Et Gallicè linguam refert Lombardicam,
Et Gallicè linguam refert Germanicam,
Et Gallicè omnem præter unam Gallicam,
Nam Gallicam folùm fonat Britannicè :
At quisquis Infulà fatus Britannica
Sic patriam infolens faftidiet fuam,
Ut more fimice laboretf fingere,
Et æmulari Gallicas ineptias,
Ex amne Gallo ego hunc opinor ebrium.
Ergo ut ex Britanno Gallus effe nititur,
Sic Dii jubete, fiat fiat ex Gallo capus.*

SEC. XV.



BUt fuch Travellers as thefe may bee termed *Land-lopers*, as the *Dutchman* faith, rather than *Travellers* ; Such may be faid to go out upon fuch an [the like] Arrand, as wee reade *Saules-son* went once out upon [to feek his Father's affes] ; or like the *Prodigall fon*, to feed upon the *huskes* of ftrange Countreys ; or as we reade, *Æfope* travelled to *Iftria*, thence to *Africk*, and fundry other Regions, only to find out the beft *Crabs* ; or like him who came from the furtheft parts of *Hungary* to *England* [from the furtheft parts of Hungary], to eat *Oyflers* : Thefe *Travellers* in lieu of the *Ore of Ophir* wherewith they fhould come home richly freighted, may be faid to make their returne in *Apes* and *Owles*, in a cargazon of *Complements* and *Cringes*, or fome huge monftrous *Periwigs*, which is the *Golden Pleece* they bring over with them.

Such, I fay, are a fhame to their Countrey abroad, and their kinred at home, and to their parents, *Ben-onies*, the *sons of sorrow* : and as *Fonas* in the *Whales* belly, travelled much, but faw little, why, becaufe hee was fhut up in the body of that great (aquatique) beaft, fo thefe may be faid to have been carried up and downe through many Countreys, and after a long *pererration* to and fro, to returne as wife as they went, becaufe their foules were fo ill lodged, and fhut up in

such stupid bodies : No, an ingenious and discerning *Traveller* will disdain this, and strive to distinguish 'twixt good and evill, 'twixt that which is gracefull, and what's phantastique, 'twixt what is to be followed, and what's to be shunned, and bring home the best : Hee will strive to be rather *Substance without shew, than shew without substance* : From the *Italian* he will borrow his *reservednesse*, not his *jealousie* and *humor of revenge* ; From the *French* his *Horsmanship* and gallantnesse that way, with his *Confidence*, and nothing else : From the *Spaniard* his *Sobriety*, not his *lust* : From the *German* (cleane contrary) his *Continency*, not his *Excesse*, the other way : From the *Netherland* his *Industry*, and that's all : His heart must still remaine *English*, though I allow him some choyce and change of *Habit*,

Cælum, non animum mutet—

And as the commendablest quality of *Oyle* is to smell of nothing, yet it giveth an excellent relish to many sorts of *meats* : So he is the discreetest *Traveller*, who *Savoureth* of no affectation, or strangenesse, of no exotique *modes* at all, after his returne, either in his *Cariage* or *Discours*, unlesse the subject require it, and the occasion and Company aptly serve for him, to discover himselfe, and then an application of his Knowledge abroad, will excellently season his matter and serve as golden *dishes* to serve it in.

If any Forrainer be to be imitated in his manner of *Discours* and *Comportement*, it is the *Italian*, who may be said to be a *medium* 'twixt the *Gravity* of the *Spaniard*, the *Heavinessse* of the *Dutch*, and *Levity* of our next Neighbours, for he seemes to allay the one, and quicken the other two ; to serve as a *buoy* to the one, and a *ballast* to th'other.

France useth to work one good effect upon the *English*, she useth to take away the mothers milk (as they say,) that blush and bashfull tincture, which useth to rise up in the face upon sudden salutes, and interchange of Complement, and to enharden one with confidence ; For the Gentry of *France* have a kind of

loose becomming boldnes, and forward vivacity in their cariage, whereby [as] they seeme to draw respect from their *Superiours* and *Equals*, and [so they] make their *Inferiours* [and all kind of mechaniques to] keepe a fitting distance.

In *Italy* amongst other morall cautions, one may learne *not to be over prodigall of speech* when there is no need, for with a *nod*, with a *shake of the head*, and *shrug of the shoulder*, they will answer to many questions.

One shall learne besides there not to *interrupt* one in the relation of his tale, or to *seed* it with odde *interlocutions*: One shall learne also not to *laugh at his own jest*, as too many use to do, *like a Hen, which cannot lay an egge but she must cackle*.

Moreover, one shall learne *not to ride so furiously* as they do ordinarily in *England*, when there is no necessity at all for it [required]; for the *Italians* have a Proverb, that *a galloping horse is an open sepulcher*. And the *English* generally are observed by all other Nations, to ride commonly with that speed, as if they rid for a Midwife, or a Physitian, or to get a pardon to save one's life as he goeth to execution, when there is no such thing, or any other occasion at all, which makes them call *England*, the *Hell of Horses* [not without cause].

In these hot Countreyes also, one shall learne to give over the habit of an odde custome, peculiar to the *English* alone, and whereby they are distinguished from other Nations, which is, *To make still towards the Chimney*, though it bee in the *Dog-dayes*.

SECT. XVI.



Language is the greatest outward testimony of *Travell*: Yet is it a vaine and verball Knowledge that rests only in the Tongue; Nor are the observations of the Eye any thing profitable, unlessse the Mind draw

something from the Externe object to enrich the Soule withall, to informe to build up and unbeguile the Inward man, that by the sight of so various objects of Art and Nature, that by the perlustration of such famous Cities, Castles, Amphitheatres, and Palaces; some glorious and new, some mouldred away, and eaten by the Iron-teeth of Time, he come to discern, the best of all earthly things to bee but frayle and transitory. That this World at the best is but a huge Inne, and we but wayfaring men, but Pilgrimes, and a company of rambling Passengers. That we enter first into this World by Travaile, and so passe along with Cries, by weeping crosse [to mile end]: So that it was no improper Character the Wisest of Kings gave of this life to be nought else but a continuall Travell: as the Author crossing once over the Pyrenes, writ to a Noble friend of his in this distique,

*Vita Peregrinans Iter est, sacra pagina monstrat,
Nunc verè vitam, nam peregrinor, ago.*

*Yet amongst these passengers, some find warme lodgings in this Inne, with soft beds, the table plentifully furnished, And such is the pooreness of some Spirits, and the narrowness of their Soules, and they are so nailed to the Earth, that when they are almost at their Fourneyes end, when they lye wind-bound at the Cape of good Hope, and have one foot in the Barge ready to go off, with the next Gale to another Countrey, to their last home: Yet, as the Orator saith, *Quò minus viæ respat eò plus viatici quærun*t, the lesse way remaines, the more provision they make still for their journey.*

Other Passengers there are, which find but short commons, they are forced to trudge up and down for a roome to lay their heads upon, and would bee well content with a trucklebed, or a mattresse in the garret, for want whereof, they are often constrained [put] to lye in state [abroad] against their wills in the Starre Chamber, [but much against their wills] having [though they have] the Heaven for their Canopy, and the breasts of their Common Mother for their pillow.

And it is the high pleasure of Providence this disparity should be 'twixt the Citizens of this World, and that the earth should be divided into such unequall portions, to leave place for Industry, Labour, and Wit, the Children of Necessity, and Parents of Vertue, for otherwise, few or none would purchase any ground upon Parnassus Hill.

To see the Escuriall in Spaine, or the Plate-Flect at her first arrivall; To see Saint Denis, the late Cardinal-Palace in Richelieu, and other things in France; To see the Citadell of Antwerp; The New Towne of Amsterdam, and the Forrest of Mafts, which lye perpetually before her; To see the Imperiall, and stately Hans Towns of Germany; To see the Treasurie of Saint Mark, and Arsenall of Venice; The Mount of Piety in Naples; The Dome and Castle of Milan; The proud Palaces in and about Genoua, whereof there are two hundred within two miles of the Towne; and not one of the same forme of building; To see Saint Peter's Church, the Vatican, and other magnificent structures in Rome, who in the case she stands in, may be said to be but her owne Tombe, in comparifon of what she hath beene, being fallen from the Hills to the Plaines.

To be able to sp[e]ake many Languages, as the Voluble French, the Courtly Italian, the Lofty Spanish, the Lusty Dutch, the Powerfull Latine, the Scientifique and happily compounding Greek, the most Spacious Slavonique, the Mystlicall Hebrew with all her Dialects: All this is but vanity and superficiall Knowledge, unlesse the inward man be bettered hereby; unlesse by seeing and perusing the volume of the Great World, one learne to know the Little, which is himselfe, unles one learne to governe and check the passions, our Domestique Enemies, then which nothing can conduce more to gentlenes of mind, to Elegancy of Manners, and Solid Wifdome. But principally, unlesse by surveying and admiring his works abroad, one improve himself in the knowledge of his Creator, præ quo quicquiliæ cætera; in comparifon whereof the best of sublunary blessings are but bables, and

this indeed, this *Vnum necessarium*, should be the center to which *Travell* should tend.

Moreover, one should evertuate himselfe to bring something home, that may accrue to the publique benefit and advantage of his Countrey, and not to draw water to his own Mill only; For of those *three* that the *Orator* saith, challenge a share in our *Nativity*, our *Countrey* is the first, and *our selfs* last. Therefore he should pry into the *Policy and municipall Lawes* of other *States* and *Cities*, and be able to render an accompt of their government, and by collation thereof with that of his own, Examine well whether any wholesome constitution or custome may be applyable to the frame of his owne Countrey.

It is recorded in an ancient *Greek Author*, that the famous *Ptolomey*, he who conversed and *Travelled* so much amongst Heavenly bodies, culled out a select number of his pregnantest young Nobles, and Gentlemen to go to *Greece, Italy, Carthage*, and other *Regions*, and the prime Instruction they had in charge, was, to observe the *Government*, as they *Travelled* along, and bring back *three* of the wholesomest *Lawes* out of every Countrey. Being returned, they related that in the *Roman Republique*, a most singular veneration was had of the *Temples*, a punctuall obedience to *Governors*, and unavoydable punishments inflicted upon malefactors.

In *Carthage*, the *Senat* commanded, the *Nobles* executed, and the *People* obeyed.

In *Athens* the *Rich* were not suffered to be *Extortioners*, the *Poore* idle, nor the *Magistrates* ignorant.

In *Rhodes* *Old men* were *Venerable*, *Young men* modest, and *Women* solitary and silent.

In *Thebes* the *Nobles* did fight, the *Plebeians* labour, and *Philosophers* teach.

In *Sicily* *Justice* was entirely administred, *Commerce* was honestly exercised, and all enjoyed equall privileges and interest in the *State*.

Among the *Sicionians* there were admitted neither *Physitians* to hinder the operations of *Nature*; nor

Strangers, to introduce innovations; nor Lawyers, to multiply Contentions.

These men it seemes did not go out to see feathers fly in the Ayre, or *Reeds shaken with the wind*, they did not go to get Complements or Cringes, or Cariage of bodies, or new Modes of cloathing, or to tip the tongue with a little Language only, but they searchd into the solideſt and uſefulleſt part of humane Wiſdome, which is policy; And doubtleſſe, that rare wiſe King made excellent uſe of their obſervations, and rewarded them accordingly: And *one of the happieſt advantages to a Monarchy is, to have a diſcerning and bountifull King when occaſion requires, for Subjects are accordingly active or idle, as they find their Prince able to judge of their merit and endeavours, and ſo employ them; for in the Common-wealth of Letters, and ſpeculative Orbe of Vertue, the benigne aſpect and influence of the Prince, is as Apollo was to the Muſes, it gives a kind of comfortable heate, and illumination, whereby they are cheriſhed and made vigorous.*

The moſt materiall uſe therefore of *Forraine Travel* is to find out ſomething that may bee applyable to the publique utility of one's own Countrey, as a *Noble Perſonage* of late yeares did, who obſerving the uniforme and regular way of ſtone ſtructure up and down *Italy*, hath introduced that *forme* of building to *London* and *Westminster*, and elſe where, which though diſtaſtfull at firſt, as all innovations are, *For they ſeeme like Bug-beares, or Gorgons heads, to the vulgar*; yet they find now the *commodity, firmeneſſe and beauty* thereof, the three maine principles of Architecture.

Another ſeeing their *Dikes*, and draynings in the *Netherlands*, hath been a cauſe that much hath beene added, to lengthen the ſkirts of this *Iſland*.

Another in imitation of their *aqueducts* and *fluces*, and conveyance of waters abroad, brought *Ware-water* through *London ſtreets*: And it had been wiſhed ſo great and renowned a *City* had not forgot *Him* ſo ſoon, conſidering what infinite advantages redounds to her thereby

for in other Countreys I have seene *Statues* erected to persons in the most eminentest places (to eternize their memories by way of gratitude) for Inventions of farre lesser consequence to the encouragement of others, for it is an old *Rule of State*, and will be in date to the Worlds end, that *Honor nourisheth Arts*, and is the *golden spurre of Vertue and industry*.

SECT. XVII.



Mongst many other fruits of *Forraine Travell*, besides the delightfull ideas, and a thousand various thoughts and selfe contentments and inward folaces, it raiseth in the memory of things past, this is one: That when one hath seene the *Tally and taillage of France*, the *Milstone of Spaine*, the *Afsise of Holland*, the *Gabels of Italy*, where one cannot bring an *Edge*, or roote to the market, but the Prince his part *lyes therein*: When he hath felt the *excesse of heat*, the dangerous *Scrains*, the *Poverty of joye in many places*, the *Homelineffe and incommodity of lodging*, the *course cloathing of the best sort of Peasants*, their *wooden shooes*, and *straw hats*, their *Canvas breeches*, and *Buckram petticoates*, their *meager fare*, feeding commonly upon *Grasse, Hearbs, and Roots*, and drinking *Water*, neere the condition of brute animals, *who find the cloth always ready layed, and the buttry open*: When hee hath observed what a hard shift some make to hewe out a dwelling in the *holes of the Rocks*; others to dig one *under the Sea*; when he feelles, how in some Climes *the Heaven is as Brasse*, in others as a *dropping Sponge*; in others as a *great Bellowes*, most part of the yeare; how the *Earth*, in many places is ever and anone sick of a *fit of the Palsie*; When hee sees the same *Sun* which only *cherisheth and gently warmes his Countrey men*, halfe *parboyle and tanne other people*, and those rayes which scorch the *adusled foyles of Calabria and Spaine*, only *varnish and guild the green hony-suckled plaines and hillocks of*

England; When he hath observed what hard *shifts* some make to *rub* out in this world in divers Countreys, *What speed Nature makes to finish her cours in them*; How their best sort of women after *forty*. are presently *superannuated*, and looke like another *Charing-Crosse*, or *Carackes that have passed the Line in three voyages to the Indies*: When hee hath observed all this, At his returne home, hee will blesse God, and love *England* better ever after, both for the *Equality of the Temper* in the Clime, where there is no where the like. take all the Seasons of the yeare together, (though some would wish *She* might bee pushed a little nearer the *Sun* :) For the *free condition of the subject*, and *equall participation of the Wealth of the Land*, for the *unparalleled accommodation of lodging*, and *security of Travell*, for the *admirable hospitality*, for the *variety and plenty of all sorts of firme food*, for *attendance and cleanness*, for the *rare fertility of Shoare and Sea*, of *Ayre, Earth, and Water*, for the *longevity, well favourednesse and innated honesty of the people*: And above all; for the *moderation and decency in celebrating the true service of God*, being farre from *Superstition* one way, and from *Prophanesse* the other way, (though (with a quaking heart, I speake it) there have been strange insolencies committed of late) I say, when hee hath well observed all this, he will sing, as once I did to a Noble friend of mine from *Denmarque*, in this *Saphique*:

Dulcior fumus Patriæ, forensi
Flammula, vino, præit unda, terræ
Herba Britannæ [nativæ] magis transmarino
Flore suavis.

SECT. XVIII.



Having thus tasted of so many waters, and beene *Salted* in the World abroad, and being safely restored to the bosome of his owne *Countrey*. his next cours should bee, to settle himselfe awhile in one of the

Innes of Court, (which hee may do and yet bee a *Courtier* besides) to understand something of the *Common Lawes* of *England*, which are the inheritance of every subject, as also of the constitutions and Orders of the *House of Parliament*, the most indifferent, most wholesome, and Noblest way of Government in the World, both in respect of *King* and *People*: *It being the greatest glory of a King, to be King of a free and well-crested people, and the greatest glory of a People to bee under a Croten so embellished with Flowers, and sparckling with such ancient and sacred gemmes of Royall Prerogatives: Yet to bee under no Law but of their owne making, to bee the Setters of the great Dyall of the Commonwealth themselves. To be subject to no Ordinance, to no Contribution or Taxe, but what is granted in that great Epidemicall Counsell, wherein every one from the Peere to the Plebeian hath an inclusive Vote. And if every degree high and low, both in Towne and Countrey is there represented by their Substitutes; it were a hard measure (under correction, I humbly speake it) if the Levites, the best of all professions, who besides the holinesse of their function (as having charge of the Nobler halfe of man, of that which should guide and regulate the Understanding in making of all Lawes, I meane the Conscience) do make a considerable part of the People of the Kingdome, should be thence excluded; for though it be inconsistent with their calling to have hands to execute, yet they may well have heads to consult in that great Nationall Senat: It were a hard case, I say, if those great Lights, which were used to shine with that brightnesse to the Envy (not the reproach or Scandall of any that I know of) of all other Reformed Churches, should be now put in wooden Candlesticks: That those Promotions, Endowments, and Honors, which our [pious and] well disposed Progenitors provided, to nourish the Arts, and serve as Spurres to Learning and Zeale, should now be cut off, as if they served only for Stirrups to Pride. There being no professions, but have certaine steps of rising up,*

and degrees of Promotion for their encouragement to make men *æmulari meliora*. And he who hath spent the vigor of his yeares and Intellectuals in the *Lords Vineyard*, it may well become him (having served, as it were, his yeare of *Fubile*) to have his gray haire dignified with some Honor and Authority, with reward and rest in his old age, and by his long experience and paines to see that other painefull Labourers be put into the *Vine-yard*, yet to have his hand often on the Plough himfelfe. If there bee a *theefe in the Candle*, (as wee use to fay commonly) there is a way to pull it out; and not to put out the Candle, by clapping an *Extinguisher* presently upon it; If these *Lights* grow dim, there is a *Trienniall Snuffer* for them: If these Trees beare not good fruit, or fhoot forth any *Luxuriant* boughs, they are fure to feele the *Pruning iron* once every three yeares.

In the name of God, let these *Lights* be brought to move within the circumference of their own *Orbes*, and be kept from irregular and *eccentrique* motions, And I am confident it will render them lesse obnoxious to *Envy and Scandal*, and draw upon them a greater opinion of *Reverence*.

There is a Castle in the *grand Caire in Ægypt*, called the *Nilescope*, where there stands a *Pillar* with certaine markes to observe the height of the River of *Nile*, at her annuall inundation (which falls out precisely about the Summer Solstice) if the streame come to bee higher or lower than such markes, it portends *dearth*, but if at highest flood it rest about the middle, it is an infallible preface of a plentifull yeare: So we may say of these great *Streames* that are appointed to water the Lords Field, they must not *flow too high*, nor must they run in too *low a Channell*: And [Now] as *humility is the fairest gemme that can shine in a Prelats Miter*, so the greatest badge of a well devoted Soule, is to reverence the *Dispensers of the sacred Oracles of God, the Ghostly Fathers, and Governors of the Church* (which in analogy to the *Triumphant in Heaven*, hath also her degrees of

Hierarchy.) For besides *Revenue* there is a *Veneration*, due to this holy function, and it were no hard matter to produce a *Gran Fury* of examples both *Humane* and *Divine*, that where this *Reverence* fayled, it hath been a symptome, and an infallible preface of a declining State, or [and] some approaching judgement.

But I hope I shall never live to see the day that the noble *English Nation*, who have been so renowned all the world over, and cryed up for their exemplary *Piety*, as well as *Providence*, will undervalue themselves so farre, and [or] grow [so] distrustfull or conscious of their owne *judgements*, [of] their owne wonted *Worth*, and *Ability* so far, as to thinke those *Nations* (who have not meanes to make the *Church* shine with that lustre) to be *Wiser* than they, or to out go them in zeale, [I say, I hope the time will never com that the *English* will be so poor spirited;] as to receive laws for the Conscience, and forme of serving God from those [people] who have been [so] far behind them. both in the first *Reception* of Christianity and [in] the *Reformation* thereof—*Proh pudor*—I will not say, by what I heard muttered abroad, it will be accounted a *Nationall diminution*, but if it should so fall out, it is no hard matter to be a Prophet, yea, by what hath passed already, to take a plaine prospect of those Anarchicall confusions, and fearefull calamities, which will inevitably ensue both in *Church and State*; unlesse with the pious care which is already taken to hinder the *great Beast* to breake into the *Vineyard*; there be also a speedy cours taken to fence *Her* from *other Vermin*, and *lesser Animals* (the *belluam multorum capitum*) which begin to brouze her leaves, to throw down her hedges, and so lay her open to wast, spoyle and scorne: [I speak it again with fear and trembling, that England is quite lost.] Vnlesse there bee a cours taken, I say, to suppress those petty Sectaries, which swarme so in every corner, with that connivence (to the amazement of all the world, and disparagement of so well a policed Kingdome) who by their capricious and various kind of gingling fancies in serving God

[spirituall matters], do their best to bring in the opinion of the Pagan Philosopher (*Themistius*) delivered once to *Valens* the Emperor, *That as God Almighty had infused into his handmaid Nature, a diversity of operations. and that the beauty of the Universe consisted in a proportion of so many differing things, so he was delighted to see himselfe served by [in] various and sundry kinds of worship and invocations.*

In all humblenesse, (and with submission of censure) I desire to be dispensed withall for this excursion out of my first intended subject, but I hope the *digression* will prove no *transgression*, in regard the *quality* of the *matter* is such, that every one hath a share and interest in it, and should be sensible, when that *Liturgy* and *Church* is vilified, wherein he hath received his *Birth* and *Baptism*, and by whose compasse hee steeres his cours to Heaven: *When the Windows come down (and the chief Pillars threatened) the House must needs be in danger of falling, and he is worthy to be called a Niding, one, the pulse of whose soule beates but faintly towards Heaven, as having taken but weake impressions of the image of his Maker, who will not run and reach his hand to beare up his Temple.*

SEC. XIX.



IN the *Inns of Court*, where I left my returned *Traveller*, hee will be acquainted with *Westminster-Hall*, with the courses of *pleading* in the Courts of Iudicature, by which Knowledge, he may learne how to preserve his own, for, for want of some experience herein, many have mightily suffered in their estates, and made themselves a prey to their solicitors and Agents: Nor indeed is he capable to beare any Rule or Office in Town or Countrey, who is utterly unacquainted with *John an Okes*, and *John a Stiles*, and with their *Termes*.

Having beene thus settled awhile at home, if businesse and the quality of his life will permit, hee may

make one flying journey over againe, and in one Summer review all those Countreys, which hee had beene forty Months a seeing before: And *as the second thoughts are held the wisest, so a second survey is more exact, and of a more retentive vertue, and amongst other benefits, it will infinitely improve one in his language.* Noah's Dove brought the branch of Olive in her Bill, at her Second journey; from the latter end of Mars, to the beginning of October, one may leasurely traverse France, crosse the Pyrenes, the Mediterranean, and the Alpes, and so returne either through Germany or through France againe, and thence come home through the Netherlands: But being (*his Redux*) returned the second time, let him thinke no more of Forrain Journeys, unlesse it be by command, and upon publique service.

Now to find entertainment for his houres of leasure at home, hee may amongst other studies, if his inclination leads him that way, apply himselfe to the most materiall and usefull parts of the Mathematiques, as the Art of Navigation and Fortification. *The study of the Mathematiques is abstruse, and therefore they require a ripe and well-seasoned judgement, they have this property, to make a dull capacity acute, and an acute capacity dull, if he fals unto them too soon:* which makes us to be censured abroad in the [for the preposterous] *method* of our studies in *England*, to make [by making] *green wits* not yet halfe coddled as it were, to fall too early to such profound notions in our *Universities*, as putting [which is as much as to put] children to stand too soon upon their leggs.

For Conclusion, in this variety of studies and diversifments, I will give him this Caution, that he fall not into the hands of *Alchymist*, for though there be a world of rare conclusions, and delightfull experiments (most usefull and proper for Physitians) to be found in *Chymistry* which makes many to bee so *enchanted* therewith (that being got once in, they have not power to get out againe) Yet I never knew any yet, who made

the *benefit* countervaille the *charge*; but I have knowne many *melt* themselves [herby] to nothing (like [as] *Icarus* wings melted, [did] when he attempted the *Art* of flying) And while they labour so [So these devout Naturalists and Disciples of Demogorgon while] with the *fiveat* of their brows to *blow* [they ly blowing] the *cole*, and [to] *bring gold over the helm*, they commonly make a shipwrack of [all] their own fortunes.

Et bona dilapidant omnia pro lapide.

And the reason well may be, that 'tis doubted, whether such undertakings, bee pleasing to God Almighty or no, for though *Art be Nature's Ape*, and is found to perfect her in some things: Yet, it may well bee termed a kind of *Presumption* in man (by fetching downe the *Planets* and damning them as *criminals* to certaine *Mettals*) to attempt the *transmutation of one species into another*, as it were against the first ordinance of the *Creator*, and the primitive intent of *Nature*, whose *hand-maid* shee is, in the *Production* of all Elementary bodies: Therefore to be led into a kind of fooles *Paradis*, and a conceipt of the *Philosophers-Stone*, and to spend much money in *Chymistry*, hee shall never have the advife of

JAMES HOWELL.

FINIS.



A N
A P P E N D I X
O F
S O M D I R E C T I O N S
for *travelling* into *Turky*
and the *Levant* parts.



I F my *Travellers* curiosity hath a further extent, and that Europe cannot bound the largnes of his desires, but that he hath a disposition to see the *Turks* dominions, which next to *Christendome* are fittest to be known, in regard He is the sole Earthly potentat, and fatallst foe of the Crosse of Christ, and so som advantages may bee taken by prying into the errors of his government and weaknesse of his dominions. I say if he hath a mind to make som researches what kind of Soule doth inform, actuat, govern, and conserve that vast Empire, which is an extension of about three thousand two hundred miles in one continued peece, a narrow neck of Sea onely excepted, If his fancy bends that way. He may either take his advantage of the season, that our company of *Turky* Marchants set out their Shipps for *Con-*

Constantinople, which commonly is in the Spring, wherein hee may go with little danger (and lesse expence) for they are lusty vessels every way well appointed, and passing in one of them, he may have the opportunity to land at divers port Townes in *Spaine*, *Italy*, or *Greece*, and yet reach *Constantinople* in lesse then three Months: Or he may go through *France*, and so crosse the *Alps*, or Embarke at *Marfeilles* for *Ligorn*, where he shall meet with frequent commodity of shipping from *Smyrna*.

Or else he may go to *Venice*, where he may agree with a Janizary to conduct him in company of a Caravan all the way through the Continent of *Greece* as farre as *Constantinople*, where in the way he may ruthfully observe how that Country, which was used to be the nource of all speculative knowledge, as also of policy and prowesse, is now orewhelm'd with barbarisme and ignorance, with slavery and abjection of Spirit: He will admire how the whole people are degenerated both in their hearts and heads, from the ancient courage and knowledg they were so cryed up for in former ages; In this journey he will meet with sundry sorts of nations that go with the Caravan; specially with Jewes, as well as with Greeks and other Christians, therefore as he is to bee reserv'd in concealing his own Religion, so he must be a *παντοκράτωρ* he must become all to all in point of morall conversation.

Being come to *Constantinople* he shall behold that City which by the advantage of her situation is fittest of all other to be mistresse of the Earth, for she stands almost in the midst of the old world, therefore hath she the advantage of receiving accounts, and issuing out commands from and to all other Countreys with more celerity: She hath on the one side immediat commerce with *Thrace*, as on the other with *Asia*; The *Pontus* or black Sea washeth her one of her skirts, and the *Marmora*, or *Hellefpont*, the other, the mouths of which seas are so narrow, that no passage can be forc'd against

her Castles. Now as the first glance makes the smartest impression of the object, so a fresh Commer to any strange place apprehends things with a cleerer judgement, with a greater pleasure and a greedier desire then when the object is grown stale and familiar unto him, therefore in this respect, he who arrives suddenly from ship to shore at any great Town, in a strange Countrey, hath a greater advantage, then he who passeth by degrees from the skirts thereof to the centre.

In the *Port*, for *Constantinople* is called so *κατ' ἐξοχὴν* he may observe more then any where else, the *Religion*, the *Justice*, the *militia*, and *moralities* of the Musulmen. Touching their *Religion*, he must observe how it differ's, and in what point it conformes with other Religions; how *Christians* are more beholden to the *Turk* then to the *Jew*, for he acknowledgeth Christ to have been a great Prophet, to have bin born of the *Virgin Mary*, who they say was so before, and after her delivery; they hold that he was conceived by divine inspiration without a Father, as *Adam* was created without a Mother; They beleeve further that he was not crucified but taken up to Heaven, and that he shall come again at the end of the world on Earth againe, and that the *Jews* did not put *him* to death, but another man who resembled him: Hee may observe the substance of their Religion, which is, that they beleeve one sole GOD, CREATOR of the whole World, the punisher of the bad, and Rewarder of the good, who hath created Hell for the one, and Paradis for the other; the felicity whereof consists in the height of sensuall delights. They beleeve the Decalog of *Moses*, Friday is their Sabbath, they pray five times a day, They have no bells but a Cryer out of a high Tower; They are great Founders of Hospitalls, of Hanes to entertain Travellers, of bridges, Repairers of high wayes, and great builders of Temples which are very stately though their own Houses be homely; which Temples they reverence in the humblest postures that the body can

put it selfe in, they first sit crosse-legg'd waving their limms, and prostrat themselves often on their faces to kisse the Earth, afterwards they stand up with their hands bow'd at their Eares, and in these kinds of Church-gesticulations, they differ from all other people. They are obliged to give the first day of the yeare the Tith of all their gaines to the poore for a new yeares-gift. They pray for the dead and invoke Saints: They so adore the *Alcoran* that they never put it under their girdles, 'tis death to translate it out of *Arabic* into any vulgar language, or for any lay man to dispute of it, or raise any scruples, which they say is the cause of such a rare uniformity and universall obedience among such swarmes of severall Nations that professe Mahometisme; They are chary of the conscience, in so much that they put no man to his Oath, 'tis enough that he sweare by the faith of a *Musulman*.

Now 'tis thought that this Religion is like to be of long continuance, because there is no nation where the Church man is more powerfull and of greater esteem, in regard that all their Iudges are Ecclesiastiques, and so have power o're the body [and] soule.

As touching their *Iustice* though it be more arbitrary, 'tis far more *speedy* than among *Christians* and more severe; The cause of the speediness is, that there are no deeds, dead precedents, or any moth eaten record to puzzle and retard the businesse, but upon producement of witnes the Sute is suddenly determined *Secundum allegata et probata*, every man being his own advocat; 'Tis true appeales in som cases may be made to the *Mufiti* who is their chiefest Bishop, whom they have in extreme reverence, that neither the *Gran Visiâr*, or the Emperour Himselfe will question his sentence, but acquiesse thereon: As their justice is more *speedy*, so it is more *severe*, for they have sundry sorts of punishments that torture the sense a longer time, as *drubbing*, *guunshing*, *slaying alive*, *impaling*, and thrusting of lances through the fondament, &c.

Touching their *Militia*, they go with greater animosity against the *European*, than against the *Persian*, to prevent their destruction which divers of their prophecies tel them shal com from the Christian.

Touching the morall behaviour of the Turks, they may be a pattern to some Christian nations in point of common *humanity*; At their meetings they bow their bodies with very gentle and hearty salutes, among the rest 'tis admirable how humble and courteous their very Mariners are to Passengers, nothing so boorish as I know som Nations to be, the left side among Soldiers is the better hand, because he hath the freer command of his sword, they never uncover their heads or take off their turbants, so that in the rough of their fury the greatest Execration they use to rap out, is, *God send thee as much trouble as a Christians hatt*, which is almost in perpetuall motion.

In *Constantinople*, one may discern the power of the Turk, but if my Traveller desires to pry into his *Policy*; let him venture to the gran *Cayro*, and from *Constantinople* he shall meet with frequent conveniences to passe by Sea to *Alexandria*, and so up the *Nile* thither, and if he cut out his time so that he may be there 'twixt the Summer Solstice and *October*, he may behold that *Mysterious* River in her highest pride. Being arrived at the gran *Cayro* he shall see the greatest heap of slaves upon Earth in one body, a City of 35. miles compas, having 35000. Churches, and 24000. streets, in and about that City there are the agedst sort of antiquities upon Earth, for they will speake you of Kings they had eighteen thousand years agoe, which was before the worlds creation according to our compute above twelve thousand yeares: If he will observe the *genius* of the Egyptian, he will find him to be a Nation of a baser allay then the Turk, a Nation born to obey not to sway, for among the various habitants of the Earth, there is *populus servus et populus dominus*,

There is an hiatus in the thought here: the text runs on as follows—

such as to see the holy Sepulcher he may passe home by Jerufalem, and all this he may do in as short a compas of time as the Sun finisheth his periodic annuall motion.

Before my Traveller puts himselfe to such peregrinations, 'tis requisit he should know the use of the Globe before hand, for it is the only way to make one a good *chorographer*, and *Geographer*, whereof the one respects *accidents*, the other *quantities*: Being a good *Globist*, hee will quickly find the *Zenith*, the *distances*, the *climes* and the *Parallels*, and *distances* of Regions as he passeth along; which is easily don, for if he subtract the height of the pole from the quadrant of 90. degrees, the rest will shew the *Zenith* of any place; The *distance* between places may be known by the elevation of the pole, as (to produce a familiar home Example) *Oxford* is commonly held to be 51. degrees 30. minutes, *Yorke* is 54. degrees 30. minutes, subtract the lesser from the greater, then remaines 3. degrees which allowing 60. miles to every degree is the distance 'twixt those two Cities. To know the *clime*, and *parallell* double the howers above twelve in the longest solstitiall day, and the product will shew the climat, quadruple them 'twill shew the parallell: lastly, to know the greatnes, and furthest extent of a Region, let him observe the two latitudes, in the *North*, where 'tis greatest, in the *Southern* point where 'tis least, compare the degrees of both, and 'twill shew him the diameter of any Countrey, as for example, in great Britain take the starr point in *Devonshire* which is under 50. degrees in latitude, and the River *Ardurnus* in Scotland which hath 60. degrees (to omit minutes) subduct the 10. odd degrees of difference which being multiplied by sixty a peece will make 600. miles, and that is the utmost extent of this Island.

My Traveller having now breath'd the fiery aires of *Afric*, with the sweete breezes of *Asia*, and *Europe*; having beheld such a multitude of strange objects and

all this, not by hear-say only, or through the mist of other mens breaths, but through the cleere casements of his own optiques, I say having seen all this, and being safely returned to his Mother soile, he may very well acquiesse in her lap, and terminat his desires from further travell abroad, but be contented to live and dye an *Islander* without treading any more *Continents*.

—*His terminus Eslo.*



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NICHOLAS UDALL, M.A.

Master, in succession, of Eton College and Westminster School.

Roister Doister.

Written, probably also represented, before 1553.

CAREFULLY EDITED FROM THE UNIQUE COPY,
NOW AT ETON COLLEGE,

BY

EDWARD ARBER,

Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

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Dramatis Personæ.

Ralph Roister Doister.

Mathew Merygreeke.

Gawyn Goodluck, *affianced to Dame Cusance.*

Tristram Trustie, *his friend.*

Dobinet Doughtie, 'boy' to Roister Doister.

Tom Trupenie, *servant to Dame Cusance.*

Sym Suresby, *servant to Goodluck.*

Scriuener.

Harpax.

Dame Christian Cusance, *a widow.*

Margerie Mumblecrust, *her nurse.*

Tibet Talk apace, }
Annot Alyface, } *her maidens.*

TIME. *About Two days.*

SCENE. *Not indicated: ? London.*

NICHOLAS UDALL, M.A.

Teacher, Dramatist, Translator, Preacher.

In succession Master of Eton College, Rector of Braintree, Prebend of Windsor, Rector of Calborne, and Master of Westminster School.

* Probable or approximate dates.

There are materials extant for a good *Life* of Udall. Meanwhile there is Mr. Cooper's excellent *Memoir* in the *Shakespeare Society's* reprint of *Ralph Roister Doister* [see No. 5 on p. 8]; and Anthony à-Wood's account of him, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 211. *Ed.* 1813.

1485. Aug. 22. Henry VII. becomes king.

*1504. Nicholas Udall . . . was born in Hampshire, and descended from those of his name, living sometimes at Wykeham in the same county.—*Wood*.

1509. April 22. Henry VIII. begins to reign.

1520. June 18. æt. 14. Admitted scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

1524. May 30. æt. 18. Takes his B.A. [*Wood, Fasti Oxon.*, i. 65, *Ed.* 1815.]
Sept. 3. Elected Probationer Fellow of his College.

1533. May. *Royal MS.* 18 A. lxiv. p. 275, has two titles. (1) Versis
Whitsun Eve. and duties made at the coronation of queen Anne. (2.) Here-
æt. 27. after ensueth a copie of diuers and sundry verses aswell in
latin as in Englishe deuised and made partely by Iohn Ieland
and partely by Nicholas Vuedale whereof sum were sette vp
and sum were spoken and pronounced vnto the most high and
excellente Quene the ladie Anne, wif vnto our sourain lorde
King Henry the eight in many goodly and costely pageauntes
exhibited and shewed by the mayre and citizens of the famous
citie of london at first tyme as hir grace rode from the Towre
of London through the said citie to hir most glorious corona-
tion at the monasterie of Westminster on Whitson yeue in th
xvth yere of the raigne of our said soueraigne lorde.

The Rev. Dr. Goodford, the present Provost of Eton, has most kindly afforded me interesting information obtained by him from the MS. records of the College; viz., the Audit Rolls and the Bursar's Books, respecting Udall's connection with Eton.

The salary of the Master at Eton was then £10 a year, or fifty shillings for each of the four terms. In addition, he received 20s. for his 'livery,' and other small sums, as for obits (*i.e.* attending masses for the dead) [*e.g.* Udall received for obits, 14s. 8d. in 1535, and the same in 1536]; and for candles and ink for the boys [*e.g.* Udall received for these purposes, 23s. 4d. in 1537, and the same in 1538.] If the assumed multiple of 13 truly express the relatively greater purchasing power of gold and silver more then than now: the salary and emoluments cannot be considered excessive.

1534. June 19. Udall takes his M.A. [*Wood, Fasti.*, i. 98.]

1534-1543. Udall's name occurs in the Records spelt indifferently
æt. 28-37 Woddall, Woodall or Udall. His name first appears in 26 Henry VIII., 1534, when his predecessor Dr. Richard Cox was paid salary for three terms, and Udall received 50s. for the fourth, his first term. The payments continue on regularly so far as the books are extant, up to 1541. The Records for 1542 are missing. It was in March 1543 that occurred the robbery of silver images and other plate by two Eton scholars, J. Hoorde and T. Cheney, comived at by Udall's servant Gregory, which resulted in Udall's losing his place.

'Thomas Tusser, gentleman,' in *The Author's Life* added to his *Fine hundreth points of good husbandrie*, 1573, 4to, thus writes, but without giving any date, of Udall's use of the rod :

From Powles I went, to Acton sent,
To learne straight wayes, the Latin phraise.
Where fiftie three stripes giuen to mee,
at once I had:
Per fault but small, or none at all,
It came to passe, thus beat I was,
See Udall see, the mercy of thee,
to mee poore lad.

Nicholas
Udall, schole
master at
Eton.

1537. Sept. 27. Is made Vicar of Braintree. *Newcourt, Rep. ii. 89.*
1542. Udall publishes a translation of the 3rd and 4th books of Erasmus' *Apophthegms*.
* 1543. *Cott. MS. Titus, B. viii. p. 371*, is a long letter, undated and unaddressed, to some one, as to 'my restitution to the rouse of Scholemaister in Eton.'
1544. Dec. 14. Resigns the Vicarship of Braintree. *Newcourt, idem.*
1542-1545. He is engaged with the Princess, afterwards Queen Mary and others in translating Erasmus' *Paraphrase of the New Testament* into English.
'1545. Sept. 30, at London,' date of his *Preface to Luke*.
In his *Pref.* to *John*, partly translated by Princess Mary, partly by Rev. F. Malet, D.D.; Udall gives us the following account of female education in his day: which can only, however, apply to a few women, like Elizabeth, Mary, and Lady Jane Grey. "But nowe in this gracious and blisseful tyme of knowledge, in whiche it hath pleased almighty God to reuele and shewe abroad the lyght of his moste holye ghospell: what a noubre is there of noble women especially here in this realme of Englande, yea and howe many in the yeares of tender vyrginitie, not only aswel seen and as familiarly trade in the Latine and Greke tounge, as in theyr owne mother language: but also both in all kindes of prophane litterature, and liberall artes, exactly studied and exercised, and in the holy Scriptures and Theologie so ripe, that they are able aptely cunnyngly, and with much grace eyther to indite or translate into the vulgare tongue, for the publike instruccion and edifying of the vnlearned multitude. . . . It is nowe no newes in Englande to see young damisels in nobles houses and in the Courtes of Princes, in stede of cardes and other instrumentes of idle trisleyng, to haue continually in her handes, eyther Psalmes, Omelies, and other deuoute meditacions, or elles Paules Epistles, or some booke of holye Scripture matiers: and as familiarlye both to reade or reason thereof in Greke, Latine, Frenche, or Italian, as in Englishe."
1547. Jan. 28. Edward VI. ascends the throne.
'1552. July 20. At Windsor.' The date of Udall's preface to the translation by himself and others, of T. Gemini's *Anatomy*.
1553. July 6. Mary succeeds to the crown.
1554. Dec. 3. Date of a warrant dormer from the Queen to the Master of her Revels. [Reprinted in *The Loseley MSS.* Ed. by A. J. KEMPE, F.S.A. London. 1836.] The warrant runs thus—'Whereas our welbeloued Nicholas Udall hath at soondrie seasons convenient heretofore shewed and myndeth hereafter to shewe his diligece in setting forth of Dialogues and Enterludes before us fo' ou' regell disporte and recreation.' . . . And then goes on to authorize the loan of apparel for those purposes. Did the popularity of the Dramatist, and her personal acquaintance with him, since they had worked together on Erasmus' *Paraphrase*, lead the Queen to condone the intense Protestantism of the Preacher, even to the continuing of him in favour? Udall and A-cham, two noted Protestants, are both favoured by Mary.
* 1555. Udall is appointed Master of Westminster School, and so continues until Mary re-establishes the Monastery at Westminster.
1556. Nov.
1556. Dec. 23. Udall dies.
He is buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster. *W. D. Cooper, as above.*

ROISTER DOISTER.

INTRODUCTION.



THE author and early date of the present Comedy are ascertained by a quotation in Sir Thomas Wilfon's *Rule of Reason* of Roister Doister's letter to Dame Custance.

The first edition of the *Rule of Reason*, 1550-1, is a very scarce work ; of which I have been unable to see a copy. The second edition, 1662, 8vo, 'newely corrected by Thomas Vwilfon,' has *not* the quotation : which apparently first appears in the third edition of 1663, 4to, the title of which runs, "The Rule of Reason, conteinyng the Arte of *Logique*. Sette furthe in Englishe, and newly corrected by Thomas Wilfon. *Anno Domini. M.D.LIII. Menfe Januarij.*"

At folio of this edition, Wilfon, in treating of *The Ambiguitie*, adds to his previous examples, Roister Doister's letter, with the following heading :

☞ An example of soche doubtful writing, whiche by reason of
pointing maie haue double sense, and contrarie
meaning, taken out of an entrelude
made by Nicolas Vdal.

The present comedy was therefore undoubtedly written before the close of the reign of Edward VI., who died 6 July 1553.

If it was then printed, that entire edition has perished. The prayer for the Queen at p. 86, can be for no other than Queen Elizabeth : and therefore, although the title-page is wanting and there is no conclusive allusion in the play, it may confidently be believed that the extant text was printed in Elizabeth's reign : and that it had possibly in some respects been modified.

There now comes the evidence of the Stationers Co.'s Register, as quoted by Mr. Collier, *Extracts*, i. 154, *Ed.* 1848 :

Rd of Thomas Hackett, for hys lycense for pryntinge of a play intituled
Rauf Ruyster Duster, &c. iiijd

The missing title-page and the absence of any colophon in the Eton copy, here reprinted, preclude demonstrative proof that it is one of Hackett's edition. It is however morally certain that it does represent that text.

On the whole, therefore, though that text was posthumous—

Udall having died in Dec. 1556—: and though its authorship rests entirely on the above heading of Wilfon's quotation: it may be safely accepted that Udall is the author of this comedy, and that he wrote it before 1553. Conclusions both of them consonant with the known facts of Udall's life.

The comedy was probably first written for the Eton boys to act. Mr. W. D. Cooper thus writes :—

Certain, however, it is that it was the custom of Eton, about the feast of St. Andrew, for the Master to choose some Latin stage-play for the boys to act in the following Christmas holidays, and that he might sometimes order smart and witty English plays. "Among the writings of Udall about the year 1540," says Warton, "are recited *Plures Comediæ*, and a tragedy *De Papatu*, on the Papacy, written probably to be acted by his scholars;" and it is equally probable that the English comedy was written with a like object; for it is admirably adapted to be a good acting play, and the author avows in the prologue that his models were Plautus and Terence, with whose writings his scholars were familiar. *Intro. Memoir. p. xvi.*

Of the few dramatic pieces of that early period that have survived, *Roister Doister* is regarded as the transition-play from the Mysteries and Enterludes of the Middle Ages to the Comedies of modern times. A critical examination of its position in our Literature has been made by Mr. Collier. *Hist. of Dram. Poetry. ii. 445-460 Ed. 1830.* A full consideration of the play would exceed our present limits: we may however call attention to the peculiar rhyme in which Udall wrote it.

In the present reprint, the text appears according to modern usage: but in the original it stands in lines of unvarying length. Where the speech is continuous, these lines rhyme like our ordinary poetry: but when the dialogue is short; one, two, three or more speeches are thrown into one line, and the last syllables of that line—whether they occur in words in the middle or at the end of a sentence, as dictated simply by the length of line of type—are made to rough rhyme in couplets. Thus an irregular affonance jingles through the play.

On the opposite page are a few lines set up as in the original, to illustrate this peculiarity; and also to show the mode used of marking the actor's names. May this peculiar rhyme be accepted as any evidence that Udall composed this play as much for the prefs as the stage?

There being no description of the representation and the stage directions being scanty: *Roister Doister* should be read a first time to learn the plot; a second time to imagine the action: and a third to combine and enjoy the two.

ACTUS. iiij. SCÆNA. v.

Bottom of the second, even-numbered page of folio 24, in the original edition.

C. Cūstance. Trupenie get thee in, thou shalt among them knowe,
 How to vse thy selfe, like a propre man I trowe.
 Trupeny. I go. *Ex.* C. C. Now Triffram Trusty I thank you right much.
 For at my first fending to come ye neuer grutch.
 C. Trusty. Dame Cūstance God ye faue, and while my life shall last,
 For my friende Goodluckes fake ye shall not fende in wast.
 C. Cūstance. He shal giue you thanks. C. Trusty. I wil do much for his fake
 C. Cūstance. But alack, I feare, great displeasure shall be take.
 C. Trusty. Wherfore? C. C. For a foolish matter. C. C. What is your cause
 C. Cūstance. I am yll accombred with a couple of dawes.
 Nay

Top of the first, odd-numbered page of folio 25.

Roister Doister.

Nay weepe not woman; but tell me what your cause is
 As concerning my friende is any thing amisse?
 No not on my part: but here was Sym Suresby.
 He was with me and tolde me so. C. C. And he floode by
 While Ralph Roister Doister with helpe of Merygreeke,
 For promise of mariage dyd vnto me seeke.

C. Trusty.
 C. Cūstance.
 C. Trusty.

Roister Doister.

The whole of Udall's plays were supposed to have perished [see *Wood, Ath. Oxon.* i. 213, Ed. 1813]. The Rev. T. Briggs, an old Etonian, in 1818, became the possessor of the now famous unique copy: which he presented to the Library of Eton College, in December of that year.

1. [? 1566.] Lond. ? First edition of a revised text. The copy, now at Eton 1 vol. 4to. College, consists of 33 folios. The title-page is wanting.
2. 1818. Lond. '*Ralph Royster Doyster, A Comedy.* London. Reprinted 1 vol. 8vo. in the year 1818.' [Ed. and privately printed by Rev. T. BRIGGS. 30 copies only struck off. The printer was James Compton, Middle St., Cloth Fair, London.] At the beginning is the following *Advertisement*:--

'It appears from the *Biographia Dramatica*, that a Play called *Rauf Kuster Dnster* was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in the year 1566, but that it was supposed never to have been printed: this, however, is now proved to be a mistake, a copy having been found contained in a collection of plays which was lately upon sale in London. It is true that the name is spelt somewhat differently, but it is presumed there can be no doubt of its being the piece in question. The book unfortunately wants the title-page, and the author's name is not known. It is now in the Library of Eton College, and is here reprinted for the amusement of the reader.'

3. 1821. Lond. '*Ralph Royster Doyster, a Comedy*, entered on the books 1 vol. 8vo. of the Stationers' Company, 1566. London: Printed by F. Marshall, Kenton St., Brunswick Sq., 1821.' [Editor not known.

R. Southey's copy, with his autograph, and dated 1 Feb. 1837, is in the British Museum. Press-mark, 1344, k.]

Neither of the above knew that Udall was the author. The editor of 1821 reprint writes, 'The author, whoever he was,' *p.* iv. It was Mr. Collier who connected Wilson's quotation with *Roister Doister*, and so proved Udall to be its author. Writing on 14th April 1865; he thus begins the *Preface* of his *Bibl. Account of Ear. Eng. Lit.* Ed. 1865.

'During my whole life, now rapidly approaching fourscore, I have been a diligent reader, and, as far as my means would allow, a greedy purchaser of all works connected with early English literature. It is nearly sixty years since I became possessed of my first really valuable old book of this kind—Wilson's "*Art of Logic*," printed by Richard Grafton 1551—from which I ascertained the not unimportant facts that "*Ralph Roister Doister*" was an older play than "*Gammer Gurton's Needle*," and that it had been written by Nicholas Udall, Master of Eton School: I thus learned who was the author of the earliest comedy, properly so called, in our language. This was my first literary discovery, made several years anterior, although I had not occasion to render it public, until I printed my Notes upon "*Dodsley's Old Plays*," soon after 1820.' *

4. 1830. Lond. *The Old English Drama*, A series of Plays, at 6d each, 3 vols. 18mo. printed and published by Thomas White. *Ralph Royster Doyster* is the first.
5. 1847. Lond. *Shakespeare Society. Ralph Roister Doister, &c., and 1 vol. 8vo. The Tragedie of Gorboduc.* Edited, with Introductory Memoirs, by W. D. COOPER, F.S.A. The text collated with the original by J. P. COLLIER, F.S.A.
6. 24 July 1869. Lond. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at *p.* 1.

∴ All the previous reprints have been and now are unobtainable to most persons. It is to the most courteous and generous kindness of the present Provost and Fellows of Eton College that I am enabled to place what I hope may prove an exact text into the hands of every one. I trust also to keep it perpetually on sale: that the student of the History of our Literature may no longer lack one of the most important illustrations of the growth of English Dramatic Poesy.

* See vol. ii. *p.* 3. Ed. 1825.

The Prologue.



What Creature is in health, eyther yong or
olde,
But som mirth with modestie wil be glad
to vse

As we in thys Enterlude shall now vnfolde,
Wherin all scurilitie we vtterly refuse,
Auoiding such mirth wherein is abuse :
Knowing nothing more comendable for a mans re-
creation

Than Mirth which is vfed in an honest fashion :
For Myrth prolongeth lyfe, and causeth health.
Mirth recreates our spirites and voydeth pensiuenesse,
Mirth increaseth amitie, not hindring our wealth,
Mirth is to be vfed both of more and lesse,
Being mixed with vertue in decent comlynesse.
As we trust no good nature can gainsay the same :
Which mirth we intende to vse, auoidyng all blame.
The wyse Poets long time heretofore,
Vnder merrie Comedies secretes did declare,
Wherein was contained very vertuous lore,
With mysteries and forewarnings very rare.
Suche to write neither *Plautus* nor *Terence* dyd spare,
Whiche among the learned at this day beares the bell :
These with such other therein dyd excell.
Our Comedie or Enterlude which we intende to play.
Is named Royster Doyster in deede.
Which against the vayne glorious doth inuey,
Whose humour the roysling fort continually doth feede.
Thus by your pacience we intende to proceede
In this our Enterlude by Gods leaue and grace,
And here I take my leaue for a certaine space.

FINIS.

Roister Doister.

Actus. j. Scæna. j.

Mathewe Merygreeke. He entreth singing.



S long lyueth the mery man (they fay)
As doth the fory man, and longer
by a day.
Yet the Grasshopper for all his
Sommer pipyng,
Sterueth in Winter wyth hungrie
gripyng, [men aduise,
Therefore an other sayd sawe doth

That they be together both mery and wise.
Thys Lesson must I practife, or else ere long,
Wyth mee Mathew Merygreeke it will be wrong.
In deede men so call me, for by him that vs bought,
What euer chaunce betide, I can take no thought,
Yet wisdome woulde that I did my selfe bethinke
Where to be provided this day of meate and drinke :
For know ye, that for all this merie note of mine,
He might appose me now that should aske where I dine.
My lyuing lieth heere and there, of Gods grace,
Sometime wyth this good man, sometyme in that place.
Sometinie Lewis Loytrer biddeth me come neere,
Somewhyles Watkin Waster maketh vs good cheere,
Sometime Dauby Diceplayer when he hath well cast
Keepeth reuell route as long as it will last.
Sometime Tom Titinile maketh vs a feast,
Sometime with sir Hugh Pye I am a bidden gueast,
Sometime at Nichol Neuerthriues I get a soppe,
Sometime I am feasted with Bryan Blinkinsoppe,
Sometime I hang on Hankyn Hoddydodies fleue,
But thys day on Ralph Royster Doysters by hys leue.
For truely of all men he is my chiefe banker
Both for meate and money, and my chiefe shootanker

Roister Doister.

For, footh Roister Doister in that he doth say,
 And require what ye will ye shall haue no nay.
 But now of Roister Doister somewhat to expresse,
 That ye may esteeme him after hys worthinesse,
 In these twentie townes and seke them throughout,
 Is not the like stocke, whereon to graffe a loute.
 All the day long is he facing and craking
 Of his great actes in fighting and fraymaking :
 But when Roister Doister is put to his prooffe,
 To keepe the Queenes peace is more for his behoofe.
 If any woman smyle or cast on hym an eye,
 Vp is he to the harde cares in loue by and by,
 And in all the hotte haste must she be hys wife.
 Else farewell hys good days, and farewell his life,
 Maister Raufe Royster Doister is but dead and gon
 Excepte she on hym take some compassion,
 Then chiefe of counsell, must be Mathew Merygreeke,
 What if I for mariage to suche an one seeke ?
 Then must I footh it, what euer it is :
 For what he sayth or doth can not be amisse.
 Holde vp his yea and nay, be his nowne white sonne.
 Prayse and rouse him well, and ye haue his heart wonne,
 For so well liketh he his owne sonde fashions
 That he taketh pride of false commendations.
 But such sporte haue I with him as I would not leese,
 Though I should be bounde to lyue with bread and
 cheefe.
 For exalt hym, and haue hym as ye lust in deede :
 Yea to hold his finger in a hole for a neede.
 I can with a worde make him fayne or loth,
 I can with as much make him pleased or wroth.
 I can when I will make him mery and glad,
 I can when me lust make him fory and sad,
 I can set him in hope and eke in dispaire, [saire.
 I can make him speake rough, and make him speake
 But I maruell I see hym not all thys same day,
 I wyll seeke him out : But loe he commeth thys way,
 I haue yond espied hym sadly comming,
 And in loue for twentie pounce, by hys glommyng.

Actus. j. Scæna. ij.

Rale Roister Doister. Mathew Merygreeke.

R. Royster.



Come death when thou wilt,
I am weary of my life.

M. Mery. I tolde you I,
we should wowe another
wife.

R. Royster. Why did God make me suche a goodly
person? [sport anon.

M. Mery. He is in by the weke, we shall haue

R. Royster. And where is my trustie friende Mathew
Merygreeke?

M. Mery. I wyll make as I sawe him not, he doth
me seeke. [is hee.

R. Roister. I haue hym espyed me thinketh, yond
Hough Mathew Merygreeke my friend, a worde with
thee. [haste.

M. Mery. I wyll not heare him, but make as I had
Farewell all my good friendes, the tyme away doth waste
And the tide they say, tarieth for no man.

R. Roister. Thou must with thy good counsell helpe
me if thou can.

M. Mery. God keepe thee worshipfull Maister Ro-
ister Doister,

And fare well the lustie Maister Roister Doister.

R. Royster. I muste needes speake with thee a
worde or twaine. [again.

M. Mery. Within a month or two I will be here
Negligence in greate affaires ye knowe may marre all.

R. Roister. Attende vpon me now, and well rewarde
thee I shall.

M. Mery. I haue take my leaue, and the tide is
well spent. [content,

R. Roister. I die except thou helpe, I pray thee be
Doe thy parte wel now, and aske what thou wilt,

For without thy aide my matter is all spilt.

M. Mery. Then to serue your turne I will some paines take,

And let all myne owne affaires alone for your sake.

R. Royster. My whole hope and trust resteth onely in thee.

M. Mery. Then can ye not doe amisse what ener it bee.

R. Royster. Gramercies Merygreeke, most bounde to thee I am.

M. Mery. But vp with that heart, and speake out like a ramme,

Ye speake like a Capon that had the cough now :

Bee of good cheere, anon ye shall doe well ynow.

R. Royster. Vpon thy comforte, I will all things well handle. [candle.

M. Mery. So loe, that is a breast to blowe out a But what is this great matter I woulde faine knowe, We shall synde remedie therefore I trowe.

Doe ye lacke money ? ye knowe myne olde offers,

Ye haue always a key to my purse and coffers.

R. Royster. I thanke thee : had euer man suche a frende ? [lende.

M. Mery. Ye gyue vnto me : I must needes to you

R. Royster. Nay I haue money plentie all things to discharge. [offer so large.

M. Mery. That knewe I ryght well when I made But it is no suche matter.

M. Mery. What is it than ?-

Are ye in daunger of debte to any man ?

If ye be, take no thought nor be not afraide,

Let them hardly take thought how they shall be paide.

R. Royster. 'Tut I owe nought.

M. Mery. What then ? fear ye imprisonment ?

R. Royster. No.

M. Mery. No I wist ye offende, not so to be shent. But if he had, the Toure coulde not you so holde,

But to breake out at all times ye would be holde.

What is it ? hath any man threatned you to beate ?

R. Royster. What is he that durst haue put me in that heate ?

He that beateth me by his armes shall well fynde,
That I will not be farre from him nor runne behinde.

M. Mery. That thing knowe all men euer since ye
ouerthrewe,

The fellow of the Lion which *Hercules* flewe.

But what is it than?

R. Royster. Of loue I make my mone. [alone?

M. Mery. Ah this foolishe a loue, wilt neare let vs
But bicause ye were refused the last day,

Ye sayd ye would nere more be intangled that way.

I would medle no more, since I fynde all so vnkinde,

R. Royster. Yea, but I can not so put loue out of
my minde.

Math. Mer. But is your loue tell me first, in any wise.

In the way of Mariage, or of Merchandise?

If it may otherwise than lawfull be founde,

Ye get none of my helpe for a hundred pounce.

R. Royster. No by my trowth I would haue hir to
my Wife. [your life,

M. Mery. Then are ye a good man, and God saue
And what or who is she, with whome ye are in loue?

R. Royster. A woman whome I knowe not by what
meanes to moue.

M. Mery. Who is it?

R. Royster. A woman yond.

M. Mery. What is hir name?

R. Royster. Hir yonder.

M. Mery. Whom.

R. Royster. Mistresse ah.

M. Mery. Fy fy for shame

Loue ye, and know not whome? but hir yonde, a Woman,

We shall then get you a Wyfe, I can not tell whan.

R. Royster. The faire Woman, that supped wyth
vs yesternyght,

And I hearde hir name twice or thrice, and had it ryght.

M. Mery. Yea, ye may see ye nere take me to good
cheere with you,

If ye had, I coule haue tolde you hir name now.

R. Royster. I was to blame in deede, but the nexte
tyme perchaunce:

And she dwelleth in this house.

M. Mery. What Christian Custance.

R. Royster. Except I haue hir to my Wife, I shall runne madde. [for madde.

M. Mery. Nay vnwise perhaps, but I warrant you

R. Royster. I am vtterly dead vnlesse I haue my desire.

M. Mery. Where be the bellows that blew this fodeine fire?

R. Royster. I heare she is worthe a thousande pounde and more. [afore,

M. Mery. Yea, but learne this one lesson of me
An hundred pounde of Marriage money doubtlesse,
Is euer thirtie pounde sterlyng, or somewhat lesse,
So that hir Thousande pounde yf she be thriftie,
Is muche neere about two hundred and fiftie,
Howbeit wowers and Widowes are neuer poore.

R. Royster. Is she a Widowe? I loue hir better therefore.

M. Mery. But I heare she hath made promise to another. [my brother.

R. Royster. He shall goe without hir, and he were

M. Mery. I haue hearde say, I am right well aduised,
That she hath to Gawyn Goodlucke promised.

R. Royster. What is that Gawyn Goodlucke?

M. Mery. a Merchant man.

R. Royster. Shall he speede afore me? nay fir by sweete Sainct Anne.

Ah fir, Backare quod Mortimer to his fowe,
I wyll haue hir myne owne selfe I make God a vow.
For I tell thee, she is worthe a thousande pounde.

M. Mery. Yet a fitter wife for your maship might be founde:

Suche a goodly man as you, might get one wyth lande,
Besides poundes of golde a thousande and a thousande,
And a thousande, and a thousande, and a thousande,
And so to the summe of twentie hundred thousande,
Your most goodly personage is worthie of no lesse.

R. Royster. I am forie God made me so comely doubtlesse.

For that maketh me eche where so highly fauoured,
And all women on me so enamoured. [out that?

M. Mery. Enamoured quod you? haue ye spied
Ah sir, mary nowe I see you know what is what.
Enamoured ka? mary sir say that againe,
But I thought not ye had marked it so plaine.

R. Royster. Yes, eche where they gaze all vpon me
and stare. [they dare.

M. Mery. Yea malkyn, I warrant you as muche as
And ye will not beleue what they say in the streete,
When your mashyp passeth by all such as I meete.
That sometimes I can scarce finde what aunswere to
make.

Who is this (sayth one) sir *Launcelot du lake*?
Who is this, greate *Guy* of Warwike, sayth an other?
No (say I) it is the thirteenth *Hercules* brother.
Who is this? noble *Hector* of *Troy*, sayth the thirde?
No, but of the same nest (say I) it is a birde.
Who is this? greate *Goliah*, *Sampson*, or *Colbrande*?
No (say I) but it is a brute of the Alie lande.
Who is this? greate *Alexander*? or *Charle le Maigne*?
No, it is the tenth Worthie, say I to them agayne:
I knowe not if I sayd well.

R. Royster. Yes for so I am.

M. Mery. Yea, for there were but nine worthies be-
fore ye came.

To some others, the thirde *Cato* I doe you call.
And-so as well as I can I aunswere them all.
Sir I pray you, what lorde or great gentleman is this?
Maister Ralph Roister Doister dame say I, ywis.
O Lorde (sayth she than) what a goodly man it is,
Woulde Christ I had such a husbande as he is.
O Lorde (say some) that the sight of his face we lacke:
It is inough for you (say I) to see his backe.
His face is for ladies of high and noble parages.
With whome he hardly scapeth great mariages.
With muche more than this, and much otherwise.

R. Royster. I can thee thanke that thou canst suche
answeres deuise:

But I perceyue thou doste me thoroughly knowe.

M. Mery. I marke your maners for myne owne
 learnyng I trowe,
 But fuche is your beautie, and fuche are your actes,
 Suche is your personage, and fuche are your factes,
 That all women faire and fowle, more and lesse, [lesse,
 That eye you, they lubbe you, they talke of you doubt-
 Your p[leasant] looke maketh them all merie,
 Ye passe not by, but they laugh till they be werie,
 Yea and money coulde I haue the truthe to tell,
 Of many, to bryng you that way where they dwell.

R. Royster. Merygreeke for this thy reporting well
 of mee : [pardee :

M. Mery. What shoulde I else fir, it is my dуетie

R. Royster. I promise thou shalt not lacke, while I
 haue a grote.

M. Mery. Faith fir, and I nere had more nede of a
 newe cote.

R. Royster. Thou shalte haue one to morowe, and
 golde for to spende. [ende.

M. Mery. Then I trust to bring the day to a good
 For as for mine owne parte hauing money inowe,
 I could lyue onely with the remembrance of you.
 But nowe to your Widowe whome you loue so hotte.

R. Royster. By cocke thou sayest truthe, I had al-
 most forgotte. [you what?

M. Mery. What if Christian Cuslance will not haue

R. Royster. Haue me? yes I warrant you, neuer
 doubt of that,

I knowe she loueth me, but she dare not speake.

M. Mery. In deede meete it were some body should
 it breake. [night,

R. Royster. She looked on me twentie tymes yester-
 And laughed so.

M. Mery. That she coulde not fitte vpight,

R. Royster. No faith coulde she not.

M. Mery. No euen such a thing I cast.

R. Royster. But for wowyng thou knowest women
 are shamefast. [glad,

But and she knewe my minde, I knowe she would be
 And thinke it the best chaunce that euer she had.

M. Mery. Too hir then like a man, and be bolde
forth to starte,
Wowers neuer speede well, that haue a false harte.
R. Roister. What may I best doe?
M. Mery. Sir remaine ye a while,
Ere long one or other of hir house will appere.
Ye knowe my minde.
R. Royster. Yea now hardly lette me alone.
M. Mery. In the meane time sir, if you please, I
wyl home,
And call your Musicians, for in this your case
It would sette you forth, and all your wowyng grace,
Ye may not lacke your instrumentes to play and sing.
R. Royster. Thou knowest I can doe that.
M. Mery. As well as any thing.
Shall I go call your folkes, that ye may shewe a cast?
R. Royster. Yea runne I beseeche thee in all possi-
ble haste.
M. Mery. I goe. *Exeat.*
R. Royster. Yea for I loue singyng out of measure,
It comforteth my spirites and doth me great pleasure.
But who commeth forth yond from my swete hearte
Custance?
My matter frameth well, thys is a luckie chaunce.

Actus. j. Scæna. iij.

*Mage Mumble crust, spinning on the distaffe. Tibet
Talk apace, sowyng. Annot Alyface knittyng.*
R. Roister.

M. Muml.



TF thys distaffe were spoonne
Margerie Mumblecrust.
Tib Talk. Where good
stale ale is will drinke
no water I trust.

M. Muml. Dame Custance hath promised vs good
ale and white bread. [hir head :
Tib Talk. If she kepe not promise, I will beshrewe

But it will be starke nyght before I shall haue done.

R. Royster. I will stande here a while, and talke with them anon,

I heare them speake of Custance, which doth my heart good,

To heare hir name spoken doth euen comfort my blood.

M. Mumbl. Sit downe to your worke Tibet like a good girle.

Tib. Talk. Nourse medle you with your spyndle and your whirle,

No haste but good, Madge Mumblecruft, for whip and whurre

The olde prouerbe doth say, neuer made good furre.

M. Mumbl. Well, ye wyl sitte downe to your worke anon, I trust.

Tib. Talk. Soft fire maketh sweete malte, good Madge Mumblecruft.

M. Mumbl. And sweete malte maketh ioly good ale for the nones.

Tib. Talk. Whiche will slide downe the lane without any bones. *Cantet.*

Olde browne bread crustes must haue much good mumblyng,

But good ale downe your throte hath good easie tumbling.

R. Royster. The iolyest wenche that ere I hearde, little mouse,

May I not reioyce that she shall dwell in my house?

Tib. Talk. So firrha, nowe this geare beginneth for to frame.

M. Mumbl. Thanks to God, though your work stand stil, your tong is not lame

Tib. Talk. And though your teeth be gone, both so sharpe and so fine

Yet your tongue can renne on patins as well as mine.

M. Mumbl. Ye were not for nought named Tyb Talke apace.

Tib. Talk. Doth my talke grieue you? Alack, God saue your grace.

M. Mumbl. I holde a grote ye will drinke anon for this geare.

Tib. Talk. And I wyll pray you the stripes for me
to beare.

M. Mumbl. I holde a penny, ye will drink without
a cup. [all vp.]

Tib. Talk. Wherein so ere ye drinke, I wote ye drinke

An. Alyface. By Cock and well fowed, my good
Tibet Talke apace.

Tib. Talk. And een as well knitte my nowne Annot
Alyface.

R. Royster. See what a fort she kepeth that must
be my wife.

Shall not I when I haue hir, leade a merrie life?

Tib. Talk. Welcome my good wenche, and sitte
here by me iust.

An. Alyface. And howe doth our old beldame here,
Mage Mumblecrust?

Tib. Talk. Chyde, and finde faultes, and threaten
to complaine.

An. Alyface. To make vs poore girles shent to hir
is small gaine.

M. Mumbl. I dyd neyther chyde, nor complaine,
nor threaten.

R. Royster. It woulde grieue my heart to see one of
them beaten.

M. Mumbl. I dyd nothyng but byd hir worke and
holde hir peace.

Tib. Talk. So would I, if you coulde your clatter-
ing ceasse:

But the deuill can not make olde trotte holde hir tong.

An. Alyface. Let all these matters passe, and we three
sing a song,

So shall we pleasantly bothe the tyme beguile now,

And eke dispatche all our workes ere we can tell how.

Tib. Talk. I shrew them that say nay, and that shall
not be I.

M. Mumbl. And I am well content.

Tib. Talk. Sing on then by and by.

R. Royster. And I will not away, but listen to their
song,

Yet Merygreeke and my folkes tary very long.

Roister Doister.

Tib, An, and Margerie, doe singe here.

Pipe mery Annot. etc.

Trilla, Trilla. Trillarie.

Worke Tibet, worke Annot, worke Margerie.

Sewe Tibet, knitte Annot, spinne Margerie.

Let vs see who shall winne the victorie.

Tib. Talk. This fleue is not willyng to be sewed I
 trowe, [throwe.
A small thing might make me all in the grounde to

Then they sing agayne.

Pipe merrie Annot. etc.

Trilla. Trilla. Trillarie.

What Tibet, what Annot, what Margerie.

Ye sleepe, but we doe not, that shall we trie.

Your fingers be nombde, our worke will not lie.

Tib. Talk. If ye doe so againe, well I would aduite
 you nay.
In good footth one stoppe more, and I make holy day.

They singe the thirde tyme.

Pipe Mery Annot. etc.

Trilla. Trilla. Trillarie.

Nowe Tibbet, now Annot, nowe Margerie.

Nowe whippet apace for the maystrie,

But it will not be, our mouth is so drie.

Tib. Talk. Ah, eche finger is a thombe to day me
 thinke,
I care not to let all alone, choose it swimme or sinke.

They sing the fourth tyme.

Pipe Mery Annot. etc.

Trilla. Trilla. Trillarie.

When Tibet, when Annot, when Margerie.

I will not, I can not, no more can I. *Lette hir caste*

Then giue we all ouer, and there let it lye. *downe hir*

worke.

Tib. Talk. There it lieth, the worste is but a curried
 cote,

Tut I am vsed therto, I care not a grote.

An. Alyfate. Haue we done singyng since? then
will I in againe,

Here I founde you, and here I leaue both twaine. *Exeat.*

M. Mumb. And I will not be long after: Tib
Talke apace.

Tib. Talk. What is ye matter?

M. Mumb. Yond stode a man al this space
And hath hearde all that euer we spake togyther.

Tib. Talk. Mary the more loute he for his comming
hither.

And the lesse good he can to listen maidens talke.

I care not and I go byd him hence for to walke:

It were well done to knowe what he maketh here
away.

R. Royster. Nowe myght I speake to them, if I wist
what to say. [he is.

M. Mumb. Nay we will go both off, and see what

R. Royster. One that hath hearde all your talke
and singyng ywis.

Tib. Talk. The more to blame you, a good thristie
husbande [hande.

Woulde elsewhere haue had some better matters in

R. Royster. I dyd it for no harme, but for good
loue I beare, [heare.

To your dame mistresse Custance, I did your talke
And Mistresse nource I will kisse you for acquaintance.

M. Mumb. I come anon sir.

Tib. Talk. Faith I would our danié Custance
Sawe this geare.

M. Mumb. I must first wipe al cleane, yea I must.

Tib. Talk. Ill chieue it dotyng foole, but it must be
cust.

M. Mumb. God yelde you sir, chad not so much
ichotte not whan,

Nere since chwas bore chwine, of such a gay gentleman.

R. Royster. I will kisse you too mayden for the good
will I beare you.

Tib. Talk. No forsoth, by your leaue ye shall not
kisse me.

R. Royster. Yes be not ascarde, I doe not disdayne you a whit.

Tib. Talk. Why shoulde I feare you? I haue not so little wit.

Ye are but a man I knowe very well.

R. Royster. Why then?

Tib. Talk. Forfooth for I wyll not, I vse not to kisse men.

R. Royster. I would faine kisse you too good maiden, if I myght.

Tib. Talk. What shold that neede?

R. Royster. But to honor you by this light.

I vse to kisse all them that I loue to God I vowe.

Tib. Talk. Yea sir? I pray you when dyd ye last kisse your cowe.

R. Royster. Ye might be proude to kisse me, if ye were wise.

Tib. Talk. What promotion were therein?

R. Royster. Nourse is not so nice.

Tib. Talk. Well I haue not bene taught to kissing and licking.

R. Royster. Yet I thanke you mistresse Nourse, ye made no sticking.

M. Mumb. I will not flicke for a kosse with such a man as you.

Tib. Talk. They that lust: I will againe to my sewyng now.

An. Alyfate. Tidings hough, tidings, dame Custance greeteth you well.

R. Royster. Whome me?

An. Alyfate. You sir? no sir? I do no suche tale tell.

R. Royster. But and she knewe me here.

An. Alyfate. Tybet Talke apace,
Your mistresse Custance and mine, must speake with your grace.

Tib. Talk. With me?

An. Alyfate. Ye muste come in to hir out of all doutes.

Tib. Talk. And my work not half done? A mischief on all loutes. *Ex. am.*

R. Royster. Ah good sweet nourse.

M. Mumb. A good sweete gentleman.

R. Royster. What?

M. Mumb. Nay I can not tel fir, but what thing would you?

R. Royster. Howe dothe sweete Cuslance, my heart of gold, tell me how?

M. Mumb. She dothe very well fir, and commaunde me to you.

R. Royster. To me?

M. Mumb. Yea to you fir.

R. Royster. To me? nurse tel me plain

To me?

M. Mumb. Ye.

R. Royster. That word maketh me aliue again.

M. Mumb. She commaunde me to one last day who ere it was.

R. Royster. That was een to me and none other by the Masse.

M. Mumb. I can not tell you surely, but one it was.

R. Royster. It was I and none other: this commeth to good passe.

I promise thee nourse I fauour hir.

M. Mumb. Een so fir.

R. Royster. Bid hir sue to me for mariage.

M. Mumb. Een so fir.

R. Royster. And surely for thy sake she shall speede.

M. Mumb. Een so fir.

R. Royster. I shall be contented to take hir.

M. Mumb. Een so fir.

R. Royster. But at thy request and for thy sake.

M. Mumb. Een so fir.

R. Royster. And come hearke in thine eare what to say.

M. Mumb. Een so fir.

*Here lette him
tell hir a great
long tale in
hir eare.*

Actus. j. Scæna. iiij.

Mathew Merygreeke. Dobinet Doughtie. Harpax.
Ralph Royster. Margerie Mumblecrust.

M. Mery.



Ome on sirs apace, and quite
your felues like men,
Your pains shalbe rewarded.
D. Dou. But I wot not
when.

M. Mery. Do your maister worship as ye haue
done in time past. [haue a cast.

D. Dough. Speake to them : of mine office he shall

M. Mery. Harpax, looke that thou doe well too,
and thy fellow.

Harpax. I warrant, if he will myne example folowe.

M. Mery. Curtsie whooresons, douke you and
crouche at euery worde, [borde.

D. Dough. Ycs whether our maister speake earnest or

M. Mery. For this lieth vpon his preferment in
deede. [speede.

D. Dough. Cst is hee a wower, but neuer doth he

M. Mery. But with whome is he nowe so sadly
roundyng yond?

D. Dough. With *Nobs niccaccatur miserere* sonde.

[M.] Mery. God be at your wedding, be ye spedde
alredie?

I did not suppose that your loue was so greedie,
I perceiue nowe ye haue chose of deuotion,
And ioy haue ye ladie of your promotion.

R. Royster. Tushe foole, thou art deceiued, this is
not she. [well I vise ye.

M. Mery. Well mocke muche of hir, and keepe hir
I will take no charge of such a faire piece keeping.

M. Mumb. What ayleth thys fellowe? he driueth
me to weeping. [merrie woman,

M. Mery. What weepe on the weddyng day? be
Though I say it, ye haue chose a good gentleman.

R. Royster. Kocks nownes what meanest thou man,
tut a whistle.

[M. Mery.] Ah fir, be good to hir, she is but a
Ah sweete lambe and coney. [gristle,

R. Royster. Tut thou art deceiued. [receiued.

M. Mery. Weepe no more lady, ye shall be well
Vp wyth some mery noyse firs, to bring home the bride.

R. Royster. Gogs armes knaue, art thou madde?

I tel thee thou art wide. [home brought.

M. Mery. Then ye entende by nyght to haue hir

R. Royster. I tel thee no.

M. Mery. How then?

R. Royster. Tis neither ment ne thought.

M. Mery. What shall we then doe with hir?

R. Royster. Ah foolish harebraine,

This is not she.

M. Mery. No is? why then vnsayde againe,
And what yong girle is this with your maschyp so bolde?

R. Royster. A girle? [yere old.

M. Mery. Yea. I dare say, scarfe yet three score

R. Royster. This same is the faire widowes nourse
of whome ye wotte. [home olde trotte,

M. Mery. Is she but a nourse of a house? hence
Hence at once.

R. Royster. No, no.

M. Mery. What an please your maschyp
A nourse talke so homely with one of your worship?

R. Royster. I will haue it so: it is my pleasure and will.

M. Mery. Then I am content. Nourse come
again, tarry still.

R. Royster. What, she will helpe forward this my
fute for hir part. [ing on my hart.

M. Mery. Then ist mine owne pygs nie, and blefs-

R. Royster. This is our best friend man.

M. Mery. Then teach hir what to say

M. Mumbl. I am taught alreadie.

M. Mery. Then go, make no delay.

R. Royster. Yet hark one word in thine eare.

M. Mery. Backe firs from his taile. [counsaile?

R. Royster. Backe vilaynes, will ye be priuie of my

M. Mery. Backe firs, so: I tolde you afore ye
woulde be shent.

R. Royster. She shall haue the first day a whole pecke of argent.

M. Mumbl. A pecke? *Nomine patris*, haue ye so much spare? [were it bare,

R. Royster. Yea and a carte lode therto, or else Besides other mouables, housholde stuffe and lande.

M. Mumbl. Haue ye lands too.

R. Royster. An hundred marks.

M. Mery. Yea a thousand

M. Mumbl. And haue ye cattell too? and sheepe too?

R. Royster. Yea a fewe. [shewe.

M. Mery. He is ashamed the numbre of them to Een rounde about him, as many thousande sheepe goes, As he and thou and I too, haue fingers and toes.

M. Mumbl. And how many yeares olde be you?

R. Royster. Fortie at lest.

M. Mery. Yea and thrice fortie to them.

R. Royster. Nay now thou dost iest.

I am not so olde, thou misreckonest my yeares.

M. Mery. I know that: but my minde was on bullockes and fleeres.

M. Mumbl. And what shall I shewe hir your masterships name is? [that ywis.

R. Royster. Nay she shall make sute ere she know

M. Mumbl. Yet let me somewhat knowe.

M. Mery. This is hee vnderstand,

That killed the blewe Spider in Blanchepouder lande.

M. Mumbl. Yea *Iesus*, William zee law, dyd he zo law?

M. Mery. Yea and the last Elephant that euer he sawe, As the beast passed by, he start out of a buske, And een with pure strength of armes pluckt out his great tuske. [that?

M. Mumbl. *Iesus, nomine patris*, what a thing was

R. Royster. Yea but Merygreke one thing thou

M. Mery. What? [hast forgot.

R. Royster. Of thother Elephant.

M. Mery. Oh hym that fledde away.

R. Royster. Yea. [that day

M. Mery. Yea he knew that his match was in place Tut, he bet the king of Crickets on Christmasse day,

That he crept in a hole, and not a worde to say.

M. Mumbl. A fore man by zembletee.

M. Mery. Why, he wrong a club
Once in a fray out of the hande of Belzebub.

R. Royster. And how when Mumfision?

M. Mery. Oh your coustreleng
Bore the lanterne a fiede so before the gozelyng.
Nay that is to long a matter now to be tolde :
Neuer aske his name Nurse, I warrant thee, be bolde,
He conquered in one day from *Rome*, to *Naples*,
And woonne Townes nourse as fast as thou canst make
Apples. [he is to fore.

M. Mumbl. O Lorde, my heart quaketh for feare :

R. Royster. Thou makest hir to much asfearde,
Merygreeke no more.

This tale woulde feare my sweete heart Cufstance right
euill. [not the deuill.

M. Mery. Nay let hir take him Nurse, and feare
But thus is our song dasht. Sirs ye may home againe.

R. Royster. No shall they not. I charge you all
here to remaine :

The villaine slaues a whole day ere they can be founde.

M. Mery. Couche on your marybones whooresons,
down to the ground.

Was it meete he should tarie so long in one place

Without harmonie of Musike, or some solace?

Who so hath suche bees as your maister in hys head,
Had neede to haue his spirites with Musike to be fed.

By your maisterships licence.

R. Royster. What is that? a moate? [your coate.

M. Mery. No it was a fooles feather had light on

R. Roister. I was nigh no feathers since I came
from my bed. [your hed.

M. Mery. No sir, it was a haire that was fall from

R. Roister. My men com when it plese them.

M. Mery. By your leue.

R. Roister. What is that? [foot of a gnat.

M. Mery. Your gown was soule spotted with the

R. Roister. Their maister to offende they are no-
What now? [thing asfearde.

M. Mery. A lousy haire from your masterships beard. [one offence.

Omnes famulae. And sir for Nurfes fake pardon this
We shall not after this shew the like negligence.

R. Royster. I pardon you this once, and come sing
nere the wurse. [tlemen nurse?

M. Mery. How like you the goodnesse of this gen-

M. Mumbl. God saue his maistership that so can
his men forgeue,

And I wyll heare them sing ere I go, by his leaue.

R. Royster. Mary and thou shalt wenche, come we
two will daunce. [song perchaunce.

M. Mumbl. Nay I will by myne owne felse foote the

R. Royster. Go to it firs lustily.

M. Mumbl. Pipe vp a mery note,
Let me heare it playde, I will foote it for a grote.

Cantent. [mistresse.

R. Royster. Now nurse take thysfame letter here to thy
And as my trust is in thee plie my businesse.

M. Mumbl. It shalbe done?

M. Mery. Who made it?

R. Royster. I wrote it ech whit.

M. Mery. Then nedes it no mending.

R. Royster. No, no.

M. Mery. No I know your wit.
I warrant it wel.

M. Mumb. It shal be deliuered.

But if ye speede, shall I be considered?

M. Mery. Whough, dost thou doubt of that?

Madge. What shal I haue? [deuise to craue.

M. Mery. An hundred times more than thou canst

M. Mumbl. Shall I haue some newe geare? for
my olde is all spent. [ladies rayment.

M. Mery. The worst kitchen wench shall goe in

M. Mumbl. Yea? [go better

M. Mery. And the worst drudge in the house shal
Than your mistresse doth now.

Mar. Then I trudge with your letter. [mine owne.

R. Royster. Now may I repose me: Custance is
Let vs sing and play homeward that it may be knowne.

M. Mery. But are you sure, that your letter is well

R. Royster. I wrote it my felse. [enough ?

M. Mery. Then sing we to dinner.

Here they sing, and go out singing.

Actus. j. Scæna. v.

Christian Custance. Margerie Mumblecrust.

C. Custance.



Ho tooke thee thys letter
Margerie Mumblecrust ?

M. Mumbl. A lustie gay
bachelor tooke it me of
trust,

And if ye seeke to him he will lowe your doing.

C. Custance. Yea, but where learned he that man-
ner of wowing ? [take,

M. Mumbl. If to sue to hym, you will any paines
He will haue you to his wife (he sayth) for my sake.

C. Custance. Some wise gentleman belike. I am
bespoken :

And I thought verily thys had bene some token [please
From my dere spouse Gawin Goodluck, whom when him
God luckily sende home to both our heartes ease.

M. Mumbl. A ioyly man it is I wote well by report,
And would haue you to him for marriage resort :
Best open the writing, and see what it doth speake.

C. Custance. At thys time nourse I will neither
reade ne breake.

M. Mumbl. He promised to giue you a whole
pecke of golde. [shall be all tolde.

C. Custance. Perchaunce lacke of a pynte when it

M. Mumbl. I would take a gay riche husbande,
and I were you. [if I were thou.

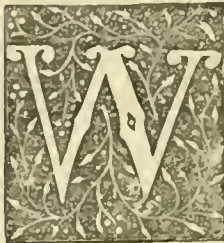
C. Custance. In good sooth Madge, een so would I,
But no more of this fond talke now, let vs go in,
And see thou no more moue me folly to begin.
Nor bring mee no mo letters for no mans pleasure,
But thou know from whom.

M. Mumbl. I warrant ye shall be sure.

Actus. ij. Scæna. j.

Dobinet Doughtie.

D. Dough.



Here is the house I goe
to, before or behinde?
I know not where nor
when nor how I shal
it finde.

If I had ten mens bodies
and legs and strength,
This trotting that I haue

must needes lame me at length.

And nowe that my maister is new set on wowyng,
I trust there shall none of vs finde lacke of doying:
Two paire of shoes a day will nowe be too litle
To serue me, I must trotte to and fro so mickle.
Go beare me thys token, carrie me this letter,
Nowe this is the best way, nowe that way is better.
Vp before day firs, I charge you, an houre or twaine,
Trudge, do me thys message, and bring worde quicke
again,

If one misse but a minute, then his armes and woundes,
I woulde not haue slacked for ten thousand poundes.
Nay see I beseeche you, if my most trustie page,
Goe not nowe aboute to hinder my mariage,
So feruent hotte wowyng, and so farre from wiuing,
I trowe neuer was any creature liuyng,
With euery woman is he in some loues pang,
Then vp to our lute at midnight, twangledome twang,
Then twang with our sonets, and twang with our dumps,
And heyhough from our heart, as heauie as lead lumpes:
Then to our recorder with toodleoodle poope
As the howlet out of an yuie bushe should hoope.
Anon to ourgitterne, thrumpledum, thrumpledumithrum,
Thrumpledum, thrumpledum, thrumpledum, thrumple-
Of Songs and Balades also he is a maker, [dum thrum.
And that can he as finely doe as Iacke Raker,
Yea and *extempore* will he dities compose,

Foolishe *Marsias* nere made the like I suppose,
 Yet must we sing them, as good stufte I vndertake,
 As for such a pen man is well fittyng to make.
 Ah for these long nights, heyhow, when will it be day?
 I feare ere I come she will be wowed away.
 Then when aunfwere is made that it may not bee,
 O death why comcest thou not? by and by (sayth he)
 But then, from his heart to put away sorowe,
 He is as farre in with some newe loue next morowe.
 But in the meane season we trudge and we trot,
 From dayspring to midnyght, I sit not, nor rest not.
 And now am I sent to dame Christian Custance:
 But I feare it will ende with a mocke for pastance.
 I bring hir a ring, with a token in a cloute,
 And by all geffe, this same is hir house out of doute.
 I knowe it nowe perfect, I am in my right way.
 And loe yond the olde nurse that was wyth vs last day.

Actus. ij. Scæna. ij.

Mage Mumblecrust. Dobinet Doughtie.

M. Muml.



Was nere so shoke vp afore
 since I was borne,
 That our mistresse coulde
 not haue chid I wold
 haue sworne :

And I pray God I die if I ment any harme,
 But for my life time this shall be to me a charme.

D. Dough. God you faue and see nurse, and howe
 is it with you? [suche as thou.

M. Muml. Mary a great deale the worse it is for

D. Dough. For me? Why so?

M. Muml. Why wer not thou one of them, say,
 That song and playde here with the gentleman last
 day? [him spoken.

D. Dough. Yes, and he would know if you haue for
 And prayes you to deliuer this ring and token. [brother,

M. Muml. Nowe by the token that God tokened

I will deliuer no token one nor other.
 I haue once ben so shent for your maisters pleasure,
 As I will not be agayne for all hys treasure.

D. Dough. He will thank you woman.

M. Mumbl. I will none of his thanke. *Ex.*

D. Dough. I weene I am a prophete, this geare will
 proue blanke :

But what should I home againe without answere go?
 It were better go to *Rome* on my head than so.
 I will tary here this moneth, but some of the house
 Shall take it of me, and then I care not a louse.
 But yonder commeth forth a wenche or a ladde,
 If he haue not one Lumbardes touche, my lucke is bad.

Actus. ij. Scæna. iij.

Truopenic. *D. Dough.* *Tibet T.* *Anot Al.*

Truopeny.



Am cleane lost for lacke of
 mery companie,

We gree not halfe well within,
 our wenchs and I.

They will commaunde like
 mistresses, they will forbyd,

If they be not serued, *Truopeny* must be chyd.
 Let them be as mery nowe as ye can desire,
 With turnyng of a hande, our mirth lieth in the mire,
 I can not skill of such chaungeable mettle,
 There is nothing with them but in docke out nettle.

D. Dough. Whether is it better that I speake to him
 Or he first to me, it is good to cast the wurst. [urst,
 If I beginne first, he will smell all my purpose,
 Otherwise I shall not neede any thing to disclose.

Truopeny. What boy haue we yonder? I will see
 what he is. [ywis.

D. Dough. He commeth to me. It is hereabout

Truopeny. Wouldest thou ought friende, that thou
 lookest so about? [no, I dout.

D. Dough. Yea, but whether ye can helpe me or

I seeke to one mistresse Custance house here dwellyng.

Trupenie. It is my mistresse ye seeke too by your telling.

D. Dough. Is there any of that name heere but shee?

Trupenie. Not one in all the whole towne that I knowe pardee.

D. Dough. A Widowe she is I trow.

Trupenie. And what and she be?

D. Dough. But ensured to an husbände.

Trupenie. Yea, so thinke we.

D. Dough. And I dwell with hir husbände that trusteth to be.

Trupenie. In faith then must thou needes be welcome to me,

Let vs for acquaintance shake handes together,

And what ere thou be, heartily welcome hither.

Tib. Talk. Well Trupenie neuer but flinging.

An. Alyface. And frisking? [and whisking?

Trupenie. Well Tibet and Annot, still swingyng

Tib. Talk. But ye roile abroad.

An. Alyface. In the streete euere where.

Trupenie. Where are ye twaine, in chambers when ye mete me there?

But come hither fooles, I haue one nowe by the hande,
Seruant to hym that must be our mistresse husbände,
Byd him welcome.

An. Alyface. To me truly is he welcome. [come.

Tib. Talk. Forsooth and as I may say, heartily wel-

D. Dough. I thank you mistresse maides

An. Alyface. I hope we shal better know

Tib. Talk. And when wil our new master come.

D. Dough. Shortly I trow. [resorte

Tib. Talk. I would it were to morow: for till he
Our mistresse being a Widow hath small comforte,
And I hearde our nourse speake of an husbände to day
Ready for our mistresse, a riche man and a gay,
And we shall go in our frenche hoodes euery day,
In our filke cassocks (I warrant you) freshe and gay,
In our tricke ferdegews and billiments of golde,
Braue in our futes of chaunge seuē double folde,
Then shall ye see Tibet firs, treade the moffe so trimme.

Nay, why sayd I treade? ye shall see hir glide and swimme,

Not lumperdee clumperdee like our spaniell Rig. [fig,

Trupeny. Mary then prickmedaintie come toste me a Who shall then know our Tib Talke apace trow ye?

An. Alyface. And why not Annot Alyface as fyne as she? [none?

Trupeny. And what had Tom Trupeny, a father or

An. Alyface. Then our prety newe come man will looke to be one. [knot.

Trupeny. We foure I trust shall be a ioily mery Shall we sing a fitte to welcome our friende, Annot?

An. Alyface. Perchaunce he can not sing.

D. Dough. I am at all assayes. [always.

Tib. Talk. By cocke and the better welcome to vs

Here they sing.

A thing very fitte	No man for despite,
For them that haue witte,	By worde or by write
And are felowes knitte	His felowe to twite,
Seruants in one house to bee,	But further in honestie,
Is fast fast for to fitte,	No good turnes entwite,
And not oft to flitte,	Nor olde fores recite,
Nor varie a whitte,	But let all goe quite,
But louingly to agree.	And louingly to agree.

No man complainyng,	After drudgerie,
Nor other disdayning,	When they be werie,
For losse or for gainyng,	Then to be merie, [free
But felowes or friends to bee.	To laugh and sing they be
No grudge remainyng,	With chip and cherie
No worke refrainyng,	Heigh derie derie,
Nor helpe refrainyng,	Trill on the berie,
But louingly to agree.	And louingly to agree.

Finis.

Tib. Talk. Wyll you now in with vs vnto our mistresse go? [two.

D. Dough. I haue first for my maister an errand or But I haue here from him a token and a ring, [bring. They shall haue moste thanke of hir that first doth it

Tib. Talk. Mary that will I.

Trupeny. See and Tibet snatch not now.

Tib. Talk. And why may not I fir, get thanks as well as you? *Exeat.* [you both.

An. Alyfate. Yet get ye not all, we will go with And haue part of your thanks be ye neuer so loth.


Exeant omnes.

D. Dough. So my handes are ridde of it : I care for no more.

I may now return home : so durst I not afore. *Exeat.*

Actus. ij. Scæna. iiij.

C. Custance. **Tibet.** **Annot Alyfate.** **Trupeny.**

C. Custance.  **Ay** come forth all three :
and come hither pretie
mayde :
Will not so many forewarn-
ings make you as frayde?

Tib. Talk. Yes forsoth.

C. Custance. But stil be a runner vp and downe
Still be a bringer of tidings and tokens to towne.

Tib. Talk. No forsoth mistresse.

C. Custance. Is all your delite and ioy
In whiskyng and ramping abroad like a Tom boy.

Tib. Talk. Forsoth these were there too, Annot and
Trupenie. [denie.

Trupenie. Yea but ye alone tooke it, ye can not
Annot Aly. Yea that ye did.

Tibet. But if I had not, ye twaine would.

C. Custance. You great calfe ye should haue more
witte, so ye should :

But why shoulde any of you take such things in hande?

Tibet. Because it came from him that must be your

C. Custance. How do ye know that ? [husbande.

Tibet. Forsoth the boy did say so.

C. Custance. What was his name ?

An. Alyfate. We asked not.

C. Custance. No did ?

An. Alisacc. He is not farre gone of likelyhod.

Trupeny. I will see. [bring him to me.

C. Custance. If thou canst finde him in the streete

Trupenic. Yes. *Exeat.*

C. Custance. Well ye naughty girles, if euer I perceiue
That henceforth you do letters or tokens receiue,
To bring vnto me from any person or place,
Except ye first shewe me the partie face to face,
Eyther thou or thou, full truly abyee thou shalt.

Tibet. Pardon this, and the next tyme poulder me
in salt. [to beware.

C. Custance. I shall make all girles by you twaine

Tibet. If euer I offende againe do not me spare.

But if euer I see that false boy any more
By your mistreshyps licence I tell you afore
I will rather haue my cote twentie times swinged,
Than on the naughtie wag not to be auenged.

C. Custance. Good wenches would not so rampe
abrode ydelly,
But keepe within doores, and plie their work earnestly,
If one would speake with me that is a man likely,
Ye shall haue right good thanke to bring me worde
But otherwyse with messages to come in post [quickly.
From henceforth I promise you, shall be to your cost.
Get you in to your work.

Tib. An. Yes forsooth.

C. Custance. Hence both twaine.

And let me see you play me such a part againe.

Trupeny. Maistresse, I haue runne past the farre
ende of the streete,

Yet can I not yonder craftie boy see nor meete.

C. Custance. No?

Trupeny. Yet I looked as farre beyonde the people.
As one may see out of the toppe of Paules steeple.

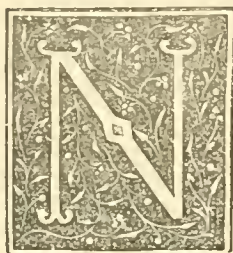
C. Custance. Hence in at doores, and let me no
more be vext. [the next.

Trupeny. Forgeue me this one fault, and lay on for

C. Custance. Now will I in too, for I thinke so God
me mende,

This will proue some foolishe matter in the ende. *Exeat.*

Actus. [i]ij. Scæna. j.

*Mathewe Merygreeke.**M. Mery.*

Owe fay thys againe :
 he hath somewhat
 to dooing
 Which followeth the
 trace of one that
 is wowing,
 Specially that hath no
 more wit in his
 hedde,

Than my cousin Roister Doister withall is ledde.
 I am sent in all haste to espie and to marke
 How our letters and tokens are likely to warke.
 Maister Roister Doister must haue aunswere in haste
 For he loueth not to spende much labour in waste.
 Nowe as for Christian Custance by this light,
 Though she had not hir trouth to Gawin Goodluck plight,
 Yet rather than with such a loutishe dolte to marie,
 I dare fay woulde lyue a poore lyfe solitarie,
 But fayne would I speake with Custance if I wist how
 To laugh at the matter, yond commeth one forth now.

Actus. iij. Scæna. ij.

*Tibet. M. Merygreeke. Christian Custance.**Tib. Talk.*

H that I might but once in
 my life haue a fight
 Of him that made vs all fo
 yll shent by this light,
 He should neuer escape if I
 had him by the eare,

But euen from his head, I would it bite or teare.
 Yea and if one of them were not inowe,

I would bite them both off, I make God auow.

M. Mery. What is he, whome this little mouse doth so threaten?

Tib. Talk. I would teache him I trow, to make girles shent or beaten.

M. Mery. I will call hir : Maide with whome are ye so hastie ? [pastie,

Tib. Talk. Not with you 'fir, but with a little wag-
A deceiuer of folkes, by subtill craft and guile.

M. Mery. I knowe where she is : Dobinet hath wrought some wile. [sayd was sent

Tib. Talk. He brought a ring and token which he
From our dames husbande, but I wot well I was shent :
For it liked hir as well to tell you no lies,

As water in hir shyppe, or salt cast in hir eies :

And yet whence it came neyther we nor she can tell.

M. Mery. We shall haue sport anone : I like this very well.

And dwell ye here with mistresse Custance faire maide?

Tib. Talk. Yea mary doe I fir : what would ye haue sayd ?

M. Mery. A little message vnto hir by worde ot mouth. [forsoth.

Tib. Talk. No messages by your leaue, nor tokens

M. Mery. Then help me to speke with hir.

Tibet. With a good wil that.

Here she commeth forth. Now speake ye know best what.

C. Custance. None other life with you maide, but
abrode to skip ? [your mistresship.

Tib. Talk. Forsoth here is one would speake with

C. Custance. Ah, haue ye ben learning of mo messages now ?

Tib. Talk. I would not heare his minde, but bad him shewe it to you.

C. Custance. In at dores.

Tib. Talk. I am gon.

Ex.

M. Mery. Dame Custance god ye faue.

C. Custance. Welcome friend Merygreeke : and
what thing wold ye haue ? [breake.

M. Mery. I am come to you a little matter to

C. Custance. But see it be honest, else better not to
speake. [of late ?

M. Mery. Howe feele ye your selfe affected here

C. Custance. I feele no maner chaunge but after
But wherby do ye meane ? [the olde rate.

M. Mery. Concerning mariage.
Doth not loue lade you ?

C. Custance. I feele no such cariage.

M. Mery. Doe ye feele no pangues of dotage ?
aunswere me right. [the night

C. Custance. I dote so, that I make but one sleepe all
But what neede all these wordes ?

M. Mery. Oh Iesus, will ye see
What dissembling creatures these same women be ?
The gentleman ye wote of, whome ye doe so loue,
That ye woulde sayne marrie him, yf ye durst it moue,
Emong other riche widowes, which are of him glad,
Lest ye for lesing of him perchaunce might runne mad,
Is nowe contented that vpon your sute making,
Ye be as one in election of taking.

C. Custance. What a tale is this ? that I wote of ?
whome I loue ?

M. Mery. Yea and he is as louing a worme againe
as a doue.

Fen of very pitie he is willyng you to take,
Bicause ye shall not destroy your selfe for his sake.

C. Custance. Mary God yelde his mashep what euer
It is gentmanly spoken. [he be,

M. Mery. Is it not trowe ye ?
If ye haue the grace now to offer your self, ye speede.

C. Custance. As muche as though I did, this time
it shall not neede,
But what gentman is it, I pray you tell me plaine,
That woveth so finely ?

M. Mery. Lo where ye be againe,
As though ye knewe him not.

C. Custance. Tush ye speake in iest.

M. Mery. Nay sure, the partie is in good knocking
earnest,

Roister Doister.

And haue you he will (he sayth) and haue you he must.

C. Custance. I am promised duryng my life, that is iust.

M. Mery. Mary so thinketh he, vnto him alone.

C. Custance. No creature hath my faith and trowth
but one,

That is Gawin Goodlucke : and if it be not hee,

He hath no title this way what euer he be,

Nor I know none to whome I haue such worde spoken.

M. Mery. Ye knowe him not you by his letter and
token.

C. Custance. In dede true it is, that a letter I haue,
But I neuer reade it yet as God me faue.

M. Mery. Ye a woman? and your letter so long
vnredde.

C. Custance. Ye may therby know what hast I haue
to wedde.

But now who it is, for my hande I knowe by gesse.

M. Mery. Ah well I say.

C. Custance. It is Roister Doister doubtlesse.

M. Mery. Will ye neuer leaue this dissimulation?
Ye know hym not.

C. Custance. But by imagination,

For no man there is but a very dolt and loute

That to wowe a Widowe woulde so go about.

He shall neuer haue me hys wife while he doe liue.

M. Mery. Then will he haue you if he may, so
mote I thrive,

And he biddeth you fende him worde by me,

That ye humbly beseech him, ye may his wife be,

And that there shall be no let in you nor mistrust,

But to be wedded on funday next if he lust,

And biddeth you to looke for him.

C. Custance. Doth he byd so?

M. Mery. When he commeth, aske hym whether
he did or no?

C. Custance. Goe say, that I bid him keepe him
warne at home

For if he come abroad, he shall cough me a mome.

My mynde was vexed, I shrew his head fottish dolt.

M. Mery. He hath in his head.

C. Custance. As much braine as a burbolt.

M. Mery. Well dame Custance, if he heare you thus

C. Custance. What will he? [play choploge.

M. Mery. Play the deuill in the horologe.

C. Custance. I defye him loute.

M. Mery. Shall I tell hym what ye fay?

C. Custance. Yea and adde what so euer thou canst,

I thee pray,

And I will auouche it what so euer it bee.

M. Mery. Then let me alone we will laugh well
ye shall see,

It will not be long ere he will hither resorte.

C. Custance. Let hym come when hym lust, I wishe
no better sport.

Fare ye well, I will in, and read my great letter.

I shall to my wower make answere the better. *Exeat.*

Actus. iiij. Scæna. iiij.

Mathew Merygreeke. Roister Doister.

M. Mery.



Owe that the whole answere
in my deuise doth rest,

I shall paint out our wower
in colours of the best.

And all that I say shall be on
Custances mouth,

She is author of all that I shall speake forsoth.

But yond commeth Roister Doister now in a traunce.

R. Royster. *Iuno* sende me this day good lucke and
good chaunce.

I can not but come see how Merygreeke doth speede.

M. Mery. I will not see him, but giue him a iutte
I crie your mastershype mercie. [in deede.

R. Royster. And whither now? [you.

M. Mery. As fast as I could runne sir in poste against
But why speake ye so faintly, or why are ye so sad?

R. Royster. Thou knowest the prouerbe, bycause I
can not be had.

Hast thou spoken with this woman?

M. Mery. Yea that I haue.

R. Royster. And what will this geare be?

M. Mery. No so God me faue.

R. Royster. Hast thou a flat answer?

M. Mery. Nay a sharp answer.

R. Royster. What [hir cat.

M. Mery. Ye shall not (she sayth) by hir will marry
Ye are such a calfe, such an asse, such a blocke,
Such a lilburne, such a hoball, such a lobcocke,
And bicause ye shoulde come to hir at no season,
She despised your maship out of all reason.
Bawawe what ye say (ko I) of such a ientman.
Nay I feare him not (ko she) doe the best he can.
He vaunteth him selfe for a man of prowesse greate,
Where as a good gander I dare say may him beate.
And where he is louted and laughed to skorne,
For the veriest dolte that euer was borne,
And veriest lubber, flouen and beast,
Liuing in this worlde from the west to the east :
Yet of himselfe hath he suche opinion,
That in all the worlde is not the like minion.
He thinketh eche woman to be brought in dotage
With the onely sight of his goodly personage : [flocke,
Yet none that will haue hym : we do hym loute and
And make him among vs, our common sporting flocke,
And so would I now (ko she) faue onely bicause,
Better nay (ko I) I lust not medle with dawes.
Ye are happy (ko I) that ye are a woman.
This would cost you your life in case ye were a man.

R. Royster. Yea an hundred thousand pound should
not faue hir life. [your wife.

M. Mery. No but that ye wowe hir to haue hir to
But I coulde not stoppe hir mouth.

R. Royster. Heigh how alas,

M. Mery. Be of good cheere man, and let the
worlde passe. [not bee.

R. Royster. What shall I doe or say nowe that it will

M. Mery. Ye shall haue choise of a thousande as
good as shee,
And ye must pardon hir, it is for lacke of witte.

R. Royster. Yea, for were not I an husbände for
Well what should I now doe? [hir fitte?

M. Mery. In faith I can not tell.

R. Royster. I will go home and die.

M. Mery. Then shall I bidde toll the bell?

R. Royster. No.

M. Mery. God haue mercie on your foule, ah good
gentleman,
That er ye shuld th[u]s dye for an vnkinde woman,
Will ye drinke once ere ye goe.

R. Roister. No, no, I will none.

M. Mery. How feele your foule to God.

R. Roister. I am nigh gone.

M. Mery. And shall we hence streight?

R. Royster. Yea.

M. Mery. *Placebo dilexi.* [et infra.*
Maister Doister Doister will streight go home and die.

R. Royster. Heigh how, alas, the pangs of death
my hearte do breake.

M. Mery. Holde your peace for shame fir, a dead
man may not speake. [haue?

Nequando : What mourners and what torches shall we

R. Royster. None. [graue,

M. Mery. *Dirige.* He will go darklyng to his
Neque, lux, neque crux, neque mourners, *neque* clinke,
He will steale to heauen, vnknowing to God I thinke.
A porta inferi, who shall your goodes possesse?

R. Royster. Thou shalt be my sectour, and haue all
more and lesse.

M. Mery. *Requiem æternam.* Now God reward
your mastershyp.
And I will crie halfe penie doale for your worshyp.
Come forth firs, heare the dolefull newes
I shall you tell.
Our good maister here will no longer with
vs dwell,

*Euocat seruos
militis.*

* See pp. 87, 83.

But in spite of Custance, which hath hym weried,
 Let vs see his mashep solemnely buried.
 And while some piece of his soule is yet hym within,
 Some part of his funeralls let vs here begin. [man,
Audiu vocem, All men take heede by this one gentle-
 Howe you fette your loue vpon an vnkinde woman.
 For these women be all such madde pieuishe elues,
 They will not be wonne except it please them selues.
 But in fayth Custance if euer ye come in hell,
 Maister Roister Doister shall serue you as well.
 And will ye needes go from vs thus in very deede?

R. Royster. Yea in good sadnesse?

M. Mery. Now Iesus Christ be your speede.
 Good night Roger olde knaue, farewell Roger olde
 knaue,
 Good night Roger olde knaue, knaue knap. *ut infra.**
 Pray for the late maister Roister Doisters soule,
 And come forth parish Clarke, let the passing bell toll.
 Pray for your mayster sirs, and for
 hym ring a peale. *Ad seruos mi-
 litis.*

He was your right good maister while he was in heale.
Qui Lazarum.

R. Royster. Heigh how.

M. Mery. Dead men go not so fast
In Paradisum.

R. Royster. Heihow.

M. Mery. Soft, heare what I haue cast

R. Royster. I will heare nothing, I am past.

M. Mery. Whough, wellaway.

Ye may tarie one houre, and heare what I shall say,
 Ye were best sir for a while to reuiue againe,
 And quite them er ye go.

R. Royster. Trowest thou so?

M. Mery. Ye plain.

R. Royster. How may I reuiue being nowe so farre
 past?

M. Mery. I will rubbe your temples, and fette you
 againe at last.

R. Royster. It will not be possible.

* See p. 88.

M. Mery. Yes for twentie pounce.

R. Royster. Armes what dost thou?

M. Mery. Fet you again out of your found
By this crosse ye were nigh gone in deede, I might feele
Your foule departing within an inche of your heele.
Now folow my counsell.

R. Royster. What is it?

M. Mery. If I wer you,
Cuſtance ſhould eft ſeeke to me, ere I woulde bowe.

R. Royster. Well, as thou wilt haue me, euen ſo
will I doe.

M. Mery. Then ſhall ye reuiue againe for an houre
or two.

R. Royster. As thou wilt I am content for a little
ſpace.

M. Mery. Good happe is not haſtie : yet in ſpace
com[e]th grace,
To ſpeake with Cuſtance your ſelfe ſhoulde be very
well,

What good therof may come, nor I, nor you can tell.

But now the matter ſtandeth vpon your mariage,

Ye muſt now take vnto you a luſtie courage.

Ye may not ſpeake with a faint heart to Cuſtance,

But with a luſty breſt and countenance,

That ſhe may knowe ſhe hath to anſwere to a man.

R. Royster. Yes I can do that as well as any can.

M. Mery. Then bicauſe ye muſt Cuſtance ſace to
face wowe,

Let vs ſee how to behaue your ſelfe ye can doe.

Ye muſt haue a portely bragge after your eſtate.

R. Roister. Tufhe, I can handle that after the beſt
rate.

M. Mery. Well done, ſo loe, vp man with your
head and chin,

Vp with that ſnoute man : ſo loe, nowe ye begin,

So, that is ſomewhat like, but prankie cote, nay whan,

That is a luſtie brute, handes vnder your ſide man :

So loe, now is it euen as it ſhould bee,

That is ſomewhat like, for a man of your degree.

Then muſt ye ſtately goe, ietting vp and downe,

Tut, can ye no better shake the taile of your gowne?
There loe, suche a lustie bragge it is ye must make.

R. Royster. To come behind, and make curtsie,
thou must som pains take.

M. Mery. Else were I much to blame, I thanke
your mastershyp.

The lorde one day all to begrime you with worshyp,
Backe fir sauce, let gentlefolkes haue elbowe roome,
Voyde sirs, see ye not maister Roister Doister come?
Make place my maisters.

R. Royster. Thou iustlest nowe to nigh.

M. Mery. Back al rude loutes.

R. Royster. Tush.

M. Mery. I crie your maship mercy
Hoighdagh, if faire fine mistresse Custance sawe you now,
Ralph Royster Doister were hir owne I warrant you.

R. Royster. Neare an M by your girdle?

M. Mery. Your good mastershyps
Maistershyp, were hir owne Mistreshyps mistreshyps,
Ye were take vp for haukes, ye were gone, ye were gone,
But now one other thing more yet I thinke vpon.

R. Royster. Shewe what it is.

M. Mery. A wower be he neuer so poore
Must play and sing before his bestbeloues doore,
How much more than you?

R. Royster. Thou speakest wel out of dout.

M. Mery. And perchaunce that woulde make hir
the sooner come out.

R. Royster. Goe call my Musitians, bydde them
high apace.

M. Mery. I wyll be here with them ere ye can say
trety ace. *Exeat.*

R. Royster. This was well sayde of Merygreeke, I
lowe hys wit,

Before my sweete hearts dore we will haue a fit,
That if my loue come forth, that I may with hir talke,
I doubt not but this geare shall on my side walke.
But lo, how well Merygreeke is returned sence.

M. Mery. There hath grown no grassie on my heele
since I went hence,

Lo here haue I brought that shall make you pastance.

R. Royster. Come firs let vs sing to winne my deare
loue Custance.

Cantent.

M. Mery. Lo where she commeth, some counten-
aunce to hir make
And ye shall heare me be plaine with hir for your sake.

Actus. iij. Scæna. iiij.

Custance. Merygreeke. Roister Doister.

C. Custance.



Hat gaudyng and foolyng is
this afore my doore?

M. Mery. May not folks
be honest, pray you,
though they be pore?

C. Custance. As that thing may be true, so rich
folks may be fooles,

R. Royster. Hir talke is as fine as she had learned
in schooles.

M. Mery. Looke partly towarde hir, and drawe a
little nere.

C. Custance. Get ye home idle folkes.

M. Mery. Why may not we be here?

Nay and ye will haze, haze: otherwife I tell you plaine,
And ye will not haze, then giue vs our geare againe.

C. Custance. In deede I haue of yours much gay
things God faue all.

R. Royster. Speake gently vnto hir, and let hir
take all.

M. Mery. Ye are to tender hearted: shall she make
vs dawes? [caufe.

Nay dame, I will be plaine with you in my friends

R. Royster. Let all this passe sweete heart and ac-
cept my seruice.

C. Custance. I will not be serued with a foole in
no wise,

When I choose an husbände I hope to take a man.

M. Mery. And where will ye finde one which can
doe that he can?

Now thys man towarde you being so kinde, [minde.
You not to make him an answere somewhat to his

C. Custance. I sent him a full answere by you dyd
I not?

M. Mery. And I reported it.

C. Custance. Nay I must speake it againe.

R. Royster. No no, he tolde it all.

M. Mery. Was I not metely plaine?

R. Royster. Yes.

M. Mery. But I would not tell all, for faith if I had
With you dame Custance ere this houre it had been
bad,

And not without cause : for this goodly perfonage,
Ment no lesse than to ioynе with you in mariage.

C. Custance. Let him wast no more labour nor fute
about me. [lieth I see,

M. Mery. Ye know not where your preferment
He sending you such a token, ring and letter.

C. Custance. Mary here it is, ye neuer sawe a better.

M. Mery. Let vs see your letter.

C. Custance. Holde, reade it if ye can.
And see what letter it is to winne a woman.

M. Mery. To mine owne deare coney birde, fwete
heart, and pigshy

Good Mistresse Custance present these by and by,
Of this superfeription do ye blame the stile?

C. Custance. With the rest as good stufte as ye
redde a great while.

M. Mery. Sweete mistresse where as I loue you
nothing at all,

Regarding your substance and richeffe chiefe of all,
For your perfonage, beautie, demeanour and wit,
I commende me vnto you neuer a whit.

Sorie to heare report of your good welfare.

For (as I heare fay) suche your conditions are,

That ye be worthie fauour of no liuing man,
To be abhorred of euery honest man.
To be taken for a woman enclined to vice.
Nothing at all to Vertue gyuing hir due price.
Wherfore concerning mariage, ye are thought
Suche a fine Paragon, as nere honest man bought.
And nowe by these presentes I do you aduertise
That I am minded to marrie you in no wise.
For your goodes and substance, I coulde bee content
To take you as ye are. If ye mynde to bee my wyfe,
Ye shall be assured for the tyme of my lyfe,
I will keepe ye ryght well, from good rayment and fare,
Ye shall not be kepte but in forowe and care.
Ye shall in no wyfe lyue at your owne libertie,
Doe and say what ye lust, ye shall neuer please me,
But when ye are mery, I will be all fadde,
When ye are fory, I will be very gladde.
When ye seeke your heartes ease, I will be vnkinde,
At no tyme, in me shall ye muche gentleneffe finde.
But all things contrary to your will and minde,
Shall be done : otherwise I wyll not be behinde
To speake. And as for all them that woulde do you wrong
I will so helpe and mainteyne, ye shall not lyue long.
Nor any foolishhe dolte, shall cumbre you but I.
Thus good mistresse Custance, the lorde you faue and
kepe,
From me Roister Doister, whether I wake or slepe.
Who fauoureth you no lesse, (ye may be bolde)
Than this letter purporteth, which ye haue vnfolde.

C. Custance. Howe by this letter of loue? is it not
fine? [myne.

R. Royster. By the armes of Caleys it is none of

M. Mery. Fie you are fowle to blame this is your
owne hand.

C. Custance. Might not a woman be proude of
such an husbände?

M. Mery. Ah that ye would in a letter shew such
despite.

R. Royster. Oh I would I had hym here, the which
did it endite.

M. Mery. Why ye made it your felfe ye tolde me by this light.

R. Royster. Yea I ment I wrote it myne owne felfe yesternight.

C. Custance. Ywis fir, I would not haue sent you fuch a mocke.

R. Royster. Ye may fo take it, but I ment it not fo by cocke.

M. Mery. Who can blame this woman to fume and frette and rage?

Tut, tut, your felfe nowe haue marde your owne marriage.

Well, yet mistrefse Cufance, if ye can this remitte, This gentleman other wife may your loue requitte.

C. Cufance. No God be with you both, and feeke no more to me. *Exeat.*

R. Royster. Wough, fhe is gone for euer, I fhall hir no more fee.

M. Mery. What weepe? fye for fhame, and blubber? for manhods fake,

Neuer lette your foe fo muche pleasure of you take.

Rather play the mans parte, and doe loue refraine.

If fhe despife you een despife ye hir againe.

R. Royster. By goffe and for thy fake I defye hir in deede.

M. Mery. Yea and perchaunce that way ye fhall much fooner fpeede,

For one madde propretie thefe women haue in fey.

When ye will, they will not: Will not ye, then will they.

Ah foolifhe woman, ah moſte vnluckie Cufance,

Ah vnfortunate woman, ah pieuiſhe Cufance,

Art thou to thine harmes fo obſtinately bent,

That thou canſt not fee where lieth thine high pre'er-
ment? [well?

Canſt thou not lub dis man, which coulde lub dee fo

Art thou fo much thine own foe.

R. Royster. Thou doſt the truth tell.

M. Mery. Wel I lament.

R. Royster. So do I.

M. Mery. Wherfor?

R. Royster. For this thing
Bicause she is gone.

M. Mery. I mourne for an other thing.

R. Royster. What is it Merygreeke, wherfore thou
dost grieffe take?

M. Mery. That I am not a woman myfelfe for your
fAKE,

I would haue you my felfe, and a strawe for yond Gill,
And mocke much of you though it were against my
will.

I would not I warrant you, fall in fuch a rage,
As fo to refufe fuche a goodly perfonage. [greeke.

R. Royster. In faith I heartily thanke thee Mery-

M. Mery. And I were a woman.

R. Royster. Thou wouldest to me feeke. [bee.

M. Mery. For though I fay it, a goodly perfon ye

R. Royster. No, no.

M. Mery. Yes a goodly man as ere I dyd fee.

R. Royster. No, I am a poore homely man as God
made mee.

M. Mery. By the faith that I owe to God fir, but
ye bee.

Woulde I might for your fAKE, fpende a thoufande
pound land.

R. Royster. I dare fay thou wouldest haue me to
thy husbände.

M. Mery. Yea: And I were the fairest lady in the
fliere,

And knewe you as I know you, and fee you nowe here.
Well I fay no more.

R. Royster. Gramercies with all my hart.

M. Mery. But fince that can not be, will ye play a

R. Royster. How should I? [wife parte?

M. Mery. Refraine from Cufance a while now.

And I warrant hir foone right glad to feeke to you,
Ye fhall fee hir anon come on hir knees creeping,
And pray you to be good to hir falte teares weeping.

R. Royster. But what and she come not?

M. Mery. In faith then farewell she.
Or elfe if ye be wroth, ye may auenged be.

R. Royster. By cocks precious potsticke, and een
so I shall.

I wyll vtterly destroy hir, and house and all,
But I woulde be auenged in the meane space,
On that vile scribler, that did my wowyng disgrace.

M. Mery. Scribler (ko you) in deede he is worthy
no lesse.

I will call hym to you, and ye bidde me doubtlesse.

R. Royster. Yes, for although he had as many liues,
As a thousande widowes, and a thousande wiues,
As a thousande lyons, and a thousand rattes,
A thousande wolues, and a thousande cattes,
A thousande bulles, and a thousande calues,
And a thousande legions diuided in halues,
He shall neuer scape death on my swordes point,
Though I shoulde be torne therfore ioynt by ioynt.

M. Mery. Nay, if ye will kyll him, I will not fette
him,

I will not in so muche extremitie fette him,
He may yet amende fir, and be an honest man,
Therfore pardon him good foule, as muche as ye can.

R. Royster. Well, for thy sake, this once with his
lyfe he shall passe,
But I wyll hewe hym all to pieces by the Masse.

M. Mery. Nay sayth ye shall promise that he shall
no harne haue,

Else I will not set him.

R. Royster. I shall so God me faue.
But I may chide him a good.

M. Mery. Yea that do hardely.

R. Royster. Go then.

M. Mery. I returne, and bring him to you by and
by. *Ex.*

Actus. iij. Scæna. v.

Roister Doister. Mathewe Merygreeke. Scrinener.

R. Royster.



Hat is a gentleman but his
worde and his promise?
I must nowe faue this vilaines
lyfe in any wise,
And yet at hyn already my
handes doe tickle,

I shall vneth holde them, they wyll be so fickle.

But lo and Merygreeke haue not brought him fens?

M. Mery. Nay I woulde I had of my purse payde
fortie pens.

Scriner. So woulde I too: but it needed not that
stounde,

M. Mery. But the ientman had rather spent fye
thousande pounce,

For it disgraced him at least fye tymes so muche.

Scriner. He disgraced hym felse, his loutishnesse
is fuche.

R. Royster. Howe long they stande prating? Why
comst thou not away?

M. Mery. Come nowe to hymfelse, and hearke what
he will say.

Scriner. I am not afrayde in his presence to ap-
peere.

R. Royster. Arte thou come felow?

Scriner. How thinke you? am I not here?

R. Royster. What hindrance hast thou done me,
and what villanie?

Scriner. It hath come of thy felse, if thou hast
had any.

R. Royster. All the stocke thou comest of later or
rather,

From thy fyrst fathers grandfathers fathers father,
Nor all that shall come of thee to the worldes ende,
Though to three score generations they descende,

Can be able to make me a iust recompense,
For this trespassse of thine and this one offense.

Scriuener. Wherin?

R. Royster. Did not you make me a letter brother?

Scriuener. Pay the like hire, I will make you suche
an other.

R. Royster. Nay see and these whooreson Phariseys
and Scribes

Doe not get their liuyng by polling and bribes.

If it were not for shame.

Scriuener. Nay holde thy hands still.

M. Mery. Why did ye not promise that ye would
not him spill?

Scriuener. Let him not spare me.

R. Royster. Why wilt thou strike me again?

Scriuener. Ye shall haue as good as ye bring of me
that is plaine.

M. Mery. I can not blame him fir, though your
blowes wold him greue.

For he knoweth present death to ensue of all ye geue.

R. Royster. Well, this man for once hath purchased
thy pardon. [gon.

Scriuener. And what say ye to me? or else I will be

R. Royster. I say the letter thou madest me was
not good.

Scriuener. Then did ye wrong copy it of likelyhood.

R. Royster. Yes, out of thy copy worde for worde I
wrote. [wote,

Scriuener. Then was it as ye prayed to haue it I
But in reading and pointyng there was made some faulte.

R. Royster. I wote not, but it made all my matter
to haulte.

Scriuener. Howe say you, is this mine originall or
no? [mote I go.

R. Royster. The selfe same that I wrote out of, so

Scriuener. Loke you on your owne fist, and I will
looke on this,

And let this man be iudge whether I reade amisse.

To myne owne dere coney birde, sweete heart, and

Good mistresse Custance, present these by and by.
How now? doth not this superscription agree?

R. Royster. Reade that is within, and there ye shall
the fault see.

Scriuener. Sweete mistresse, where as I loue you,
nothing at all

Regarding your richesse and substance: chiefe of all
For your personage, beautie, demeanour and witte
I commende me vnto you: Neuer a whitte
Sory to heare reporte of your good welfare.
For (as I heare say) suche your conditions are,
That ye be worthie fauour: Of no liuing man
To be abhorred: of euery honest man
To be taken for a woman enclined to vice
Nothing at all: to vertue giuing hir due price.
Wherfore concerning mariage, ye are thought
Suche a fine Paragon, as nere honest man bought.
And now by these presents I doe you aduertise,
That I am minded to marrie you: In no wyse
For your goodes and substance: I can be content
To take you as you are: yf ye will be my wife,
Ye shall be assured for the time of my life,
I wyll keepe you right well: from good raiment and fare,
Ye shall not be kept: but in sorowe and care
Ye shall in no wyse lyue: at your owne libertie,
Doe and say what ye lust: ye shall neuer please me
But when ye are merrie: I will bee all sadde
When ye are forie: I wyll be very gladde
When ye seeke your heartes ease: I will be vnkinde
At no time: in me shall ye muche gentleness finde.
But all things contrary to your will and minde
Shall be done otherwise: I wyll not be behynde
To speake: And as for all they that woulde do you wrong,
(I wyll so helpe and maintayne ye) shall not lyue long.
Nor any foolish dolte shall cumber you, but I,
I, who ere say nay, wyll flicke by you tyll I die.
Thus good mistresse Custance, the lorde you saue and
kepe.

From me Roister Doister, whether I wake or slepe,

Who fauoureth you no lesse, (ye may be holde)
 Than this letter purporteth, which ye haue vnfolde.
 Now fir, what default can ye finde in this letter?

R. Royster. Of truth in my mynde there can not be
 a better. [in writyng,

Scriuener. Then was the fault in readyng, and not
 No nor I dare say in the fourme of endityng,
 But who read this letter, that it founded so nought?

M. Mery. I redde it in deede.

Scriuener. Ye red it not as ye ought.

R. Royster. Why thou wretched villaine was all this
 same fault in thee?

M. Mery. I knocke your costarde if ye offer to
 strike me.

R. Royster. Strikest thou in deede? and I offer but
 in iest? [sit in rest.

M. Mery. Yea and rappe you againe except ye can
 And I will no longer tarie here me beleue.

R. Royster. What wilt thou be angry, and I do
 thee forgeue?

Fare thou well scribler, I crie thee mercie in deede.

Scriuener. Fare ye well bibbler, and worthily may
 ye speede.

R. Royster. If it were an other but thou, it were a
 knaue. [both saue,

M. Mery. Ye are an other your selfe fir, the lorde vs
 Albeit in this matter I must your pardon craue,
 Alas woulde ye wyshe in me the witte that ye haue?
 But as for my fault I can quickly amende,
 I will shewe Custance it was I that did offende.

R. Royster. By so doing hir anger may be reformed.

M. Mery. But if by no entreatie she will be turned,
 Then sette lyght by hir and bee as testie as shee,
 And doe your force vpon hir with extremitie.

R. Royster. Come on therefore lette vs go home in
 sadnesse. [readinesse,

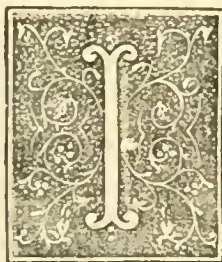
M. Mery. That if force shall neede all may be in a
 And as for thys letter hardely let all go,
 We wyll know where she refuse you for that or no.

[*Exeant am.*

Actus. iiij. Scæna. j.

Sym Suresby.

Sim Sure.




S there any man but
I Sym Suresby
alone,
That would haue
taken such an en-
terprise him vpon,
In suche an outra-
gious tempest as
as this was.

Suche a daungerous gulfe of the sea to passe.
I thinke verily *Neptunes* mightie godshyp,
Was angry with some that was in our shyp,
And but for the honestie which in me he founde,
I thinke for the others sake we had bene drownde.
But fye on that seruant which for his maisters wealth
Will flicke for to hazarde both his lyfe and his health.
My maister Gawyn Goodlucke after me a day
Bicause of the weather, thought best hys shyppe to stay,
And now that I haue the rough fourges so well past,
God graunt I may finde all things safe here at last.
Then will I thinke all my trauaile well spent.
Nowe the first poynt wherfore my maister hath me sent
Is to salute dame Christian Custance his wife,
Espoused : whome he tendreth no lesse than his life,
I must see how it is with hir well or wrong,
And whether for him she doth not now thinke long :
Then to other friendes I haue a message or tway,
And then so to returne and mete him on the way.
Now wyll I goe knocke that I may dispatche with
speede,
But loe forth commeth hir selfe happily in deede.

Actus. iiij. Scæna. ij.

Christian Custance. Sym. Suresby.

C. Custance.  Come to see if any more
 stirryng be here,
 But what straunger is this,
 which doth to meappere?
 Sym Surs. I will speake

to hir: Dame the lorde you faue and see.

C. Custance. What friende Sym Suresby? Forsoth
 right welcome ye be,

Howedoth mine owne Gawyn Goodlucke, I pray the tell?

S. Suresby. When he knoweth of your health he
 will be perfect well. [would be.

C. Custance. If he haue perfect helth, I am as I

Sim. Sure. Suche newes will please him well, this is
 as it should be.

C. Custance. I thinke now long for him.

Sym Sure. And he as long for you.

C. Custance. When wil he be at home?

Sym Sure. His heart is here een now

His body commeth after.

C. Custance. I woulde see that faine. [a maine.

Sim Sure. As fast as wynde and sayle can cary it
 But what two men are yonde comming hitherwarde?

C. Custance. Now I shrew their best Christmasse
 chekes both togetherward.

Actus. iiij. Scæna. iij.

Christian Custance. Sym Suresby. Ralph
Roister. Mathew Merygreke. Trupeny.

C. Custance.  Hat meane these lewde
 felowes thus to trouble
 me stil?

Sym Suresby here perchance
 shal therof deme som yll.

And shall suspect in me some point of naughtinesse,
And they come hitherward.

Sym Sure. What is their businesse?

C. Custance. I haue nought to them, nor they to
me in fadnesse.

Sim Sure. Let vs hearken them, somewhat there
is I feare it.

R. Royster. I will speake out aloude best, that she
may heare it.

M. Mery. Nay alas, ye may so feare hir out of hir
wit. [hir no whit.

R. Royster. By the crosse of my sworde, I will hurt

M. Mery. Will ye doe no harme in deede, shall I
trust your worde? [but in borde.

R. Royster. By Roister Doisters sayth I will speake

Sim. Sure. Let vs hearken them, fomwhat there is
I feare it. [heare it:

R. Royster. I will speake out aloude, I care not who
Sirs, see that my harnesse, my tergat, and my shield,
Be made as bright now, as when I was last in fiede,
As white as I shoulde to warre againe to morrowe:
For sicke shall I be, but I worke some folke forow.
Therefore see that all shine as bright as fainct George,
Or as doth a key newly come from the Smiths forge.
I woulde haue my sworde and harnesse to shine so bright,
That I might therwith dimme mine enimies fight,
I would haue it cast beames as fast I tell you playne,
As doth the glittryng grasse after a showre of raine.
And see that in case I shoulde neede to come to arm-
All things may be ready at a minutes warning, [ing,
For such chaunce may chaunce in an houre, do ye
heare?

M. Mery. As perchance shall not chaunce againe
in feuen yeare.

R. Royster. Now draw we neare to hir, and here
what shall be sayde.

M. Mery. But I woulde not haue you make hir too
muche afrayde.

R. Royster. Well founde sweete wife (I trust) for al
this your foure looke.

C. Custance. Wife, why cal ye me wife?

Sim Sure. Wife? this gear goth acrook.

M. Mery. Nay mistresse Custance, I warrant you,
our letter

Is not as we redde een nowe, but much better,
And where ye halfe stomaked this gentleman afore,
For this same letter, ye wyll loue hym now therefore,
Nor it is not this letter, though ye were a queene,
That shoulde breake marriage betweene you twaine I
weene. [fake.

C. Custance. I did not refuse hym for the letters

R. Royster. Then ye are content me for your
husbande to take.

C. Custance. You for my husbande to take? no-
thing lesse truely.

R. Royster. Yea say so, sweete spouse, afore straun-
gers hardly. [with me,

M. Mery. And though I haue here his letter of loue
Yet his ryng and tokens he sent, keepe safe with ye.

C. Custance. A mischiefe take his tokens, and him
and thee too.

But what prate I with fooles? haue I nought else to doo?
Come in with me Sym Sureby to take some repast.

Sim Sure. I must ere I drinke by your leaue, goe
in all hast,

To a place or two, with earnest letters of his.

C. Custance. Then come drink here with me.

Sim Sure. I thank you.

C. Custance. Do not misse

You shall haue a token to your maister with you.

Sym Sure. No tokens this time gramercies, God
be with you. *Exeat.*

C. Custance. Surely this fellowe misdeemeth some
yll in me.

Which thing but God helpe, will go neere to spill me.

R. Royster. Yea farewell fellow, and tell thy maister
Goodlucke

That he commeth to late of thys blossome to plucke.
Let him keepe him there still, or at least wise make no
As for his labour hither he shall spende in wast. [hast,

His betters be in place nowe.

M. Mery. As long as it will hold.

C. Custance. I will be euen with thee thou beaft,
thou mayst be bolde.

R. Royster. Will ye haue vs then?

C. Custance. I will neuer haue thee.

R. Royster. Then will I haue you?

C. Custance. No, the deuill shal haue thee.

I haue gotten this houre more shame and harme by thee,
Then all thy life days thou canst do me honestie.

M. Mery. Why nowe may ye see what it comth too
in the ende,

To make a deadly foe of your most louing frende :
And ywis this letter if ye woulde heare it now.

C. Custance. I will heare none of it.

M. Mery. In faith would rauishe you. [is cleare.

C. Custance. He hath stained my name for euer this

R. Royster. I can make all as well in an houre.

M. Mery. As ten yeare.

How say ye, wil ye haue him?

C. Custance. No.

M. Mery. Wil ye take him?

C. Custance. I defie him.

M. Mery. At my word?

C. Custance. A shame take him.

Waste no more wynde, for it will neuer bee.

M. Mery. This one faulte with twaine shall be
mended, ye shall see.

Gentle mistresse Custance now, good mistresse Custance,
Honeymistresse Custance now, sweete mistresse Custance,
Golden mistresse Custance now, white mistresse Custance,
Silken mistresse Custance now, faire mistresse Custance.

C. Custance. Faith rather than to mary with fuche
a doltishe loute,

I woulde matche my selfe with a begger out of doute.

M. Mery. Then I can say no more, to speede we
are not like,

Except ye rappe out a ragge of your Rhetorike.

C. Custance. Speake not of winnyng me : for it
shall neuer be fo.

R. Royster. Yes dame, I will haue you whether ye will or no.

I commaunde you to loue me, wherfore shoulde ye not? Is not my loue to you chafing and burning hot?

M. Mery. Too hir, that is well sayd.

R. Royster. Shall I so breake my braine To dote vpon you, and ye not loue vs againe?

M. Mery. Wel sayd yet.

C. Custance. Go to you goose.

R. Royster. I say Kit Custance, In case ye will not haze, well, better yes perchaunce.

C. Custance. Anaunt lozell, picke thee hence.

M. Mery. Wel fir, ye perceiue, For all your kinde offer, she will not you receiue.

R. Royster. Then a strawe for hir, and a strawe for hir againe,

She shall not be my wife, woulde she neuer so faine,
No and though she would be at ten thousand pounce
cost. [ye haue lost.

M. Mery. Lo dame, ye may see what an husbände

C. Custance. Yea, no force, a iewell mucche better
lost than founde.

M. Mery. Ah, ye will not beleue how this doth my
heart wounde.

How shoulde a mariage betwene you be towarde,
If both parties drawe backe, and become so frowarde.

R. Royster. Nay dame, I will fire thee out of thy
house,

And destroy thee and all thine, and that by and by.

M. Mery. Nay for the passion of God fir, do not so.

R. Royster. Yes, except she will say yea to that she
sayde no.

C. Custance. And what, be there no officers trow
we, in towne

To checke idle loytrers, braggyng vp and downe?

Where be they, by whome vacabunds shoulde be re-
prest?

That poore fillie Widowes might liue in peace and rest.
Shall I neuer ridde thee out of my companie?

I will call for helpe, what hough, come forth Trupenie.

Trupenie. Anon. What is your will mistresse? dyd
ye call me? [may be,

C. Custance. Yea, go runne apace, and as fast as
Pray Tristram Trusty, my moste assured frende,
To be here by and by, that he may me defende.

Trupenie. That message so quickly shall be done by
Gods grace,
That at my returne ye shall say, I went apace. *Exeat.*

C. Custance. Then shall we see I trowe, whether ye
shall do me harme,

R. Royster. Yes in faith Kitte, I shall thee and
thine so charme,
That all women incarnate by thee may beware.

C. Custance. Nay, as for charming me, come hither
if thou dare, [traine,
I shall cloute thee tyll thou stinke, both thee and thy
And coyle thee mine owne handes, and fende thee
home againe. [me threaten?

R. Royster. Yea sayst thou me that dame? dost thou
Goe we, I still see whether I shall be beaten.

M. Mery. Nay for the paine of God, let me now
treate peace,
For bloudshed will there be in case this strife increace.
Ah good dame Custance, take better way with you.

C. Custance. Let him do his worst.

M. Mery. Yeld in time.

R. Royster. Come hence thou.

Exeant Royster et Mery.

Actus. iiij. Scæna. iiij.

Christian Custance. Anot Alyface.

Tibet C. **M. Mumblecrust.**

C. Custance.



O sirra, if I should not with
hym take this way,
I should not be ridde
of him I thinke till
doomes day,

I will call forth my folkes, that without any mockes
 If he come agayne we may giue him rappes and knockes.
 Mage Mumblecrust, come forth, and Tibet Talke apace.
 Yea and come forth too, mistresse Annot Alyface.

Annot Aly. I come.

Tibet. And I am here.

M. Mumb. And I am here too at length.

C. Custance. Like warriors if nede bee, ye must
 shew your strength

The man that this day hath thus begiled you,
 Is Ralph Roister Doister, whome ye know well mowe,
 The moste loute and dastarde that euer on grounde
 trode. [abrode.

Tib. Talk. I see all folke mocke hym when he goth

C. Custance. What pretie maide? will ye talke
 when I speake?

Tib. Talk. No forsooth good mistresse.

C. Custance. Will ye my tale breake?

He threatneth to come hither with all his force to fight,
 I charge you if he come, on him with all your might.

M. Mumb. I with my distaffe will reache hym one
 rappe,

Tib. Talk. And I with my newe broome will sweepe
 hym one swappe,

And then with our greate clubbe I will reache hym one
 rappe.

An. Aliface. And I with our skimmer will sling him
 one flappe.

Tib. Talk. Then Trupenies fireforke will him
 shrewdly fray,

And you with the spitte may driue him quite away.

C. Custance. Go make all ready, that it may be
 een so.

Tib. Talk. For my parte I shrewe them that last about
 it go. *Excant.*

Actus. iiij. Scaena. v.

Christian Custance. Trupenie. Tristram Trusty.

C. Custance.



Rupenie dyd promise me
to runne a great pace,
My friend Tristram Trusty
to fet into this place.
Indeede hedwelleth hence
a good flert I confesse:

But yet a quicke messanger might twice since as I gesse,
Haue gone and come againe. Ah yond I spie him now.

Trupeny. Ye are a slow goer sir, I make God auow.
My mistresse Custance will in me put all the blame,
Your leggs be longer than myne: come apace for shame.

C. Custance. I can thee thanke Trupenie, thou hast
done right wele. [on my hele,

Trupeny. Maistresse since I went no grasse hath growne
But maister Tristram Trustie here maketh no speede.

C. Custance. That he came at all I thanke him in
very deede,

For now haue I neede of the helpe of some wise man.

T. Trusty. Then may I be gone againe, for none
such I [a]m. [man

Trupenie. Ye may bee by your going: for no Alder-
Can goe I dare say, a sadder pace than ye can.

C. Custance. Trupenie get thee in, thou shalt among
them knowe,

How to vse thy selfe, like a propre man I trowe.

Trupeny. I go. *Ex.* [much.

C. Custance. Now Tristram Trusty I thank you right
For at my first sending to come ye neuer grutch.

T. Trusty. Dame Custance God ye faue, and while
my life shall last, [waft.

For my friende Goodluckes sake ye shall not fende in

C. Custance. He shal giue you thanks.

T. Trusty. I will do much for his sake

C. Custance. But alack, I feare, great displeasure
shall be take.

T. Trusty. Wherfore?

C. Cusance. For a foolish matter.

T. Trusty. What is your cause [dawes.

C. Cusance. I am yll accombred with a couple of

T. Trusty. Nay weepe not woman: but tell me what
your cause is

As concerning my friende is any thing amiffe?

C. Cusance. No not on my part: but here was Sym
Suresby.

T. Trustie. He was with me and told me so.

C. Cusance. And he stoode by

While Ralph Roister Doister with helpe of Merygreeke,
For promise of mariage dyd vnto me seeke.

T. Trusty. And had ye made any promise before them
twaine, [flaine,

C. Cusance. No I had rather be torne in pieces and
No man hath my faith and trouth, but Gawyn Good-
lucke,

And that before Suresby dyd I say, and there flucke,
But of certaine letters there were suche words spoken.

T. Trustie. He tolde me that too.

C. Cusance. And of a ring and token.

That Suresby I spied, dyd more than halfe suspect,
That I my faith to Gawyn Goodlucke dyd reiect.

T. Trusty. But there was no such matter dame Cus-
tance in deede?

C. Cusance. If euer my head thought it, God sende
me yll speede.

Wherfore I beseech you, with me to be a witnesse,
That in all my lyfe I neuer intended thing lesse,
And what a brainficke foole Ralph Roister Doister is,
Your selfe know well enough.

T. Trusty. Ye say full true ywis. [apply,

C. Cusance. Bicause to bee his wife I ne graunt nor
Hither will he com he sweareth by and by, [house flat.
To kill both me and myne, and beate downe my
Therefore I pray your aide.

T. Trustie. I warrant you that.

C. Cusance. Haue I so many yeres liued a sobre life,
And shewed my selfe honest, mayde, widowe, and wyfe

And nowe to be abused in such a vile forte,
Ye see howe poore Widowes lyue all voyde of comfort.

T. Trusty. I warrant hym do you no harne nor
wrong at all. [most appall,

C. Custance. No, but Mathew Merygreeke doth me
That he woulde ioine hym selfe with fuche a wretched
loute. [doubte,

T. Trusty. He doth it for a iest I knowe hym out of
And here cometh Merygreke.

C. Custance. Then shal we here his mind.

Actus. iiij. Scæna. vj.

Merygreke. Christian Custance. Trist. Trusty.

M. Mery.



Ustance and Trustie both, I
doe you here well finde.

C. Custance. Ah Mathew
Merygreeke, ye haue vsed
me well.

M. Mery. Nowe for altogether ye must your
answere tell.

Will ye haue this man, woman? or else will ye not?
Else will he come neuer bore so brymme nor tost so hot.

Tris. and Cu. But why ioyn ye with him.

T. Trusty. For mirth.

C. Custance. Or else in sadnesse [mater gesse.

M. Mery. The more fond of you both hardly yat
Tristram. Lo how fay ye dame?

M. Mery. Why do ye thinke dame Custance
That in this wowyng I haue ment ought but pastance?

C. Custance. Much things ye spake, I wote, to
maintaine his dotage.

M. Mery. But well might ye iudge I spake it all
in mockage?

For why? Is Roister Doister a fitte husband for you?

T. Trusty. I dare say ye neuer thought it.

M. Mery. No to God I vow.

And dyd not I knowe afore of the insurance
Betweene Gawyn Goodlucke, and Christian Cufance?
And dyd not I for the nonce, by my conueyance,
Reade his letter in a wrong fense for daliance?
That if you coulde haue take it vp at the first bounde,
We should therat such a sporte and pastime haue
founde,

That all the whole towne should haue ben the merier.

C. Cufance. Ill ake your heades both, I was neuer
werier,

Nor neuer more vexte since the first day I was borne.

T. Trusty. But very well I wist he here did all in
scorne.

C. Cufance. But I feared therof to take dishonestie.

M. Mery. This should both haue made sport, and
shewed your honestie [low.

And Goodlucke I dare sweare, your witte therin would

T. Trusty. Yea, being no worfe than we know it
to be now. [come to him,

M. Mery. And nothing yet to late, for when I
Hither will he repaire with a sheepes looke full grim,
By plaine force and violence to driue you to yelde.

C. Cufance. If ye two bidde me, we will with him
I and my maides together. [pitche a fiede,

M. Mery. Let vs see, be bolde.

C. Cufance. Ye shall see womens warre.

T. Trusty. That fight wil I behold. brim,

M. Mery. If occasion serue, takyng his parte full
I will strike at you, but the rappe shall light on him.
When we first appeare.

C. Cufance. Then will I runne away
As though I were afeard.

T. Trusty. Do you that part wel play
And I will sue for peace.

M. Mery. And I wil set him on.
Then will he looke as fierce as a Cottfold lyon.

T. Trusty. But when gofst thou for him?

M. Mery. That do I very nowe.

C. Custance. Ye shal find vs here.

M. Mery. Wel god haue mercy on you. *Ex.*

T. Trusty. There is no cause of feare, the least boy
in the streete : [him take his feete.

C. Custance. Nay, the least girle I haue, will make
But hearke, me thinke they make preparation.


T. Trusty. No force, it will be a good recreation.

C. Custance. I will stand within, and steepe forth
speedily,
And so make as though I ranne away dreadfully.

Actus. iiij. Scæna. vij.

R. Royster. M. Merygreeke. C. Custance.

D. Doughtie. Harpax. Tristram Trusty.

R. Royster.  Owe sirs, keepe your ray, and
see your heartes befloute,
But where be these caitifes,
me think they dare not
route, [say?

How sayst thou Merygreeke? What doth Kit Custance

M. Mery. I am loth to tell you.

R. Royster. Tushe speake man, yea or nay? [I can.

M. Mery. Forfooth sir, I haue spoken for you all that
But if ye winne hir, ye must een play the man,
Een to fight it out, ye must a mans heart take.

R. Royster. Yes, they shall know, and thou knowest
I haue a stomacke. [man had.

[*M. Mery.*] A stomacke (quod you) yea, as good as ere

R. Royster. I trowe they shall finde and feele that
I am a lad. [meate as well,

M. Mery. By this crosse I haue seene you eate your
As any that ere I haue seene of or heard tell,
A stomacke quod you? he that will that denie
I know was neuer at dynner in your companie.

R. Royster. Nay, the stomacke of a man it is that
I meane. [I weene.

M. Mery. Nay the stomacke of a horse or a dogge

R. Royster. Nay a mans stomacke with a weapon
meane I. [spoon in a pie.

M. Mery. Ten men can scarce match you with a

R. Royster. Nay the stomake of a man to trie in
strife. [in my lyfe.

M. Mery. I neuer sawe your stomacke cloyed yet

R. Royster. Tushe I meane in strife or fighting
to trie. [angry.

M. Mery. We shall see how ye will strike nowe being

R. Royster. Haue at thy pate then, and saue thy
head if thou may. [this day,

M. Mery. Nay then haue at your pate agayne by

R. Royster. Nay thou mayst not strike at me againe
in no wise. [warrantise:

M. Mery. I can not in fight make to you suche
But as for your foes here let them the bargaine bie.

R. Royster. Nay as for they, shall euery mothers
childe die.

And in this my fume a little thing might make me,
To beate downe house and all, and else the deuill take
me.

M. Mery. If I were as ye be, by gogs deare mother,
I woulde not leaue one stone vpon an other.

Though she woulde redeeme it with twentie thousand
poundes.

R. Royster. It shall be euen so, by his lily woundes.

M. Mery. Bee not at onewith hir vpon any amendes.

R. Royster. No though she make to me neuer so
many frendes.

Nor if all the worlde for hir woulde vndertake,
No not God hymselfe neither, shal not hir peace make,
On therfore, marche forward, soft, stay a while yet.

M. Mery. On.

R. Royster. Tary.

M. Mery. Forth.

R. Royster. Back.

M. Mery. On.

R. Royster. Soft. Now forward set. [alas, alas.

C. Custance. What businesse haue we here? out

R. Royster. Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha.

Dydst thou see that Merygreeke? how afrayde she was?
Dydst thou see how she fledde apace out of my fight?
Ah good sweete Custance I pitie hir by this light.

M. Mery. That tender heart of yours wyll marre
altogether,

Thus will ye be turned with waggyng of a fether.

R. Royster. On firs, keepe your ray.

M. Mery. On forth, while this geare is hot

R. Royster. Soft, the Armes of Caleys, I haue one

M. Mery. What lacke we now? [thing forgot.

R. Royster. Retire, or else we be all slain.

M. Mery. Backe for the pashe of God, backe firs,
What is the great mater? [backe againe.

R. Royster. This hastie forth goyng
Had almost brought vs all to vtter vndoing,
It made me forget a thing most neccessarie. [Marie.

M. Mery. Well remembred of a captaine by saint

R. Royster. It is a thing must be had.

M. Mery. Let vs haue it then.

R. Royster. But I wote not where nor how.

M. Mery. Then wote not I when.

But what is it?

R. Royster. Of a chiefe thing I am to seeke. [a weke.

M. Mery. Tut so will ye be, when ye haue studied
But tell me what it is?

R. Royster. I lacke yet an hedpiece. [to grece,

M. Mery. The kitchen collocauit, the best hennes
Runne, fet it Dobinet, and come at once withall,
And bryng with thee my potgunne, hangyng by the
wall,

I haue feene your head with it full many a tyme,
Couered as safe as it had bene with a skrine :
And I warrant it saue your head from any stroke,
Except perchaunce to be amased with the smoke :
I warrant your head therwith, except for the mist,
As safe as if it were fast locked vp in a chist :
And loe here our Dobinet commeth with it now.

D. Dough. It will couer me to the shoulders well inow.

M. Mery. Let me see it on.

R. Royster. In sayth it doth metely well. [must vs tell

M. Mery. There can be no fitter thing. Now ye
What to do.

R. Royster. Nowforth in rayfirs, and stoppe no more.

M. Mery. Now sainct George to borow, Drum
dubbe a dubbe afore.

T. Trusty. What meane you to do fir, committe
manslaughter. [laughter.

R. Royster. To kyll fortie such, is a matter of

T. Trusty. And who is it fir, whome ye intende
thus to spill? [against my will.

R. Royster. Foolishe Cufiance here forceth me

T. Trusty. And is there no meane your extreme
wrath to flake.

She shall some amendes vnto your good mashyp make.

R. Royster. I will none amendes.

T. Trusty. Is hir offence so fore?

M. Mery. And he were a loute she coulde haue
done no more.

She hath calde him foole, and dressed him like a foole.
Mocked him lyke a foole, vfed him like a foole.

T. Trusty. Well yet the Sheriffe, the Iustice, or
Constable,

Hir misdemeanour to punishe might be able.

R. Royster. No fir, I mine owne selfe will in this
present cause,

Be Sheriffe, and Iustice, and whole Iudge of the lawes,
This matter to amende, all officers be I shall,
Constable, Bailiffe, Sergeant.

M. Mery. And hangman and all. [a man.

T. Trusty. Yet a noble courage, and the heart of
Should more honour winne by bearyng with a woman.
Therefore take the lawe, and lette hir aunswere therto.

R. Royster. Merygreeke, the best way were euen so
to do.

What honour should it be with a woman to fight?

M. Mery. And what then, will ye thus forgo and
lese your right?

R. Royster. Nay, I will take the lawe on hir with-
outen grace.

T. Trusty. Or yf your mashyp coulde pardon this
I pray you forgiue hir. [one trespass.

R. Royster. Hoh?

M. Mery. Tushe tushe fir do not.
Be good maister to hir.

R. Royster. Hoh?

M. Mery. Tush I say do not.
And what shall your people here retorne streight home?

T. Trustie. Yea, leuie the campe firs, and hence
again eche one, [call,

R. Royster. But be still in readinesse if I happe to
I can not tell what fodaine chaunce may befall.

M. Mery. Do not off your harnesse firs I you aduise,
At the least for this fortnight in no maner wise,
Perchaunce in an houre when all ye thinke least,
Our maisters appetite to fight will be best.

But soft, ere ye go, haue once at Custance house.

R. Royster. Soft, what wilt thou do?

M. Mery. Once discharge my harquebouse [goon.
And for my heartes ease, haue once more with my pot-

R. Royster. Holde thy handes else is all our purpose
cleane fordoone.

M. Mery. And it cost me my life.

R. Royster. I say thou shalt not. [with haile shot.

M. Mery. By the matte but I will. Haue once more
I will haue some penyworth, I will not leese all.

Actus. iiij. Scæna. viij.

M. Merygreeke. C. Custance. R. Roister. Tib. T.

An. Alyface. M. Mumblecrust. Trupenie.

Dobinet Doughtie. Harpax. Two

drummes with their Ensignes.

C. Custance.



What caitifes are those that
so shake my house wall?

M. Mery. Ah firrha now
Custance if ye had so
much wit

I woulde see you aske pardon, and your selues submit.

C. Custance. Haue I still this adoe with a couple of fooles?

M. Mery. Here ye what she saith?

C. Custance. Maidens come forth with your tooles.

R. Royster. In a ray.

M. Mery. Dubba dub firrha.

R. Royster. In a ray.

They come sodainly on vs.

M. Mery. Dubbadub.

R. Royster. In a ray.

That euer I was borne, we are taken tardie.

M. Mery. Now sirs, quite our selues like tall men and hardie.

C. Custance. On afore Truepenie, holde thyne owne Annot,

On towarde them Tibet, for scape vs they can not.

Come forth Madge Mumblecrust, so stande fast together.

M. Mery. God sende vs a faire day.

R. Royster. See they marche on hither.

Tib. Talk. But mistresse.

C. Custance. What sayst you?

Tib. Shall I go fet our goose?

C. Custance. What to do?

Tib. To yonder Captain I will turne hir loose

And she gape and hisse at him, as she doth at me,
I durst ieoparde my hande she wyl make him flee.

C. Custance. On forward.

R. Royster. They com.

M. Mery. Stand.

R. Royster. Hold.

M. Mery. Kepe

R. Royster. There.

M. Mery. Strike.

R. Royster. Take heede.

C. Custance. Wel sayd Truepeny.

Trupeny. Ah whoorefons.

C. Custance. Wel don in deede

M. Mery. Hold thine owne *Harpax*, downe with
them Dobinet.

C. Custance. Now Madge, there Annot : now sticke
them Tibet. [knaue,

Tib. Talk. All my chiefe quarell is to this same little
That begyled me last day, nothyng shall him saue.

D. Dough. Downe with this litle queane, that hath
at me such spite,
Saue you from hir maister, it is a very sprite.

C. Custance. I my felfe will mounfire graunde
captaine vndertake,

R. Royster. They win grounde.

M. Mery. Saue your felfe fir, for gods sake.

R. Royster. Out, alas, I am flaine, helpe.

M. Mery. Saue your self.

R. Royster. Alas.

M. Mery. Nay then, haue at you mistresse.

R. Royster. Thou hittest me, alas.

M. Mery. I wil strike at Custance here.

R. Royster. Thou hittest me.

M. Mery. So I wil.

Nay mistresse Custance.

R. Royster. Alas, thou hittest me still.
Hold.

M. Mery. Saue your self fir.

R. Royster. Help, out alas I am slain

M. Mery. Truce, hold your hands, truce for a
pissing while or twaine :

Nay how say you Custance, for sauing of your life,
Will ye yelde and graunt to be this gentmans wife ?

C. Custance. Ye tolde me he loued me, call ye this
loue ?

M. Mery. He loued a while euen like a turtle doue.

C. Custance. Gay loue God saue it, so soone hotte,
so soone colde,

M. Mery. I am sory for you : he could loue you
yet so he coulde.

R. Royster. Nay by cocks precious she shall be
none of mine.

M. Mery. Why so ? [kine.

R. Royster. Come away, by the matte she is man-
I durst aduenture the losse of my right hande,

If shee dyd not flee hir other husbände :
And see if she prepare not againe to fight.

M. Mery. What then ? saint George to borow, our
Ladies knight.

R. Royster. Slee else whom she will, by gog she
shall not flee mee.

M. Mery. How then ?

R. Royster. Rather than to be slaine, I will flee.

C. Custance. Too it againe, my knightesses, downe
with them all.

R. Royster. Away, away, away, she will else kyll
vs all.

M. Mery. Nay sticke to it, like an hardie man and
a tall.

R. Royster. Oh bones, thou hittest me. Away, or
else die we shall.

M. Mery. Away for the pashe of our sweete Lord
Iesus Christ.

C. Custance. Away loute and lubber, or I shall be
thy priest. *Exeant om.*

So this felde is ours we haue driuen them all away.

Tib Talk. Thankes to God mistresse, ye haue had
a faire day.

C. Custance. Well nowe goe ye in, and make your
felfe some good cheere.

Omnes pariter. We goe.

T. Trust. Ah fir, what a field we haue had heere.

C. Custance. Friend Tristram, I pray you be a
witnesse with me.

T. Trusty. Dame Custance, I shall depose for your
honestie,

And nowe fare ye well, except some thing else ye
wolde.

C. Custance. Not now, but when I nede to sende I
will be bolde. *Exeat.*

I thanke you for these paines. And now I wyll get
me in,

Now Roister Doister will no more wowyng begin. *Ex.*

Actus. v. Scæna. j.

Gawyn Goodlucke. Sym Suresby.

Ym Suresby my trustie man, nowe
aduise thee well,
And see that no false firmises thou
me tell,
Was there such adoe about Cuf-
tance of a truth?

Sim. Sure. To reporte that I
hearde and sawe, to me is ruth,

But both my duetie and name and propertie,
Warneth me to you to shewe fidelitie,
It may be well enough, and I wyshe it so to be,
She may hir selfe discharge and trie hir honestie,
Yet their clayme to hir me thought was very large,
For with letters rings and tokens, they dyd hir charge.
Which when I hearde and sawe I would none to you
bring. [thing.

G. Goodl. No, by fainct Marie, I allowe thee in that
Ah firra, nowe I see truthe in the prouerbe olde,
All things that shineth is not by and by pure golde,
If any doe lyue a woman of honestie,
I would haue sworne Christian Custance had bene shee.

Sim. Sure. Sir, though I to you be a seruant true
and iust.

Yet doe not ye therfore your faithfull spouse mystrust.
But examine the matter, and if ye shall it finde,
To be all well, be not ye for my wordes vnkinde.

G. Goodl. I shall do that is right, and as I see
cause why.

But here commeth Custance forth, we shal know by
and by.

Actus. v. Scæna. ij.

C. Custance. Gawyn Goodlucke. *Sym Suresby.*

C. Custance.



Come forth to see and
hearken for newes good,
For about this houre is
the tyme of likelyhood,
That Gawyn Goodlucke
by the sayings of Suresby,

Would be at home, and lo yond I see hym I.

What Gawyn Goodlucke, the onely hope of my life,
Welcome home, and kyffe me your true espoused wife.

Ga. Good. Nay soft dame Custance, I must first by
your licence,

See whether all things be cleere in your conscience,
I heare of your doings to me very straunge.

C. Custance. What feare ye? that my faith towardes
you should chaunge? [entangled.

Ga. Good. I must needes mistrust ye be elsewhere
For I heare that certaine men with you haue wrangled
About the promise of mariage by you to them made.

C. Custance. Coulede any mans reporte your minde
therein persuade? [to stande cleere,

Ga. Good. Well, ye must therin declare your selfe
Else I and you dame Custance may not ioine this yere.

C. Custance. Then woulde I were dead, and faire
layd in my graue,

Ah Suresby, is this the honestie that ye haue?

To hurt me with your report, not knowyng the thing.

Sym Sure. If ye be honest my wordes can hurte
you nothing.

But what I hearde and sawe, I might not but report.

C. Custance. Ah Lorde, helpe poore widowes, desti-
tute of comfort. [pastance.

Truly most deare spouse, nought was done but for

G. Good. But such kynde offsporting is homely daliance.

C. Custance. If ye knewe the truthe, ye would take
all in good parte. [in that arte.

Ga. Good. By your leaue I am not halfe well skilful

C. Custance. It was none but Roister Doister that
foolishe mome. [scuse than none.

Ga. Good. Yea Custance, better (they say) a badde

C. Custance. Why Tristram Trustie sir, your true
and faithfull frende,

Was priuie bothe to the beginning and the ende.

Let him be the Iudge, and for me testifie. [verifie,

Ga. Good. I will the more credite that he shall
And bicause I will the truthe know een as it is,
I will to him my selfe, and know all without misse.

Come on Sym Suresby, that before my friend thou may
Auouch the same wordes, which thou dydst to me say.

Exeant.

Actus. v. Scæna. iij.

Christian Custance.

C. Custance.



Lorde, howe necessarie it
is nowe of dayes,
That eche bodie liue
vprightly all maner
wayes,

For lette neuer so little a gappe be open,
And be sure of this, the worst shall be spoken
Howe innocent stande I in this for deede or thought?
And yet see what mistrust towards me it hath wrought
But thou Lorde knowest all folkes thoughts and eke
And thou arte the deliuerer of all innocentes. [intents
Thou didst helpe the aduoutresse that she might be
amended,

Much more then helpe Lorde, that neuer yll intended.
Thou didst helpe *Sufanna*, wrongfully accused,
And no lesse dost thou see Lorde, how I am now abused,
Thou didst helpe *Hester*, when she should haue died,
Helpe also good Lorde, that my truth may be tried.
Yet if Gawin Goodlucke with Tristram Trusty speake.
I trust of yll report the force shall be but weake,
And loe yond they come sadly talking together,
I will abyde, and not shrinke for their comming hither.

Actus. v. Scæna. iiij.

Gawyn Goodlucke. Tristram Trustie.
 C. Custance. Sym Suresby.

Ga. Good.



And was it none other than
 ye to me reporte?

Tristram. No, and here
 were ye wished to haue
 feene the spote.

Ga. Good. Woulde I had, rather than halfe of that
 in my purse. [was no wurse,

Sim Sure. And I doe muche reioyce the matter
 And like as to open it, I was to you faithfull,
 So of dame Custance honest truth I am ioyfull.

For God forfende that I shoulde hurt hir by false
 reporte. [comforte.

Ga. Good. Well, I will no longer holde hir in dif-

C. Custance. Nowe come they hitherwarde, I trust
 all shall be well. [nor tongue tell,

Ga. Good. Sweete Custance neither heart can thinke
 Howe much I ioy in your constant fidelitie,
 Come nowe kisse me the pearle of perfect honestie.

C. Custance. God lette me no longer to continue
 in lyfe,

Than I shall towardes you continue a true wyse.

Ga. Goodl. Well now to make you for this some
 parte of amendes,

I shall desire first you, and then suche of our frendes,
 As shall to you seeme best, to suppe at home with me,
 Where at your fought felde we shall laugh and mery be.

Sim Sure. And mistresse I beseech you, take with
 me no greefe,

I did a true mans part, not wishyng you reпреese.

C. Custance. Though hastie reportes through sur-
 mises growyng,

May of poore innocentes be vtter ouerthrowyng,
 Yet bicause to thy maister thou hast a true hart, [part.
 And I know mine owne truth, I forgiue thee for my

Ga. Goodl. Go we all to my house, and of this geare
no more.

Goe prepare all things Sym Surefby, hence, runne afore.

Sim Sure. I goe. *Ex.*

G. Good. But who commeth yond, M. Merygreeke?

C. Custance. Roister Doisters champion, I shrewe
his best cheeke. [hym too.

T. Trusty. Roister Doister felse your wower is with
Surely some thing there is with vs they haue to doe.

Actus. v. Scæna. v.

M. Merygreeke. Ralph Roister. Gawyn Goodlucke.
Tristram Trustie. C. Custance.

M. Mery.



And I see Gawyn Goodlucke,
to whome lyeth my mes-
sage,

I will first salute him after his
long voyage,

And then make all thing well concerning your behalfe.

R. Royster. Yea for the pashe of God.

M. Mery. Hence out of sight ye calfe,

Till I haue spoke with them, and then I will you fet,

R. Royster. In Gods name.

M. Mery. What master Gawin Goodluck wel met

And from your long voyage I bid you right welcome

Ga. Good. I thanke you. [home.

M. Mery. I come to you from an honest mome.

Ga. Good. Who is that?

M. Mery. Roister Doister that doughtie kite.

C. Custance. Fye, I can scarce abide ye shoulde his
name recite. [all past,

M. Mery. Ye must take him to fauour, and pardon
He heareth of your returne, and is full yll agast.

Ga. Good. I am ryght well content he haue with
vs some chere. [be there.

C. Custance. Fye vpon him beast, then wyll not I

Ga. Good. Why Custance do ye hate hym more
than ye loue me?

C. Custance. But for your mynde sir, where he were
would I not be?

T. Trusty. He woulde make vs al laugh.

M. Mery. Ye nere had better sport. [vs resort.

Ca. Good. I pray you sweete Custance, let him to

C. Custance. To your will I assent.

M. Mery. Why, fuche a foole it is,

As no man for good pastime would forgoe or misse.

G. Goodl. Fet him to go wyth vs.

M. Mery. He will be a glad man. *Ex.*

T. Trusty. We must to make vs mirth, maintaine
hym all we can.

And loe yond he commeth and Merygreeke with him.

C. Custance. At his first entrance ye shall see I wyll
him trim.

But first let vs hearken the gentlemanswise talke. [shalke.

T. Trusty. I pray you marke if euer ye sawe crane so

Actus. v. Scæna. vj.

R. Roister. *M. Merygreeke.* *C. Custance.* *G.*
Goodlucke. *T. Trustie.* *D. Doughitie.* *Harpar.*

R. Royster.  Ay I then be bolde?

M. Mery. I warrant you
on my worde,

They say they shall be sicke,
but ye be at theyr borde.

R. Royster. Thei wer not angry then.

M. Mery. Yes at first, and made strange

But when I sayd your anger to fauour shoulde change,

And therewith had commended you accordingly,

They were all in loue with your mashyp by and by.

And cried you mercy that they had done you wrong.

R. Royster. For why, no man, woman, nor childe
can hate me long. [one day,

M. Mery. We feare (quod they) he will be auenged

Then for a peny giue all our liues we may.

R. Royster. Sayd they so in deede.

M. Mery. Did they? yea, euen with one voice

He will forgiue all (quod I) Oh how they did reioyce.

R. Royster. Ha, ha, ha. [good moode,

M. Mery. Goe sette hym (say they) while he is in
For haue his anger who lust, we will not by the Roode.

R. Royster. I pray God that it be all true, that thou
And that she fight no more. [hast me tolde,

M. Mery. I warrant you, be bolde
Too them, and salute them.

R. Royster. Sirs, I greete you all well.

Omnes. Your maistership is welcom.

C. Custance. Sauyng my quarell.

For fure I will put you vp into the Eschequer.

M. Mery. Why so? better nay: Wherefore?

C. Custance. For an vsurer.

R. Royster. I am no vsurer good mistresse by his
armes. [mans harmes?

M. Mery. When tooke he gaine of money to any

C. Custance. Yes, a fowle vsurer he is, ye shall
fee els. [no mo quarels?

R. Royster. Didst not thou promise she would picke

C. Custance. He will lende no blowes, but he haue
in recompence

Fiftene for one, whiche is to muche of conscience.

R. Royster. Ah dame, by the auncient lawe of
armes, a man

Hath no honour to foile his handes on a woman.

C. Custance. And where other vsurers take their
gaines yerely,

This man is angry but he haue his by and by.

Ga. Goodl. Sir, doe not for hir sake beare me your
displeasure. [at leasure.

M. Mery. Well, he shall with you talke therof more
Vpon your good vfage, he will now shake your hande.

R. Royster. And much heartily welcome from a
straunge lande.

M. Mery. Be not asearde Gawyn to let him shake
your fyst. [I wist.

Ga. Goodl. Oh the moste honeste gentleman that ere
I beseeche your mashep to take payne to suppe with vs.

M. Mery. He shall not say you nay and I too, by Iesus.

Bicaufe ye shall be friends, and let all quarels passe.

R. Royster. I wyll be as good friends with them as
ere I was. [haue a song.

M. Mery. Then let me fet your quier that we may

R. Royster. Goe. [yeare long.

G. Goodluck. I haue hearde no melodie all this

M. Mery. Come on firs quickly.

R. Royster. Sing on firs, for my frends sake.

D. Dough. Cal ye these your frends?

R. Royster. Sing on, and no mo words make.

Here they sing.

Ga. Good. The Lord preferue our most noble
Queene of renowne,

And hir virtues rewarde with the heauenly crowne.

C. Custance. The Lorde strengthen hir most excel-
lent Maiestie,

Long to reigne ouer vs in all prosperitie. [to defende,

T. Trusty. That hir godly proceedings the faith
He may stablishe and maintaine through to the ende.

M. Mery. God graunt hir as she doth, the Gospell
to protect,

Learning and vertue to aduaunce, and vice to correct.

R. Royster. God graunt hir louyng subiects both
the minde and grace,

Hir most godly procedyngs worthily to imbrace. [prosper,

Harpax. Hir highnesse most worthy counsellers God
With honour and loue of all men to minister.

Omnes. God graunt the nobilitie hir to serue and loue,
With all the whole commontie as doth them behoue.

AMEN.

Certaine Songs to be song by

those which shall vse this Comedie or Enterlude.

The Seconde Song.

WHo so to marry a minion Wyfe,
Hath hadde good chaunce and happe,
Must loue hir and cherishe hir all his life,
And dandle hir in his lappe.

Roister Doister.

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If she will fare well, yf she wyll go gay,
A good husbände euer styll,
What euer she lust to doe, or to fay,
Must lette hir haue hir owne will.

About what affaires so euer he goe.
He must shewe hir all his mynde,
None of hys counsell she may be kept free,
Else is he a man vnkynde.

The fourth Song.

I Mun be married a Sunday
I mun be married a Sunday,
Who foeuer shall come that way,
I mun be married a Sunday.

Royster Doyster is my name,
Royster Doyster is my name,
A lustie brute I am the fame,
I mun be married a Sunday.

Christian Cufance haue I founde,
Christian Cufance haue I founde,
A Wydowe worthe a thousande pounce,
I mun be married a funday.

Cufance is as sweete as honey,
Cufance is as sweete as honey,
I hir lambe and she my coney,
I mun be married a Sunday.

When we shall make our weddyng feast,
When we shall make oure weddyng feast,
There shall bee cheere for man and beast,
I mun be married a Sunday.
I mun be married a Sunday, etc.

The Pfalmodie

P *Lacebo dilexi,* [die,
Maister Roister Doister wil streight go home and
Our Lorde Iesus Christ his soule haue mercievpon:
Thus you see to day a man, to morrow Iohn.

Yet fauing for a womans extreeme crueltie,
 He might haue lyued yet a moneth or two or three,
 But in spite of Custance which hath him wried,
 His maschyp shall be worshipfully buried.
 And while some piece of his soule is yet hym within,
 Some parte of his funeralls let vs here beginne.

Dirige. He will go darklyng to his graue.
Neque lux, neque crux, nisi solum clinke,
 Neuer gentman so went toward heauen I thinke.

Yet firs as ye wyll the blisse of heauen win,
 When he commeth to the graue lay hym softly in,
 And all men take heede by this one Gentleman,
 How you sette your loue vpon an vnkinde woman :
 For these women be all fuche madde pieuish elues,
 They wyll not be woonne except it please them selues.
 But in faith Custance if euer ye come in hell,
 Maister Roister Doister shall serue you as well. [knaue.
 Good night Roger olde knaue, Farewel Roger olde
 Good night Roger olde knaue, knaue, knap.
Nequando. Audiui vocem. Requiem æternam.

The Peale of belles rong by the parish Clerk,
 and Roister Doisters foure men.

The first Bell a Triple.
 When dyed he? When dyed he?

The seconde.
 We haue hym, We haue hym.

The thirde
 Royster Doyster, Royster Doyster.

The fourth Bell.
 He commeth, He commeth.

The greate Bell.
 Our owne, Our owne.

FINIS.

4

English Reprints.

THE REVELATION

TO

THE MONK OF EVESHAM.

1196.

CAREFULLY EDITED FROM THE UNIQUE COPY,
NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, OF THE EDITION
PRINTED BY WILLIAM DE MACHLINIA ABOUT 1482.

BY

EDWARD ARBER.

Affiliate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

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THE REVELATION

TO

THE MONK OF EVESHAM.

INTRODUCTION.



IN the chronology of English printing, between William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde, occur the less familiar names of JOHN LETTOU and William of Malines, or as he variously printed his name, WILHELMUM DE MACHLINIA, WILHELMUM DE MECHLINIA, and even WILLIAM MACLYN.

Not much is known of these two minor printers: nothing indeed beyond the testimony of their own productions. Some account, however, though it may be a limited and imperfect one, of their works will be advantageous, previous to an acquaintance with *The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham*.

2. Besides printing on their own account, Lettou and Machlinia joined in partnership for at least the production of one book, in the colophon of which Lettou's name comes first. Possibly therefore he may have been the older printer. Their works are of great rarity: some of them extraordinarily so. The following list of many of them contains their designations or titles in English, shows the languages in which they are printed, and gives the press marks of copies now in British Museum. Those distinguished by A have the name of the printer upon them: those by B have neither the name of the printer nor of the place or date of printing.

John Lettou.

- A The Minorite ANTONIUS ANDREAS, *Questions in Aristotle's Metaphysics*; edited by the Augustine THOMAS PENKETH. 1480. [Latin.] *Gren. Coll.* 8984.
- A JOHN PEREZ DE VALENTIA, *Expositions on the Psalms*. 1481. [Latin.] C. 11. b. 9.

Lettou and Machlinia.

- A Sir THOMAS LITTLETON, *Tenures*. [Norman-French]. 508, f. 1
- B An abridgement of the Statutes, with title or printer's name, &c. [Norman-French.] (1) C. 12. i. 10. (2) 505. g. 1.

William de Machlinia.

- A I. Sir THOMAS LITTLETON, *Tenures*. [Norman-French.] 508. f. 2.
 A III. Year Book, 34 Hen. VI. 14. [Norman-French.] C. 11. b. 10.
 A II. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *On the secrets of Nature*. [Latin.] (1) C. 31. c. 25. 21 546. b. 6.
 A III. JOHN WATTON, 'Speculum Kristiani,' *The Mirror of a Christian*. [Latin and English.] C. 11. a. 28.
 B I. Year Book, 33 Hen. VI. [Norman-French.] 505. g. 1.
 B I. Year Book, 35 Hen. VI. [Norman-French.] 505. g. 1.
 B I. Year Book, 36 Hen. VI. [Norman-French.] 505. g. 1.
 B II. A book, without title, known as 'Nova Statuta,' *The New Statutes*. [Norman-French.] C. 11. c. 13.
 B II. *The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham*. [English.] C. 21.
 B III. *A passing gode lityll boke necessarye and behouefull agenst the Pestilence*, translated from the Latin of Reginam *contra epidiniam sive pestam*, written by Canutus, Bishop of Aarhus in Jutland.
 B III. A Chronicle of England. [English.] *Gren. Coll.* 5991.

3. The first book ever printed in London, was printed by John Lettou. It was the above Penketh's edition of Andreas' *Questions in Aristotle's Metaphysics*: a work first printed at Naples in 1475.

The Rev. Dr. Cotton tells us:

If we consider Westminster as a distinct city from London, the latter can only claim the third, or perhaps fourth place in order of time among the English towns into which the art of printing was introduced: a press being certainly at work in Oxford in the year 1478, and one at St. Alban's in 1480. No book executed at London is found bearing an earlier date than this last-mentioned year; the first known specimen being, *Antonii Andree questiones super xii. libros metaphysices*, printed by John Lettou, in 1480. Lettou was probably a foreigner, and he is only known to have printed two books in 1480 and 1481 before he joined with Wm. Machlinia, who is also supposed to have been a foreigner from Germany or the Low Countries. Machlinia probably continued his occupation for some years, yet comparatively few of his books have come down to our times; and of these not one single volume bears a date.—*Typographical Gazetteer*, p. 148, Ed. 1831.

But two copies of Andreas' *Questiones* are known. The above one in the Grenville Collection, and another at Magdalen College, Oxford. The two volumes printed by Lettou were both published at the expense of Thomas Wilcock. They are printed in double columns, and have blank spaces left for the initial letters to be filled by hand, as is the case of most of the above works. The colophons expanded of Lettou's two works, run thus:

A. Andreas' *Questiones*.

¶ Excellentissimi sacre theologiæ professoris Anthonii Andree ordinis fratrum minorum super duodecimo libros Methaphiscae questionibus per uenerabilem uirum magistrum Thoman Penketh ordinis fratrum Augustinen-sium emendatis finis impositus est per me Iohannem lettou ad expensas Wilhelmi Wilcock impressis. Anno xristi M.CCCC.lxxx.

J. Perez de Valentia's bulky work, usually known as *Expositiones super Psalterium*.

¶ Explicunt Reuerendissimi doctoris Valencii super psalterium hucusque expoues Impresse in ciuitate Londoniensi ad expensas Wilhelmi Wilcock per me Iohannem lettou. Anno xristi M.CCCC.lxxxi.

Aristotle and David, Intellect and Piety: a fit beginning for the prodigious literature that has been, that is, that yet will spring into existence in London.

4. Sir Thomas Littleton died on 23rd August 1481. It was probably after his death that Lettou and Machlinia, our first Law printers, joined together to print what is probably the first edition of his *Tenures*. The colophon of this book runs thus :

Expliciunt Tenores nouelli Impresse per nos tohem lettou et Willem de machlinia in Ciuitate Londoniarum iuxta excelsiam omnium sanctorum. [There were eight churches in London, dedicated to the honour of *All Saints*, commonly written *Alhallows*. Near which *Alhallowes* cannot therefore be now known.]

There is another work, known as the *Vieux Abridgement des Statutes* which is also attributed to their joint-effort, but it bears no date nor name of printer, place, &c.

5. The works, known and suppositious, of William de Machlinia are more numerous. He appears to have lived either in Holborn or near the Fleet Bridge.

Another of the earliest editions of Littleton's *Tenures* has this colophon.

Expliciunt Tenores nouelli Impressi
per me Wilhelmum de machlinia in opulen-
tissima Ciuitate Londoniarum iuxta pontem
qui vulgariter dicitur Flete brigge

The Year Book 34 Hen. VI., has this short colophon.

Emprente par moy William Maclyn en Holborn.

The edition of Albertus Magnus *Liber aggregationis ; seu liber secretorum*, &c., has this colophon.

Albertus Magnus de Secretis naturæ Explicit
Necnon per me Withelmum de mechlinia Impressus In
opulentissima Ciuitate Londoniarum iuxta pontem qui
vulgariter dicitur Flete brigge.

But the most interesting of all the acknowledged productions of Machlinia, and the one which has the closest affinity to the present work, is a book which begins *Incipit liber qui vocatur Speculum Xristiani*. It is a devotional work, and consists of three parts.

(1.) The *Speculum Xristiani* is composed of short quotations chiefly in Latin, from the Scriptures and the Fathers, interspersed with original, though rude English verse in illustration of the teaching. It is divided into eight 'tables' or 'chapters': whereof the first treats of the Catholic faith and the articles of belief: the second of the ten precepts of the Decalogue and the two of the Gospel: the third of the seven works of mercy, the seven works of the spirit, the seven principal virtues: the fourth of the seven cardinal sins, and the like. The following—to be found in the seventh table—is a good specimen of the verse, which otherwise is interesting from its very early position in English printed Poetry.

Ensample we may see and here
Of Iherusalem that was so riche a cite:
Of it openly spekys Ieremye
And also dauid in hys prophecye
How it was destroyed withouten wene
And the walles beten down all be dene

Wallid it was with wallys thre
 A semely sight on to see
 The temple brent ful dully
 And beten down hit was holly

So riche a temple hit was one
 In this worlde was funden none
 With walles and pylers here onlyght
 Hyled with golde that schone ful bright

So many lampes ther in brent ay
 Hit made the night bright as the daye
 Their oyle was medled with swete oynement
 Out of whiche swete sauour sprent

Thair sence was wonderly wrought
 With riche spices that they dere bought
 Ther of come swete smellyng
 Sweter felt neuer man here lyuyng
 Ther is now nether Emperour ne kyng
 That night mayntene suche sensyng

Ther were thre hondred there in syngand
 Suche songe herde neuer man in this londe
 With harpe and pipe and sawtrie
 And all other maner of mynstraleye
 And this was all their synging
 The psalmes that made Dauid the kyng

And why this Cite destroied was
 Fals and coueitous men grete cheson was
 That euer brent in coueitise more and more
 Vt we doo so aught to drede full sore
 Last vs befalle as thaim befelle
 Al wise clerkys thys tale can telle

And yet this fyre brennes so bate
 That no man may it slewke and bate
 And ther of comes so grete a smoke
 That men may not vp to heuen loke

For wher may we now many fynde
 That they not other bleereyed or all blynde
 Or ellys a perse in their eye
 Thof they in state or ordre be right heye
 Who so might conuert blynde and bleryeye
 And make them to goddys bydding obedient be
 God wolde forgyf him al his synne
 And graunt hym blisse that neuer schal blinne

But I am nought so grete a clerke
 For to do so strong a werke
 Therefore me and all mankynde
 Into the mercy of god I recomende

(2.) The second part of the *Speculum Christiani* mainly consists of an Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. It has the following title.

Sequitur expositio oracionis dominicæ cum quodam bono notabili et septem capitalia vicia cum aliquibus ramis eorum.

(3.) The third part consists of the Admonitions of the blessed Isidore: and has this title.

Sequuntur monita de verbis beati ysidori extracta ad instruendum hominem qualiter vicia valeat evitare et in bonis se debeat informare.

At the close of the whole, comes the following colophon.

Iste Libellus impressus est in opulentissima Ciuitate Londoniarum per me Willelmum de Machlinia ad instanciam necnon expensas Henrici Vrankenburgh mercatoris.

As Thomas Wilcock paid the expenses of Lettou's two books : the picty of the merchant Henry Urankenberg furnished Machlinia with the means for the production of the *Speculum Axiifiani*.

6. A typographical matter now meets us : and it is important, because it is the bridge between the known and the supposed works of Machlinia. Mr. Dibdin gives us this opinion of Machlinia as a printer.

Machlinia unquestionably printed with at least three different casts of letters; of which the more elegant specimens are those of the *Speculum Axiiani*, and *Albertus Magnus* 'De Secretis Mulierum.' Machlinia is always superior to Lettou, and some attempt at proportion and beauty may be seen in his register, or press work; but he is not only far beneath Wynkyn de Worde in every point of good printing, but is frequently below Caxton; whose broad and bold types seem not to have suited his meagre taste. His paper is not generally so good as that of his contemporaries; but in the subsequently mentioned work of 'Albertus Magnus,' and in the 'Nova Statuta' he has shewn himself not indifferent to the niceties and beauty of his art. The paper is excellent, the margin broad, and the register exact.—*Typ. Ant.* ii. 9. *Ed.* 1812.

In the above list, an attempt has been made to classify Machlinia's books, according to the founts of type used in them. The law-books group under I. The *Albertus Magnus*, the *Nova Statuta*, and *The Monk of Evesham*, form group II.: while the third group is composed of the *Speculum Axiifiani*, *Chronicle of England*, and *Lityll boke agensf the Plague, &c.* The three groups are sharp and distinct from each other, and consistent within.

Mr. Dibdin observes with reference to the present work :

This extraordinary performance, which is bound up with a copy of Caxton's *Order of Chivalry*, in the British Museum, is printed with types of the same character as those of the *Nova Statuta*; but more rudely executed. The book has no indication whatever of place, or printer's name; nor has it numerals, catchwords, or signatures. It contains 65 leaves; and in chapters xvi, xvii, some leaves have been pasted over others, containing different matter from the cancelled leaves. This appears, on slightly separating the one from the other. I believe the Museum copy, which was formerly in the library of Henry VII., to be unique.—*Idem*, p. 27.

To this may be added a peculiarity in the letter in which this book is printed. It has one letter grafted upon another, as *de* and *ho*: together forming one letter. The foundry of this type is unknown. It probably came from beyond the seas. Altogether the opinion of typographical experts is conclusive and final, that William de Machlinia printed *The Monk of Evesham*. Probably therefore the approximate date of its appearance in print may be fixed at about 1482.

7. The Narrative itself is very much older: though we cannot tell by how many years. It was probably not written earlier than its ostensible date; 1196 A.D. By whom is unknown. Neither am I aware of its present existence in MS. An abridgement of it however is found in Roger de Wendover's *Flowers of History*,¹ under the year 1196.

¹ *ii.* 148-164. *Ed.* 1849.

Roger de Wendover, in Buckinghamshire, was a Monk of St. Albans, who died on 6 May 1237. His *Flowers of History* is a compilation down to the year 1235, and is, for the period of the Author's lifetime, a piece of contemporary and original history. There seems therefore no escape from the belief that the ostensible date of the *Revelation* is the true date of its composition: and with this opinion there is no internal inconsistency in the work itself. Therefore 'the king of Ingland' with his forgetful sons, with his 'auowtrie,' and undue taxation would be Henry II.

But however precise and particular the information may be as to the invisible condition of things; there is generally a studied absence of all indications of place or individuals in this world. It would be hard perhaps to separate the Author's self-delusion from his illuding of others, or to fix the exact proportion of fact to fiction in the whole Narrative. But there is no doubt that, despite the disclaimer 'this vision, not to be of man's conceit,' that it is a Middle Age work of Religious Fiction. And this too, more as an individual speculation than as an authoritative dogma: for the doctrine of Purgatory was not finally sanctioned until the Council of Florence, in 1438.¹

This impression is further confirmed by inconsistencies as to the Narrator. Sometimes he is one of the Priors of the Monastery.² at other times, it is the Ecstatic himself;³ who writes the *Revelation*, adding thereunto circumstances that occurred after his recovery from his trance.⁴ This confusion in construction while it tells in the narration of the immediate story in hand, tends to prove the fictional character of the Work. The *Revelation* itself is the product of a strong mind, and is—the age, knowledge, and circumstances taken into account—a piece of remarkable invention as regards the ordering of the unseen World: and of righteous Judgment and fearless Denunciation of the sins and wrongdoings of the present State.

The Author was probably an Englishman, and wrote 'in thys gronde of inglonde,'⁵ using the English of his time. The orthography and punctuation may have somewhat suffered at the hands of subsequent scribes or the foreign printer, until they certainly now form a villainous text: but the inditement is worthy of even so great a subject. It is rapid, clear, unhesitating, unhalting: except where all expression fails, when stretched out towards the expression of the immeasurable. Yet even then, immensity, whether of space or number, of woe or happiness, is not inadequately foreshadowed. There is great craft and subtlety in producing *vraisemblance*—despite inconsistent narration—by innumerable graphic touches, circumstantial details, and natural dialogues: all tending to give a sense of strong reality to things to us impalpable and invisible. In this clear conception helping a

¹ S. Edgar, *The Variations of Poetry*, ii. 453. Ed. 1838.

² ff. 15, 19, 20, 26, 28, 111.

³ ff. 39, 46, 76, 82, 98, 99, 111.

⁴ ff. 54, 70, 71.

⁵ p. 70.

direct and apt expression we trace one part of the Author's mental power.

8. We have in this Book, a Story as distinct from a Revelation. The Story is laid in the monastic circle at Evesham Abbey. The Revelation tells us of a Journey. It is the pilgrimage of the Soul from Death through Purgatory and Paradise to Heaven.

9. Purgatory has no existence. It is an elaborated lie. Scripture teaches unmistakably the instantaneous translation of the Soul of Man from the Body into the presence of the Saviour in Heaven, 'Absent from the body, present with the Lord.'

It is in the craving to lift up the veil which God in His merciful Providence has put between us and our future life in the invisible world, in this seeking to become wise, 'above that which is written,' 'in which,' to use the language of this *Revelation*, 'the feeble ignorance of good people oftentimes offendeth,' that these good men of old elaborated out of their own humanity, from their own consciousness of bodily sensation, that same Theory of bodily Agony, in a state into which our mortal bodies *can not* enter, which is a distinctive characteristic of nearly all idolatry and false religions; and the utter absence of which in the Old and New Testaments is an inverse proof of their Truth and Divine Authorship.

For instance, what difference is there in detail between the representation of a Buddhist hell, as for example that depicted in the Joss-house of Tinghai, in the island of Chusan; and that of Purgatory in this old English Monk's conceptions of what might be beyond the grave.

The kings of hell sit in judgment like Chinese mandarins. The executioners are braying the victims in mortars, boiling them in furnaces, skinning them with knives, throwing them to tigers, squeezing them between boards, cutting them up and hanging the bits on hooks, beating them with mallets, tormenting them with hot irons, all represented in coloured plaster groups with a horrible fidelity of detail, and with an ingenuity of conception as to the instruments employed, which would argue that the Buddhist priests are no contemptible mechanics, and that it is well for the barbarians they are not employed in the invention of warlike *tormentaria*. *G. W. Cooke, 'The Times' Special Correspondent in China in 1857-58. p. 138. Ed. 1858.*

10. We must however try and occupy the standpoint of the Author. With a patient, an elastic faith; we must accept, for the nonce, as currently believed truths; the existence of Purgatory, the advocacy and consequent worship of saints, the continuance of miracles, the occurrence of visions, and the like. Further, we must look out on society as the Author did. What a picture of national declension in spiritual life has he put into the mouth of St. Nicholas.

Knowest this monk that thou seest; he served and pleased God full well in his life with great cleanness of heart and chastity of body; and much evil the which should have been done in the place where he was, he letted and was against it. For he was fervent in zeal of righteousness, and hating evil of heart, wherefore many reproofs oftentimes patiently he suffered for the

defence and honesty of his religion, and specially of them which wear the habit of religion upon them, for that intent that they might destroy the virtuous living and conversation of religion, full busily serving not their spirit but the wretchedness of their flesh and the world, in the monasteries of spiritual and ghostly living. And alas! for sorrow, for now by such persons the special worship and honour that Holy Church was of before, is almost brought to nought, while the multitude of carnal and worldly men increase above number, whom the fewness of spiritual men suffering, choosing rather to dissemble and not to know their evil, and so to rest themselves, than by their blaming and resisting, [to] stir and move against them the wrath and troublous hastiness of such evil-disposed persons. And though they so do, yet they cannot be sure from the spies and frauds of them. And as sometime Ishmael, that was born carnally, pursued Isaac, that was born spiritually, that is to say, by a spiritual promise of Almighty God, likewise it is now. For carnal folk be full grievous to spiritual people, because they cannot pervert them to their forwardness; also many there be that greatly it is to sorrow the which in their living began spiritually, but by process of time either they be overcome by unstableness or else be deceived by simpleness, and also they fall down from their purpose and beginning into the miserable and wretched corruption and slothfulness of this world, enticed and drawn by the examples and counsels of evil-disposed persons. Truly, these great hurts of religious living, the which before in the time of fathers, full nobly flowered and shone as a heavenly light, full greatly beholdeth the prelates of Holy Church in these days, that knowing this and despising it, insomuch that they understood not themselves, that it is so with them. They knew verily what thing they be come to, but they [know not] what thing they should have come to, because that they be come to the lust and pleasure of this world, but they should have come to the following of Christ's poverty, and to the cark and diligent keeping of their cure, that is, the people of God committed to them. And therefore that they seek and that they care. For that they be come to and that they have. The people of God they feed not but destroy, and them, peradventure, that they have turned from righteousness they slay spiritually and lose, for their conforming to them not shewing themselves fathers and pastors, but wolves and thieves. Truly the promoting of such persons, kings, and bishops, and other great men, procure and gete, and their subjects full much look thereafter, not being rectors and fathers, but pervertors and destroyers of their souls, the which thinking that all thing that is under them that liketh is lawful, [is] why by the righteous judgment of God be realms troubled and churches confounded, and the state of earthly folk utterly subverted. And for such demeaning they be accursed of God, the which should be devout and meek intercessors to God, both for them that be alive, and for them that be dead, by whose merits and prayers, specially the welfare of all Christendom might be preserved and increased, and all evil far put away from the people of God.¹

So that to the Author, brooding over this—it may also have been in like continual pain to his ‘young man . . . a Monk’—animated with a fervent piety and deep spiritual aspirations: that to him, “a thought fell into my mind that I should pray our Lord God that he would vouchsafe to reveale and show to me in some manner of wise, the state of the world that is to come and the condition of the souls that be past their bodies after this life; and then this openly known, I might the better vnderstand, what within short space as I supposed were to be dread and what I might hope after when I should pass from this world to that world: and so by this to establish myself in the dread and love of God as long as I should live in this doubtful life.”²

Thus the *Revelation*—with probably some of the self-illusion common to enthusiasts—is written in good faith on the Author's

¹ p. 89.

² p. 29.

part, in order that by the terrors of the Purgatorial Journey, men might be awed into well-doing.

11. From the explanation of such words, as 'fermorye,'¹ 'col-loke,'² and 'fygytyuys,'³ it would appear that the work was specially intended, not so much for the religious persons, as the laity at large.

12. It is such a book as John Bunyan might have written, had he lived five centuries earlier, and been, as probably he would have become, a Monk. Only, that the Author intended no such pleasant allegory, setting forth the progress of Christian life : but the making manifest of those unfailing realities, of that inevitable doom that was coming upon all, except the irretrievably lost.

13. There is a three-fold thread in this *Gesta Purgatoris*. The natural story of the Ecstatic ; the omniscient history of the Characters, much after the manner of the *Gesta Romanorum* ; and the supernatural Construction of the invisible world on this side of Heaven, the peculiar product of the Author.

The unweaving of these three strands is not possible within our present limits.

(1.) The Trance of the sick Novice is told with great vividness and circumstantiality.

(2.) The even-handed justice among the Characters is most notable. It feathes all, but not alike, from the king of England seated on horseback in burning armour 'as it were as bright iron is when it is beaten with hammers and smiteth out fiery sparkles'⁴ for the unrightful shedding of mens blood and for adultery, and is further upbraided by devils 'because he would be avenged on men that slew his venery, as hart and hind, buck and doe, and such other, which by the law of kind ought to be slain to every man, and therefore some of them he put to death or else cruelly would maim them : ' down to the poor man's wife whom 'gladly I beheld there in light pains.'⁵

Again, what courage has the Author, when remarking upon the few priests he saw in Purgatory, he adds "Truly then I thought to myself that full few priests were there found, of the great number that is of them in all the world that had deserved pains after their death, for breaking their chastity. And to this it was so answered . . . 'Wherefore it is no doubt that the great multitude of them be utterly damned.'⁶ In like manner : through all degrees of the Hierarchy. Those who flourished in prosperitie in the Spirituality 'being grieved in a more special bitterness of pains above other.'⁷

(3.) What then is the plan of this minor English Dante ?

The construction of this Purgatory is circular and on a plain. Heaven is conceived as the Centre, surrounded like rings, by 'fields' of pleasure or pain. The vast Circumference is the Death point in Human Life. So the Soul is represented as going

¹ p. 25.

² p. 28.

³ p. 84.

⁴ p. 85.

⁵ p. 72.

⁶ p. 82.

⁷ p. 38.

inward and yet more inward, as it were along a radius,—across the three ‘fields’ of Pains, then the ‘field’ of Paradise to the gate of Heaven. The Narration sometimes looks backward: but the Characters described as met with, will be seen under each Place of Pains, on p. 2.

The principle of Purgatory is thus given:

Full seldom it is in these days in which almost all conditions of all men [are] gone out of kind, for the pure simplicity and innocentness of the very Church of God, that any man living in this life keepeth or recovereth fully the equity and purity of the holy Gospell, the which till a man fulfill he may not dwell in heavenly places, neither shall rest in the Mount and Hill of Paradise of joy and bliss. Wherefore whatsoever thing of sin and uncleanness, contrary to equity and righteousness, cleaveth and resteth on the Souls that pass hence out of this world it shall be purged in another world and so by their penance the way and path of a joyful resting shall be showed to them that be purged and cleansed and so then in places of rest, the entering of heaven and everlasting bliss full largely shall be opened to those souls for the perfect desire that they shall have there to see God.

Soothly this only must be taken of those sins which by their light quality or else by confession and satisfaction done for them be granted of God to be changed and counted among venial sins. For as touching those sins that be deadly and were not in this world by the remedy of confession and penance made light and venial, it is without doubt that a man shall be so presented in his judgement in the world that is to come as he is found in his living when he passeth out of this world.¹

The Progreffion of Purgatory is represented on this wise.

Furthermore this general condition of all folk that die I knew there openly. That all people the which be ordained to perceive rest and bliss before the day of doom had evermore from the first hour of their death their pains less and less: but if it were so, that any of them had left to other that had lived after, by evil example, occasion of sin the which righteously they might know it, them that did so before, and while they did no satisfaction to God for it before their death, whereby such occasion of sinning left to other should have been forgiven them: also they that grievously offended by the which they deserved everlasting damnation:—began to go from full bitter pains to worse; and so by succeeding of their pains dayly, their torments busily increasing, that every day following is more grievous to them than was the day before.²

This however is varied in individual cases, by the presence or absence of hope.

Soothly there is no thing so grievous to them that be in pains as the uncertainty of their deliverance and also there is no thing that so much asswageth the pains and sorrows of others, as doth a very hope and faithful trust, the which they knew, and have by our Lord's mercy to be delivered.³

From the Darknefs, the Horror, and the Agony we gladly turn towards Paradise. It is our Author's counterpart to Bunyan's ‘Land of Beulah.’ In his rapturous welcome of it, no less than the absence of any sympathy on his part with the Suffering he had witnessed, we trace the true piety of the Author. A man to whom ‘the melody of Singing Lauds to God’ amid the ‘Mansions of the Blessed’ was inestimably joyous, was himself ‘not far from the Kingdom of Heaven.’ Whatever criticism we may bestow upon the conception and execution of the *Revelation*: we cannot but believe the Author to have been a spiritual-minded Man, doing what, in that dark Age, he thought to be a Christian work.

The transition is gradual.

And as we went farther, there began to appear a little and a little, more

¹ p. 72.

² p. 70.

³ p. 73.

and more, a full faire light unto us, and withal break out a full pleasant sweet savour. And anon after we came to a field the which was full of all manner of fair and pleasant flowers that gave to us an incredible and inestimable comfort of joy and pleasure. Soothly in this field we saw and found infinite thousands of Souls full jocund and merry in a full sweet rest after their penance and after their purgation. And them that we found first in the beginning of that field . . . were not very bright neither well shining. Notwithstanding they had no spot of blackness or any uncleanness on them as it seemed, save this, as I said before, they were not very bright shining white.¹

And as we went more inward and farther into that joyful place of paradise we had evermore a clear light and felt a sweeter savour and those that we found and saw there were whiter and more glad than were other that we saw before. And whereto should I tary here now to number those persons and their merits whom I saw there; that I knew sometime before in the world, and those also that I knew not before. For all that were there in that place, were ordained to be the citizens of the high and everlasting Jerusalem; and all had past the strife and battle of this world, and were victors of devils; and so lightly they went through all pains, as they were less cumbered and held by wretched living and worldly vices.²

Then comes the most striking Vision of our Lord's Passion. After which the Journey continues.

Truly I followed evermore my duke and leadsman Saint Nicholas, that went forth farther and farther, repleated now with great joy among the full bright and light mansions of blessed souls. And the whiteness of them that were here in this place and the sweatness of savour and also the melody of singing lauds to God were inestimable and scarcely to man's understanding credible.³

At last, the Gate of Heaven comes in sight.

At the last we saw afar a full glorious wall of Crystal whose height no man might see and length no man might consider. And when we came thither I saw withinforth a full fair bright shining gate and [it] stood open, save [that] it was signed and laid over with a Cross. Truly thither came flockmell the multitude of those blessed souls that were next to it, and would come in at that fair gate. The Cross was set in the midst of that gate and now it was lift up on high and so gave to them that came thither an open and a free entring and so shut other out that would have come in. . . . But what brightness and clearness of light was there withinforth all about let no man ask nor seek of me for I cannot only not tell it by word but also I cannot remember it in mind. . . . And withinforth nothing I might see but light and the wall of Crystal through which we came. And also from the ground up to the top of that wall were steps ordered and disposed fair and marvellously, by which the joyful company that was come in at the foresaid gate gladly ascended up. At the last as I looked up higher I saw in a Throne of Joy sitting our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in likeness of a man. And about him as it seemed to me were a five hundred souls which late had stied up to that glorious Throne, and so they came to our Lord and worshipped him and thanked him, for his great mercy and grace showed and done to them.

And some were seen on the upper parts of the wall as they had walked hither and thither.⁴

That was all he saw. He knows it was not the 'high heavens of heavens.' It was but the Gate of Heaven. It filled him with ineffable joy. But the time of his return had come. St. Nicholas turns him back, saying "Now thou must go again to thyself and to thine, and to the world's fighting. Truly thou shalt have and perceive the joys that thou hast seen and much more; if thou continue and prefevere in the dread of God.' And when he had said this to me he brought me forth through the same gate that we came in, wherefore full heavy and forry was I and more than a man may suppoze, for well I knew that I must

¹ p. 98.

² p. 104.

³ p. 106.

⁴ pp. 107, 108.

turn again, from that heavenly Bliss to this world's wretchedness."¹

14. We have now a touch, which rivals even Bunyan's famous look through the gates of the Celestial City.

The Monk, sad to the heart, is without the Gate, with his back upon it and the Crystall Wall. "And while the Holy Confessor Saint Nicholas on this wise spake yet with me : suddenly I heard there a solemn Peal and a ringing of a marvelous sweetness, and as all the bells in the world or whatsoever is of sounding had been rung together at once. Truly in this peal and ringing break out also a marvellous sweetness ; a variant meddling of melody founded withall. And I wot not whether the greatness of melody, or the sweetness of the founding of bells were more to be wondered [at]. And to so great a noise I took good heed and full greatly my mind was suspended to hear it. Soothly anon as that great and marvelous sounding and noise was ceased ; suddenly I saw myself departed from the sweet fellowship of my duke and leader Saint Nicholas. Then was I returned to myself again."²

That Solemn Peal and marvellously Sweet ringing of the Bells ringing in the Easter morn of Heaven, so graphically described that we seem to hear them, is a crowning invention in the Vision.

15. Thus imperfectly we have introduced the Reader to the unique printed book and to its contents. A full analysis of the text we must leave to others : merely suggesting *inter alia*, we were going to say, its comparative Mythology : at all events its comparison with other works in the cycle of Purgatorial literature. As but to mention but a few. The visit to Purgatory of DRITHHELM in 696 as recorded by Bede,³ or according to Roger de Wendover, DRICHTHELM in 699 :⁴ of the Emperor CHARLES⁵ in 885 : of the Knight OWEN who visited the purgatory of St. Patrick in 1153 :⁶ of TURCHILL the labourer 'of Tunsted in the bishopric of London' in 1206.⁷ With these to compare *The Visions of Tundale*,⁸ and Robert de Brune's *Handlyng Synne* :⁹ and the like.

We, for our part, have had good hap ; if we have shown, that beneath an uncouth text there is a direct diction and power both of Mind and Soul : that there is much that is true but simply distorted ; with much that is ludicrous and purely false : and that in all, undeniably, the best of motives and aspirations. With the infinitely greater advantages of the present day : how many of us would be inferior, man for man, to that unknown Monk, who, seven centuries ago, dreamt or imagined that he saw 'A marvellous Revelation shewed by Almighty God' ; and wrote it down for the instruction, warning, and comfort of his fellow-Englishmen.

¹ *p.* 109.

² *p.* 110.

⁷ *Idem. ii.* 221-235.

³ *Eccles. Hist. Bk. v. c. 12. pp.*

253-8. *Ed.* 1847.

⁴ *Flowers of History, i.* 120-124.

Ed. 1849.

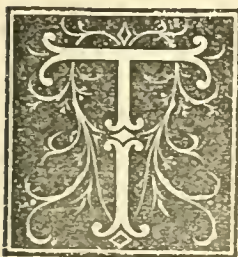
⁵ *Idem. i.* 217.

⁶ *Idem. ii.* 510-521.

⁸ *Ed.* by W. B. D. D. Turnbull. Edinburgh 1843.

⁹ *Ed.* by F. J. Furnival, M.A. London 1862.

¶ The prologe of this reuelacion.



He reuelacion that foloweth here in this boke trectyth how a certeyn deuowt person the wiche was a monke in the abbey of Euiſhamme was rapte in ſpirite by the wille of god and ladde by the hand of ſeint Nycholas the ſpace of. ii. days and. ii. nyghtes to ſee and knowe the peynys of purgatorye and the iowys of paradyſe and in what ſtate the ſowlis ware that ware in purgatorye and alſo in paradyſe. Sothly in bothe this placis he ſawe and knewe many perſons bothe men and women the whiche he knewe welle before when they lyuyd in thys world and ſpake with hem there mowthe to mowith in bothe the placys as he ſounde hem as hit folowth wele aſtir in this boke. This reuelacion was not ſhewed to hym only for hym butte alſo for the confort and profetyng of all criſtyn pepulle that none man ſhuld dowte or myſtruſte of anothis life and world the whiche euery man and woman moſte go to and lyke as they deſerue here in this world by here lyuyng ſo there to be rewardyd. And as for the trowthe of this reuelacyon no man nother woman ought to dowte in any wiſe. for and a man wele rede and vnderſtonde the begynnyng with the ending he ſhalle ſo largely ſee hit approuyd in grete myracles by almyghty god ſhewyd vnto the ſame perſon that ſame tyme that alle reſons and mocions of infydelite the whiche riſith often tymes of manns ſenſualite ſhalle vtwardly be excludyd and quenched and gretely ſhalle cauſe alle cryſten pepulle that herith hit to drede god and loue hym and alſo to preyſe

hym in hys werkys. for seche anothir reuelacion and so opyn y trowe was neuer shewid in this lond ne in no nothir that we rede of.

¶ Here endyth this prologge.

¶ Here begynne the chapitres of this reuelacyon.

¶ Howe this monke fyl in to a fore and greuys sekene and gaue hym to confession and prayur and compunccon of teeris—————Chapitur I [p. 19]

¶ Howe he laye also prostrate in the chaptur howse as though he had ben dedde—————ij [p. 21]

¶ Howe the fegure of oure lordys crosse that he worshippte was sonde blody—————iii [p. 22]

¶ How he was comme ageyne to him selfe iiii [p. 23]

¶ Howe he fought astyr hys flasse and his shewys and how deuoutly he worshippte the crosse————v [p. 24]

¶ Howe he told to a brother that he louyd wele a part of seche thynges as he had feyne————vi [p. 26]

¶ Howe he was desired of his bretheren to ete sumwhat astyr so longe a faste—————vii [p. 27]

¶ Howe he told to ii of his confessours a part of thoes thynges that he had feyne—————viii [p. 28]

¶ what was his peticion specially and howe a certeyn person apperyth to hym—————ix [p. 28]

¶ Howe he was warnyd in his slepe to worshippe the crosse of owre lorde—————x [p. 30]

¶ How the same crosse bledd don to hym at the ryght fyde and at the right foote and of the. ij. lyghtys—————xi [p. 31]

¶ Howe he came yn to chaptur howse and toke dysciplinys and how he was rapte—————xii [p. 32]

¶ how he felte hym selfe here rapte fyrst—xiiij [p. 33]

¶ how he folowd hys leder sent Nycholas when he was rapte—————xiiij [p. 35]

¶ how sent Nycholas broughte hym to the fyrste place of purgatorie—————xv [p. 36]

¶ Of the grete diuerfite of peynys yat he saw—xvi [p. 39]

- ¶ Of the secunde place of peynys in purgatory—xvij [p. 40]
- ¶ How sent Margaret delyuerd a fowle of a synfulle woman fro the deuyllys—xviij [p. 42]
- ¶ Of a goldefmyth that was fauyd by sent Nycholas—xix [p. 46]
- ¶ How thys monke know there fyrst that sent nycholas was hys leder—xx [p. 48]
- ¶ How the same goldefsmith tolde the monke in purgatorye how he dyde fodenly and was fauyd xxi [p. 48]
- ¶ How the goldefmyth tolde the monke a remedye agenst foden deth—xxij [p. 51]
- ¶ How the sone of this goldefmyth tolde the monke aftyr he was comme to hym selfe ageyne that hys fadyr had apperyd. iii. to hys moder aftyr hys deth—xxiij [p. 54]
- ¶ Of the thirde place of peynys in purgatorie.—xxiiii [p. 56]
- ¶ Of the fowle vyce and synne of fodemytis—xxv [p. 58]
- ¶ Of a doctour alaw that was a fodemyte xxvj [p. 60]
- ¶ Of thoes persons that this monke sawe and spake within the first place of peynys and first with a prior—xxvii [p. 65]
- ¶ Of an ances that he sawe and knewe in the same place—xxviii [p. 69]
- ¶ Of a certen bisschoppe there also—xxix [p. 70]
- ¶ Of a certen woman a pore mannys wyf—xxx [p. 71]
- ¶ Of relygyous men what peynys they soffryd for dyuers certen sawtys—xxxi [p. 73]
- ¶ Of a certen knight that brake a vowe—xxxii [p. 74]
- ¶ Of a nothir knight—xxxiii [p. 75]
- ¶ Of thoes persons that he sawe in the ii placys of peynys—xxxiiij [p. 76]
- ¶ Of thre bysshoppis that were there—xxxv [p. 77]
- ¶ Of an archbisschoppe of canturbery—xxxvi [p. 79]
- ¶ A certen descripcion that the monke made of dyuers kyndys of synful peple and of her peynys—xxxvii [p. 82]
- ¶ Of poyfynners that he sawe—xxxviii [p. 83]

¶ Of vserers also—————	xxxix	[p. 84]
¶ Of fugytyuys of relygyon————	xl	[p. 84]
¶ Of a certen kyng of Englonde————	xli	[p. 84]
¶ Of a b[i]sshoppe that was in peynys of purgatorie and yette god shewed for hym myracles in thys world—————	xlii	[p. 86]
¶ Of a certen abbot—————	xliii	[p. 87]
¶ Of an abbasse also—————	xliiii	[p. 91]
¶ Of two nonnys that were lepurs————	xlvi	[p. 92]
¶ Of a knight that offendyd in symonye————	xlvi	[p. 93]
¶ Of a monke a fextenne—————	xlvi	[p. 95]
¶ Of a clerke that leuyd holylye————	xlvi	[p. 97]
¶ Of paradyse and of the multitude of pepulle that he fownde there—————	xlix	[p. 98]
¶ Howe he fawe a certen abboth there————	l	[p. 99]
¶ Of a certen Priour that lyuyd deuoutely and dyde holylye—————	li	[p. 101]
¶ Of a certen yong monke of hys————	lii	[p. 103]
¶ Of a certen worshipful priste—————	liii	[p. 104]
¶ Howe owre lordys passion was representyd amonge the holy fowlys that ware in paradyse liiii	liiii	[p. 105]
¶ Of the entryng at the gate of paradyse and of the ioye that apperyd wythinforthe————	lv	[p. 107]
¶ Howe this monke came agayne throwe the gate of paradyse—————	lvi	[p. 109]
¶ Of the swete melodye of bellys that he herd in paradyse and how he came to him selfe ageyne—————	lvii	[p. 110]
¶ Approfe how this reuelacyon is of god and moſte nedys be trewe for the grete myraclys that god shewyd on hym that fame tyme————	lviii	[p. 111]

¶ **Explicit capitula.**

I Here begynneth a meruelous reuelacion that
was schewyd of almyghty god by sent Nicholas
to a monke of Eupshamne yn the days of kynge
Richard the fyrst And the pere of owre lord. M
C. Lxxxvi. **C** Ca primum.



IN a Monasterye callyd Euyffham
there was a certen yong man
turnyd wyth feythfull deuocyon fro
thys worldys vanyte to the lyfe of
a Monke the whiche abowte the
begynnyng of hys conuerfion fylle
yn to a grete and a greuys fekenes
and by the fpace of. xv. monthys
was fore labouryd with gret febulnes and wekenes of
body. Also hys stomake abhortyd fo gretly mete and
drynke that fume tyme by the fpace of. ix. days or more
he myght refceyue noo thyng but a lytyl warme watyr.
And what fume euer thyng of leche crafte or fesyke any
manne dedde to hym for hys conforte or hys amende-
ment noo thyng hym helpyd but al turnyd contrarye
Therefore he lay feke yn his bedde gretly destitute of
bodely strenght. fo that he myght not moue hym felfe
fro one place to anothyr butte by helpe of feruauntes.
Alsoo yn thre the lafte monethys of hys fekenefse he
was more forer dyfeafyd and feblyd than euer he was
before. Neuertheleffe than commyng on the fefte of
eſtur. fodenly he beganne fume what to amende yn hys
bodely myghtys and with hys ſtaffe walkyd aboute the
fermorye. Sothly on thes euyn of fecherethurſdaye in
the whiche nyght the office and feruice of owr lord
ihesu cryſte ys tradicion and paſſion was ſolenly ſonge
wyth grete deuocion. he wente wyth hys ſtaffe to the
chyrche wyth his bretheren the whiche by cauſe of
fekenefse reſted hem alſo with hym in the fermorie
were the couent nyghtly feruice and laudes offerd vppe

to our lord And there by the respecte of heuynly grace
 so grete conpuncion and swetenes he rescuyed that
 his holy deuocion excedyd mesure. Wherfore he
 myght not conteyne hym fro wepyng and laudyng god
 fro mydnyght tyl sex of the belle yn the mornyng.
 what for remembryng wyth worshippe and ioye the
 merceis of owre lord. the whiche had doon for man-
 kynde. And also remembryng wyth fore wepyng his
 offencys and synnys doon by fore tyme. And the
 hurte and the state of his present imperfeccion. And
 abowte sex the belle yn the mornyng he made to be
 called to hym. ii. of his bretheren one after a nothyr.
 whiche hadd powr to here confessions and gyue to
 penitentes absolucion and to them bothe made purely
 and holy as mekylle as he cowde his confession of al
 his synnys and of the lest offence of his religion or of the
 commawndementys of god and wyth grete contricion
 of herte and effusion of terys desired his absolucion
 and had hyt Than on of them askyd hym why he
 forowde and wepte so imoderately for al they had
 went yat he schulde fele hym selfe sone to passe owte
 of this worlde. Than he seyde he felte hym selfe no
 thyng so Sothly than he tolde to his brother yat dili-
 gently enquiryde this of hym and seyde Sir ye schal
 vnderstonde and know that thys laste night whenne we
 were to gedyr in chaptur howse. y rescuyyd so grete
 swetenesse of herte and gladnesse of fowle. that onne-
 this y myghte boolde or bere my selfe. He askyd also
 and hyt were by the relygion that the priours shuld
 geue that nyght to the bretheren dyscyplinys in hooly
 vesture and aubys. And whenne he herd hym en-
 quyre this he hadde wente that he had seyde hyt of
 grete febulnesse of his hedde. or by alyenacion of his
 mynde. the whiche perauenture he hadde falle in by
 his infirmyte and imoderate weping or fastyng howe
 be hit that he with hym had meruailous wisdom and
 discrecion al the tyme of his fekenesse. wherfore he
 commendyd hym to our lord no thing els enquiryng of
 hym and so went his weye The feke brother spendyd

al that daye in laudyng and presyng god And the next night folowing after he hadde slepte a lityll while rose vp of his bed And when the chaptur was ronge as the tyme requyred to calle the couent to matens. he went than to chirche as he did the daye before Sothely how he behauyd hym thenne in the chirche. and whan he went thens hit shalle be schewyd in his wordys foloyng

¶ Nowe he laye prostrate al his body in the chaptur hows as he had be dedde. ¶ Ca ii



ON the morow nexte foloyng that ys good fredaye whenne the couent rose to cum to chirche to seye prime. as they ede afore the chaptur hous they sawe the same feke brother lye prostrate and bare foote before the abbottis sete hois face was flate to the ground as though he shuld by the ordyr aske mercy of euery presydent. Than the bretheren seyng this meruelyd and rane thedir and willing to take hym vp. they founde hym as a man lyfeles without any mocyon of any membre of his body. Trewly his yes ware falle doun depe into his heed and tho yes and nose of him ware blody or as a manne had ouyr leyde hem with mekyl bloode. wherfore they feyde alle that he was dede. His feete ware ful coolde but in the remuande of his body was found a lytyl warmenes No mouing of his pypys might be knowen long tyme And at the last onnethis bit was perseyuyd in him a litill thynne breth and amouyng of his herte. Thenne they weshid his heedde breste handys and feete with colde watyr And than first they sawe al hys body a lityl to trenyl and quake. but anoon he fesyd and was insensybulle So long tyme they musyd and dowtyd what they might do to hym. whyle they sawe hym not verily dedde. nothyr any thing amending. At the last by confelle they had him to his bedde and there to be kepte with grete attendans of kepers.

¶ Of the bloody figure of the crosse.

¶ Ca iii



He mene whyle the bretheren merueled and wondred on suche a foden happe and beyng of the seke brother and more they wondrid. howe hyt happyd. and yn what wyse wythowte any helpe he myght comme thedyr to that place. where the couent was Sothely othyr thyngys that now foloyn the whyche y schal telle of. wythowte any comparfone ben more to be dred feryd and worshippte than any thyng aboue seyde. They herde anone astyr and that not wythowte grete meruelle. that the fygure of owre lordys body affyxed on a crosse whyche fygure and crosse. yerly ys wonte ful deuowtely to be kyssyd and worshippte of the couent yn remembrance of owre lordys passion was founde fresch bledyng and newe abowte the place of the grete wounde yn the ryght syde and also at the ryght foote. Trewly afore lente the sextense of the chyrche. had let done the same crosse to the grownd and so tyl good fredaye they hadd leste hyt betwyxe the auter and the walle. And for a more wondyr the staffe and schewys of the same seke brothyr ware sondyn by the same place Sothely than all the brethirne came to gedyr in to the chaptur hows gretly astonyd apon these thyngys that besylle. and auyfement takyn alle that were there wyth grete contricion of herte toke discyplynys of roddys and lyng prostrate yn the chyrche seyden wepyngly the .vii. salmys of penanse. for to gete owre lordys merceye. Trewly thys seke brother all yat daye whiche was gode freday with the nyght fologyng and the nexte day astyr all mooste tyl the sonne sette. contynewde yn one state. Also the bretheren wyth streng[t]h of handys opynde hys mowth and caste yn hyt iustys of dyuers spycys and herbis for hys releuyng. but anone after he wente owte ageyne. what somme euer was putte in to hys mowthe as though hys throte hadde ben stopped. Emplasters alsoo to his breste and armys

they bonde but alle was vayne. They prickyd with neldys and scrapyd the folys of hys fete. but no thyng myght be perceyuyd in hym of a lyuys manne. faue a lityll rednes of chekys and a litil warmenes of body. The colowre of hys face oftyn tymes was chaunged to ashis and ageyne meruaylously the colowre of hys face was reuyuyd and welle shewyd. Alsoo they made a grete horne to be blowyn there but no thyng hit botyd.

**¶ Howe he came ageyn to hym self on yestur
cun abowte complen tyme. Ca iiii**



THenne on the morowe that ys estur euyn and the same owre that the couent came to gedyr to the collacion and to complenne the briys of hys ye lyddys beganne firste a lytil to moue and so they femyd as they hadde ben sode in boylyng watyr. And atte last there came don fro hys yes on hys chekys a yelowe humour of watyr in manere of terys. Thanne they that were wyth hym feyng thys. called anone for the bretheren. supposyng that he shuld haue sone passed fro thys world. They sawe also a lytyl afore thys tyme hys lyppys a lytyl to moue with his chekys compressyd as he had resceyued or swelowde sum fwete thing fallyn in to hys mowth. And after that a flowyng owte of terys as hyt is feyd here before. Alsoo he was feyn often and many diuers tymys fykyng alow in his breste as a manne slepyng had wepte. And anone after as hit femyd he reuoluyd certeyn wordys benethe in hys throte butte he myght not speke them owte faue onely in a voyce onethys audybille and noo thyng intelligibille. Sothely thanne hys spyrite beganne a lytyll and a lytill to come ageyne and these wordys and voyce he first fownyd that might be vnderstond. *O sancta Maria O sancta Maria:* And agayne *O my lady sancta Maria O my lady sancta Maria* I shalle feye tho wordys as I herde theym noo thyng addyng therto *O* he feyde my

lady *Sancta Maria*. These wordes often tymys he reherfed. For what synne he seyde lese y soo grete ioye. And agayne he seyde my Lady *Sancta Maria*. wher thalle I recouere so grete ioye that y lese nowe. These thynges and many other often tymes he reherfed / yet as a man ware a slepe and hys thyes euer clofyd / the whiche I wote not of what grete ioye he forowde and wepte hym selfe departyd fro Sothely afterward sodenly lyke as a man had awaked fro a grete slepe. he lyfte vppe hys hed and fulbitterly beganne to wepe and with rennyng terys sorosully sobbyd as wepyng doth and ioynnyng his handys and syngers to gedur reyfid him self and fate vp Then he put downe his hed in his handys on his kneys And as he beganne afore ful lamentably to wayle and sorowe so sefyd not long tyme after Thanne one of his bretheren that was with hym askyd what causyd hym so sore to wepe and howe he felte hym selfe. Than he restid a litil while and at the laste softely seyde to hym wele wele and verely wele y was hedir to/ but now euyl and verely euyl y am and fele my selfe And ageyne more grettur he wepte and sorowd than he dyd bifore And by cause that hit ys ouer longe and also as impossible to remembre al thyng that he seyde than and how mekil he wepte we leue nowe and purpose to drawe shortly to gedir tho thingys whiches we herde hym telle of in gret contricion of herte and of mynde afterward that he was fully comme to hym selfe ageyne.

¶ Howe he sought after his shewis and how reuerently he worshipt the crosse.



Sothly amonge his lamentacions and syk- ynges that the had he asayde with gret strenght onys or twies or thries to opene his yes that were clofid and atte last they opened. Thanne he beganne with bothe his handys al aboute to feche after his staffe that he

leste in the chirce And whanne hyt kowd not be
 fownde he feyd. Sechith here owre stasse and take
 owr showys by the pillar and goe we ageyne in to the
 fermorye. A fermorye among religious men is called
 a place or an howse ordende to kepe feke bretheren.
 Thanne whanne hit was feyde of some of his bretheren.
 behoolde brother nowe and fee yow in the fermorye and
 fet in your bedde and loe yowre stasse and showys byn
 here redy. Thanne he feyd O howe came we hedyr
 and whanne. were not we ryght nowe in the chirche
 to gedyr at matens. Thanne his bretheren told hym
 that he had be there now ii dayes and to morowe wilbe
 estur daye And whanne he herd this. more grettyr he
 beganne to wepe and feyd. O shuld we not bretheren
 haue worshypte on good freday owre lordys croffe
 And yet we haue not in comonne worshipte hit
 Thenne whenne he herd of his bretheren. that owre
 lordys croffe was worshipte the day before. and he
 might not be cause of fekenes. he feyde to hem.
 Aftyr that I came into the chirche y felte no disese
 But y praye yow that y may go to worshipe the
 croffe. Thanne ther was brought to hym a croffe of
 feluyr the whiche reuerently he clyppyd to hym. and
 with coffis and terys watryd the fete of the croffe.
 and vnto the tedufnes of some stondyng by/ he
 thankyd owr lord and redemer and the fadyr and the
 holy gooste for innumerabulle benefetis. of the whyche
 he reherfyd mony synglerly. for hym selfe and vnyuer-
 sally for al holy chirche. and also for al degreys and con-
 dycyons of alle crystyn pepulle and more attente for
 hys enmyes. yef any there ware or for the enmyes of hys
 frendys he made meruailous prayers and obsecracyons.
 And as y suppose xxx tymes or more he inclynde hys
 hede doone to the fete of the croffe with terys and
 sobbyng that often tymes his voyce fefid of prayng
 Thoes wordys the whiche he made in his supplicacions
 ware so redy and prompte and also repletyd with grete
 reson and hyeneffe of witte that hit femydrathir he redde
 hem thanne feyde hem. Ho is sweete feyng steryd

mony than that herd hym to weping and deuocyon and euer while we remembre them causyn vs to haue a grete inwarde cumpnetyon. and also loue and deuocyon to our lord to our bretheren and to alle men And of the grete humylyte and goodnes of oure redemer. he put betwene certen grete thingis at euery synguler shorte prayer.

¶ Nowe he told to one of his bretheren that he louyd famlyarly suche thingys as he had seyn. C vi



He mene while as the tyme requyryd. hit range to the collacyon and the bretheren the whiche had brought to him the crosse went thense And thenne he seyde. Nowe y knowe veryly that this is the holy tyme of estur. And for what cause he seyde so. hit shalbe decaryd aftyward. Trewely than bode with hym a certeyn brother that louyd hym famlyarly in holy purpose of relygyon and mouyd hym sum what by a wyfe and a meke instans yet beyng holde in a certeyn stupour and wondyr of mynde of suche thinges that he had seyne. bothe of tho thinges the whiche besyll him afore yat he was rapte / and of tho thinges that he had seyn spiritually in anothir world in al placis And as y haue seyde or may fey. synglerly and particularly he tolde and remembrid mony thynges the whiche the forseid brother that herde him bare hem al in his herte. telling him also of tho thinges that he knewe opynly betyd him And so aftyward bi leyfer and gret dylygens lernyd and knewe an ordir of euery thing synglerly. more opynner and fullyor than he knewe afore. Neuertheles as for al thing that he sawe in soo longe space that is to seye ii dayes and ii nightys he wolde not telle to no man. And amonge in hys tellyng he made mencyon of some visyons but anon as he had begonne. fefid the proces of them And nothir yet for any prayur might be inducyd to telle any more ther of But nethir we at this tyme be sufficient to telle al thinges the

whiche sothely we knewe by his owne seyng that he had tolde before to a few persons of wytnesse on whois deuocyons he had taken a specyalle truste. Nethir in any wise we may or can reuele and shewe so opynly the purprie of his visions nether by writing nether by telling as he coude and didde. Also amonge other thinges he was askid and he hoped to scape his seknes or shulde leue any lenger in this bodely lyfe. And then he seide I shal leue long ynow and of my seknes y am fully recoueryd.

¶ Now he was desired of his bretheren to take sum mete after so longe a faste. ¶ Ca vii



Han after this at euyn he was gretly desired to take some mete after so longe a faste. And than he seyde. Settith before vs the bred and a litil hony that was leste the tothir tyme. And whanne hit was so done with a ful litil refeccion ther of he brake his faste. And so he bode waking in prayor and terys til the howre of night that they range to matens. Sothely whan the bretheren rose to matens he went with hem and as he had rose with our lorde the whiche sum tyme that same howre rose fro deth and lyfe. And so came to chirche. not withowte ioyful merueling of them that sawe him and without sustentacion or helpe of any thing entrid into the quire and so he did not a xi monthis before. And there in gret deuocyon and terys bode and contynewid til matens was doon and tyl the resurreccion of our lorde the whiche yerely in the same chirche is wont to be shewid vyfybly and howe the angel apperid and spake to the women at the sepulture of the victoriose resurreccion of ther king and also that they shulde tel to his disciplys his glorious resurreccion and at the laste til our lord apperyd to his welbelouyd mary mawdelen and named her maria in the figure of a gardner and til the messys ware doone and had refceyuid the holy comyning of cristen men.

¶ Now he tolde to ii of his confessorys a parte of suche thynges as he had seyne. **¶** Ca viii



After this nowe that he had resceyued oure lordys precyous body ioyful and light he was and brought of his bretheren into the colloke the which ys a place where they may speke to geder and there copynily they came abowte hym desiring him to tel hem of seche thynges as besylle hym and as he had seyn for ther goostly edifyng and comfort For al they vnderstode that herde his wordys the day before when he was fully cumme to him selfe and sawe his contynual weping that by mony thynges grete thingis and meruelus had be shewde him. And whan they with grete instans askid him. he dissymyld alle thing a lytyl while At the laste vnto his ii confesiorys to whom he was confest on shrethursday as hit is seyde afore to hem bothe separatly. he told thees thynges the whiche here after be digestlyd and wreten with grete weping and syking the whiche sum tyme feld him of his telling And sum thynges he told to hem bothe and sum thynges onely vnto the thoon / and sum othir: only to the tothir and that not without a consyderacion of a certen meke and a good auisement And this he gon to telle as hit now folowethe.

¶ What was his petition specially and how a certen person apperyd to him in his slepe.

¶ Ca ix



Othely he seyde whan y was laborid as ye sawe me with greuys and longe wekenes of body and euermore with herte and fowle y blessyd our lorde and thankid him that he wolde white safe to chaste me onworthy in a fadyrly chastment And than al hope put

aside as for any recoueryng of bodely helth y began
 though hit were slowly neuertheles y disposed me as y
 cowde and mighte to make me redy. how y might the
 sandy and lyghter scape the peynys and forows of
 the world that is to cumme and how y might fynde the
 reste of euerlastyng life when y shuld be callid oute of
 my body. And when as y remembred these thinges
 after my power besely. than after a litil while past
 a thoughte fyl to my mynde that y shulde praye our
 lord god that he wolde white faze to reuele and shewe
 to me in some maner of wise. the state of the worlde
 that is to come and the condicion of the soulys that byn
 past her bodyes after this lyfe and thanne this opynly
 knowen y might the bettyr vnderstonde what within
 shorte space as y supposyd were to be dred. and what
 y might hope after whanne y shuld passe fro thys
 worlde to that worlde and so by this to stabylle my
 selfe in the drede and loue of god as long as I shuld
 leue in this doweefulle lyfe. And so on a certeyn night
 in the begynnyng of lente that ys laste past. apperyd
 to me in my slepe a certen worshipful person stondyng
 by me and seyng to me. O sone he seyde gret ys thy
 deuocyon in praying and mekil is thy perseuerans
 wherfore thy contynual prayer and meke demening
 may not be onspedeful before the presens and goodnes
 of god Neuertheles fro hens forth be of goode conforte
 and contynew deuoutly in prayur and for more strenght
 seche the helpe of prayers of some religious persons.
 and yef yow so do doutles you shalte knowe yat sone
 you shalte opteyne and gete thy peticion Sothely than
 he named to me some persons and the namys of ther
 offices seyng this / Knowe wele that mekil yt wille the
 profete. yef yow maye haue the prayers of suche persons.
 the whiche the goodnes of god ys wonte right gladly
 to here. Sende also to the monastery of nonnys here
 by. that yow knowyft wele and namyd hit / besechyng
 hem to pray for the. Mekyl god is pleasid in her holy
 purpose and laudable conuerfacion. wherfore his good-
 nes gretly fauerth their willes and desires And whan

this was feyd to me. bothe the flepe that y was in and the person that spake to me went away. Then sodenly y wakyd and stedfastly kepte in mynde this vyfyon. and asone as y might v desired the same persons to pray forme, not v uttering to them the cause wherfore they shulde pray for me. Than vi wekis paste. in the night that was nexte afore therethurfday as ye can remembre. whan y had taken of yow and of youre felowe discyplynys in the chaptur hows. that ys to feye vi of yow and vi of him for that day. and v other for the sexte feriis of lente paste. fro the whiche y was compellyd that tyme to absteyne by cause of sekeneis so grete abundans of grace of terys and swetenesse of herte / y selte me repletyd there in the refceyuyng of tho discyplynys that y can not shewe it in telling by no wordys. wherfore the nexte day after hit was to me ful swete often tymes to wepe. And than the next nyght after grete fykynges beyng than the houre to ryle to matens y fylle in to a pleasaunt flepe.

¶ Nowe he was warned in his slepe to wor=
shipe the crosse of oure lord. **¶** Ca x



Othely than as y was a flepe y perceyued a voyce. but y wist not fro whens hyt came. seyng to me in this wyse. Arise vppe and goe in to the chapell. and to the awter that is dedifyed and halowd in the worshipe of feynthe laurence and of alle martyres. And there behynd that awter yowe shalte fynde a crosse and an ymage of thy redemer affixed to the same crosse. redemyng the world by hys deth. And that same crosse. mekely and deuowtly go to and kys in remembrance of thy sauyur and offir to hym with meke herte. a sacrifice of prayers knowyng wele. hit to be accept of god. and to the an holsom deuocion. in the whiche yow shalte ful abundantly delyte. Than after this y wakyd and with the bretheren y came to the chirche to

here matens And when the bretheren had begunne matens y mette with a senyor that ye knowe wele in the chirche porch and was on of hem that y toke disciplinis in the night before Than whan y saw hym y made a signe to hym. to discyplyne me in lyke wyse ageyne as he dyd afore. And so lightlye we went bothe to gedyr into the chaptur howse and with one assent gladly we came ageyne And there also mette with vs another senyor in the same place where y mette the first. to whome y made alsoo a signe for to haue a disciplyne. And he beckid with his hand that y shulde tarye a lityl while. Thanne leste y my bretheren / that y came with to chirche / the whiche were sekelew sittynge a parte. and alone y wente forth to the awter that was notyd to me in my slepe And whenne y was nygh the awter y put of my showys and knelyd on my kneys apon the pament and ofte tymys inclyned my heed doon to the grownd And so went behynde the awter to seche the crosse that y herd of before Trewly y knew not afore in any wise by any mannys telling that any crosse was let doon there Neuertheles y founde hit as hit was tolde me before And anon y was resoluyd al into terys of deuocyon and lyyng prostrate al my body ful deuowtly y worshippe that holy crosse seyng many deuout prayers And than after y cam knelyng on my kneys to the same crosse and astyr seyde lengur deuoute supplicacions and thankynges to god / kyssing oft tymes the sete of the crucefyxe / and besily with the terys of my nyes watrid hem.

¶ Nowe he sawe the right side of the crucifixe bledynge don to him and the right fote also and of the .ii. lightys that apperid there. **¶** .xi



He mene while as y lift vppe my nyes that were sore of weping to the face of the crucifyxe y felte some dropys fallyng don to me I putte ther to my fyngerys and y wele perceyued and knewe by the rednes

that hit was blode. Also y behylde the right fyde of the ymage of oure lordis body and hit wellid oute of blode as a mannys flesh is wont to blede. whenne hit is cuppid. Trewly the place that y sawe this in was derke. for hyt was behynde the auter aboute mydnighte. But I sawe there ii lyghtis shynyng at bothe the fydes of the crosse. as hit had be ii tapers wele brenning. I lookyd fro whens that light shulde cumme and y cowde see no place fro whens hit came. Trewly than y toke in my hopynne hand: y wote nere how mony dropis of that precious blode and there with diligently y anoyntid my nyes. my neris and my nose thrillys. And at the laste y put one drope of yat blessyd blode in to my lippys and of the grete desyre and deuocyon of myne herte. y swelowd hyt doone. And whether y offendyd god in that poynt or no y wote nere. The remnand ther of y hild in my hand purposyng to haue kept hit. Also y behilde and sawe the right fote of the same crucifye blode. Sothely yisterday whan y was restoryd to my selfe ageyne and founde no thing of that precious blode in my handys. fore and gretly y forowde and euer shal for the losse of so grete and precious trefowre.

¶ Nowe he came in to the chaptur howse and toke discyplynys and how he was there rauesht.
Ca xii



Orthermore to satiffye yow y shalle nowe telle of other thynges. The. ii. lyghtes that y sawe shynyng abowte the crucifyxe a fore feyde. sodenly paste thens. to the fowthe parte of the awter. Thanne y that was knelyng in the north side of the auter: at the right side of the crucifyxe feyng hit paste and gon to the tother side folowd after hopyng that y shulde see there sum spiritualle thyng. And whan y came thedir y herde the sowne of a voyce behynde me of the same

old fadyr that y mette with laſt before in the chyrch porch of whom y deſyred to be diſcyplyned and he bade me tary a litil while Than leſte y alle that y ſawe there and y [know] not howe. nether in what wiſe anon y came in to the chaptur howſe And whan y had ſeyd my *confiteor* as the uſe ys. and he had prayde for me and aſſoyled me with this benefon. *In nomine patris et filii et ſpiritus ſancti amen.* he gaue me diſcyplynys vi. tymes as he hadde afore Often tymes y deſired him that y might reherſe my confeſſyon and to take diſcyplynys of hym. for at euery ſtroke that he gaue me in the ſtydde of ſorowe and payne. they were turnid to me. an ineſtymable and incredibulle ſwete-nes of ioyfull conforte. But he wold geue me no more and ſo y roſe vppe. Sothely thanne he went in his albyſ and ſate done in the abbotis ſete. that was there in the chaptur hows: And thanne y came and lay proſtrate before hym. aſkyng my *veny* and reherfyd ageyne my *Confiteor* etc. and he ſeyde ouer me *Miſereatur tui omnipotens deus* etc. and ſo aſſoyled me ageyne wyth thys bleſſyng *In nomine patris et filii et ſpiritus ſancti* And whenne he had anſwarde *Amen* Anoon ther came to me a certeyne worſhipful fadyr a ſenyor that had a face and a chere as an angelle. clothid in white brightyr and whittir thanne the ſnowe: The heere of his hedd was whore and his ſtature of medy heyth. He toke me vppe and ſeyde allonly to me theſe wordys. Folowe yow me. Trewly than he hylde me by the right hand ſo ſewerly as ſoftly and ſo clippid my hand in hys.

¶ Now he felte hym ſelfe here firſt rapte.

¶ Ca xiii



Ere y felte my ſelfe fyrſt rapte in ſpyryte. Than hys brother that was hys confeſſor to whome he tolde alle theſe thynges afore ſeyde aſkyd hym and ſeyde And trowiſte yet brother that y or the tother

fenyor gaue discyplynis yat night as thou seyste. or
 went in to the chaptur howse in albys. Than he wond-
 drede at his asking and seyde. Knowe not ye that
 this ys trowth that y haue to yow here seyde. Than
 seyde hys confessor ageyne. in no wyse ther was no
 feche thynges done of vs nether myght be done. for
 the ordyr wil not that we shuld haue gone that tyme
 of the night in to the chaptur howse to geue discyp-
 lynis. Than he seyde to hym: Dowtheles y had went
 hether to. that tho discyplynis and other thynges had
 be done of yow to me. Ful wele y knowe withowtyn
 dowte. that y reseeyued thoes discyplynis aboue re-
 herfyd in the chaptur howse: of men that shewed yowr
 persons and liknes wakyngly and bodely and wyth hole
 mynde for y felte and herde the storkys of hem and
 also y wele vnderstode and dyscernyd the voyce of
 them that prayde for me and affoyled me: as y shulde
 haue knowe of yow bothe. Trewly the first night when
 y went owte of the chaptur hows y thought to haue
 byddyn ther in the same place tyl the mornyng in the
 grete gladnes of herte and deuocyon that y had re-
 ceuyed there but y was sum what troubulde and dis-
 eysyd by the noyse of the couent when they went
 oute of the chirche after matens. And lest y shulde
 haue ben reprouyd of presumpcion / yef y had taride
 there al night y wente with oure bretheren home to
 oure bedde. And whenne y went out of the chaptur
 hows y mette with brother marten. And that night
 bode y waking in grete lightnesse of fowle / tyl matens
 of the next nyghte. Thanne the next night after when
 y was at matens aboute the begynnyng of the thirde
 nocturne y was callid fro the awter where as y was
 praying with a sowne made lyke as a man hadde
 smytte the stony pament wyth his fote and so went in
 to the chaptur howse. Alsoo hyt was the same owre /
 in the whiche the lasse nyghte. at the lasse tyme we
 went thedyr for the same cause. And alle other thynges
 lyke as y haue told yow besylle me. Thys onely y
 canne not remembre in any wise howe y came at the

laste tyme fro the chapel that y was inne to the chaptur hows. For withowte a stasse y myght not goe thedyr: and abowte the sacrarye of the same auter y knowe wele y left my felse And howe y paste ouer the waye that lyth betwene the chaptur hows. and the place that y was in. and also the lettynges of gricis and other obstaclis iiii or v y can not remembre For when y was cumme to my felse ageyne. thoes thinges the whiche y had experiens of bodely about the awter and the crosse. ware so freshe in my mynde that I wende y had be founde rather there than in the chaptur howse And this he tolde of tho thingis aboue reherfid.

¶ Adigression.

¶ How as touching tho persons of whom he was brought in to the chaptur hous and to whome he feyd [h]is *confiteor* the whiche prayde for him affoyld him and gaue him also disciplynys in the liknes of his own bretheren and he knew no nothir wise that time but they had be his bretheren. they were douteles holy angellys that so apperyd and dyd to him by the wille of god And as towching that worshipfull olde fadyr whois face was like an angel and hys clothing whittir than the snowe. that toke hym by the hand when he lay prostrate in the chaptur hous and feyde to him folow thou me: was the holy and bleffid bishoppe sente Nicholas whome specially he louid and worshipte dayly as hit shalle be astirward more opynnor declarid And nowe after this adigression go we ageyne to the narracion.

¶ Nowe this monke was rapte and foloude his leder sent Nicholas. Ca xiiij



Coudly than seide this monke wente y with that worshipfull olde fader the whiche by commandement of moth and leding of hande had take me vp to be a felow with him of his wey. and al the while that y

lay destitute of my bodily wittis. we went bothe to geder hande in hande. Sothly this was from mydnight of therethursday the whiche endith in the mornynge of good fredaye in whiche time y was ransyhte in spirite as y laye in the chaptur hows tyl the euetyde of saturday foloyng. in the whiche euetyde as ye sawe y was put oute fro that secrete reste and spirituall fightis that y had before to thys opyn and worldly conuersion.

¶ Now sent Nicholas brought this monke to the first place of paynes. **¶ Ca. xv**



Henne went we yestewarde by a pleyn weye in a right path til we came to a certen regyon. that was ful wyde and brode and ouer horabulle and gassfull in sight. fowle and myry of thicke cley. Trewly there we sawe an infenye nombre of men and wemen that no man might nombre putforth to the gretnes of dyuers and inenarrabulle paynes. There was a company innumerabulle of men and women of euery condicion of euery profession and of euery ordyr. There were the doers of al synnys ordente to dyuers kyndes of paynes after the diuersite of synnes and qualite of persons. I herde and sawe bi the opyn and brode space of that filde whos endys no ye might see. the wrechid companyes of men and women ouer wrechidful bounden to gedyr flockemel. in ther equalyte of synnys and in likenesse of profession equaly to soffyr and like wise to crye in here grete and greuys paynes. And who sum euer y sawe there to be made redy in that paynefull place to heuyn warde opynly y knewe and vnderstode. for what synnes they were ponyssit and the kynde of the synne and the mesure and qualite of ther satisfaccion. the whiche they deseruyd owther by contricion and co[n]fession of her offensis. or by the remediis and helpinges of othir benefetis done for hem

Trewly al tho that y sawe put there sum what y knewe hem confortyd for the hope of euerlastyng blisse the which they hopid sum tyme to cum to And some y sawe paciently sofyrr right grete peynes and for the gode werkys the whiche they had done of ther consciens. that was referuyd and putte vppe in mede for them and also for the grete trust that they had to haue euerlastyng blisse euermore countid lygh[t]ly in her fowle the horrabulle peynes that they bare Treuly they wepte and sorowde and cryed oute / for grete of peynys and amonge this as they went forth farthir euermore her peynys were lessid and to hem more esyur Also y behilde mony of them that sodenly scapyd out of the place that they were torment in and fander hastid hem selfe thanne other. to go the weye that was before hem. But anone fro benethe lyke as the grownde hadde be broken. ther brake vppe a flame of fier that inuoluyd hem and the deuyls yat mette with hem. fore bete hem with scorgis and forkis and other dyuers kyndes of tormentyng. and soo ageyne retourned apon hem alle her wodeness. Neuertheles they beyng so betyn and brokyn and inwardly brent yet they scapyd ageyne and in lyke condicion as hit is feyd afore. the ferther they went / the lessur wes ther peynys and the yesyur Sothely in this passage some did gretely profet. some but lytyl and some al mooste neuer a dele. To some ther goyng was no profetyng but a myferabulle fayling / for they went fro ful cruel peynes to wers And eche of them aftyr ther olde merytys and deseruynges. owthir were holpe in her weye or lettyd or els releuyd and that was by the present benefetys done and shewyd for hem of their frendys in this world. Sothely thoes thynges the whiche y confeyued in mynde. or was enfourmed and taught by comyning and spekyng with some of them there. anone aftyr y wille opynly shewe hem as hit is benethe in this present wryting declared.

¶ Of the grete diuersitees of peynes. ¶ Ca xvi



Nfynyte kyndes and diuersytees of peynys where there that y sawe Some of hem were rostyd at the fyre Some were fryed in a panne / Some were also rasyd with fyry naylys vnto the bonys and to the lowfing of her ioyntys Some were soden in bathis of pyche and brymstonne with an horabul stencche and other thingis melted by heete as ledde brasse and other dyuers metellys And some were gnawyn with the venummys teth of wondyrfull wormys. Some also were caste done thicke on arowe and smyt throw with sharpe stakys and palys who ys endys were alle fyrye And whyle some were hangyn on galows. odyr were alto drawyn wyth hokys and some were betyn fore wyth seurgys. and so in hard example they were al to toryn. Trewly of tho persons mony were bisshoppis and abbots and other were of other dignitees. Sothely some flowryd in prosperite in the spyrytualte. Some in the temporalte and some in relygyon: the whiche were feyn ponisht in dowbulle sorowe aboue other persons. For y sawe them that were clerkys / Monkys / Noonys / laymen and lay wemen so mekyl lesse ordende and put to peynys howe mekyl the lesse they had before of worldely dygnyte and prosperyte. In trowthe y sawe hem greuyd in a more speccyal bittirnesse of peynys aboue other. the whyche y knewe in my tyme were Iugys and Prelatys of other. And by cause hyt ys ouer longe to telle singlerly of euery persone: what they soffryd and wherfore they soffryd. some thynges y wylle gedur to gedur. of some certeyn persons what they soffryd afore ther dethe and after ther dethe. For that was opyn to me of euery person Neuerthelesse there ys no mannys tonge that may suffyciently telle the lyghtyft peynys of that place nethyr by estymacyon conceue hym in mynde. Also the dyuerfite and multiplycyte of peynys. to the whiche they be caste vndyr /

euer amonge fro one to a nother veryly y knowlege no man may noumbre. I take god to wytnesse. that and there were any man. the whiche had done to me : or to my frendys alle the hurtys and iniuriis. that may be done of any man in thys lyfe or ellys he had flayne vs y fey and y had so grete an enmy put into peynys that y sawe there to be torment long tyme a thousand tymes and hit were possybylle y wolde sofyre temporal dethe for hys delyuerans. For alle thing ther ben so peynfull of forowe and anguysshe bytternes and wrechydnes that they excede mesure and mode. let vs nowe that be it in this worlde alyue see and confidere by this how gretely we ought to geue vs in chaynting oure wekyd condycyons and to amende oure leuyng and also how mekyl we schulde labur to exerceyse vs to kepe the commawndementys of god and to do good werkys by the whyche and the mercy of god we may deserue to be delyuerd afore of so grete euyllys. And also that owre dere frendys as fadyr and moder systyr and broder and othyr that were sum tyme owre louers ther fore ponyght for her offencys myght be delyuerd the soner fro thens by good dedys and werkys of mercy and pety deuowtly done of vs for ther redempcion and helpyng And afore yere y make any special mencion by wrytyng of the fore peynys and tormentys of sum persons that y fownde and knew ther and they also knew me y wyl schortly wryte yn here the placys of peynys that y behelde as y went abowte wyth heuy compassion aftyr we were paste the fyrst peynful place and region Sothly to owre femyng the lengthe of thys fyrste place afore feyde was on goyngable. but we that ys to feye my leder and y went on to the fyde ageynste hyt as we dyd othyr peynful coostys of tormentys but amonge them we came not how be hyt as hyt femyd to me we myghte haue done wythowt any fere or hurte or harme.

¶ Of the secunde place of purgatory. ¶ Ca. xviij



Herfore after that we were paste the firste place of purgatorye we came to the seconde place of purgatorye and tormentys in the whyche was an hye hylle vppe al mooste to the clowdys and was deuyded fro the forseyde fyrste place of purgatorye. And thenne lyghtely and swyftely we wente on thys same hye hylle. And there was vnder the farthyr syde of thys hylle a full depe valeye and a derke. set with bocis and brackys on euery syde hangyng owte who ys lenthe no man myght see. And in the lower parte of the feyde valeye was a full brode ponde of horrabull blake watyr. And owte of that same fowle ponde byfyly brake a myste of an indycbylle stench. Trewely the toon syde of that same hye hylle whyche hangyd toward the ponde caste oute fro hym an horrabulle brennyng fyre vppe on to the heuyn. And alsoo on tothyr syde of the forseyde hye hylle was so grete and inestymable coolde that ys to seye of snowe and Hayle wyth many other cruell stormys that me thoughte and semyd that y sawe no thyng so peynfull and cruel as yat colde was. The lenthe of that valey afore seyde and bothe the sydys of the hylle the whiche had in hem that horrabulle fyre and coold was so full of fowlys. as hyues swarmyn ful of bees. To the whyche fowlys thys was a comynne and a generalle tormente that now they were drownd in the forseyde ponde and fro thens takyn vppe and caste in to fiere. and so at the laste they ware bore vppe an hy by the grete vyolente flamys of fier as sparclys byn of a brennyng fornece. and so lette down on the tother syde of the hylle to the horrabulle coolde of snowe hayle and sharpenesse of stormys and afterward caste downe hedlonge in to the greuys stench of the ponde aboue seyde and ageyne takyn vp and caste in to the brennyng fier. And some of hem were lengur ponyght in fier thenne other and some in coolde. And some ware taryde

lengur in the greuys stencche of the ponde. than other. And some y fawe ware bounde and compressid in the myddys of flamys of fier that meruelous hit is to speke. and as grapys be compressyd in a pressure. Trewely the condicion of al that ware there torment and peynde in that secunde place was this. Alle the space of the ponde aboue feyde. they were compellyd to goe throwe. fro the begynning to the endyng. for to fulfille her purgacion. Neuerthelesse ful grete and monyfold was the distincecyon and dyuerfyte of her peynys and tormentys. For some had lighter ponyshment than some. and some was grauntyd a more swyfter passage thens. then to some other and that was for the qualite of her merytys and deseruingys afore done and also for the quantitie of suffragys and helpys done of her frendys for hem after her dethe. And they that were of grettur offensys and synnis and feldyn or slowly holpyn longe tyme and fore were holdyn in peynys. And sothely the more nere they al came to the ende of the place the more yefyor and softry waxed their peynys. The moste cruell peynys were in the begynnyng howe be hit as y feyde afore not al equally Sothely the peynys and tormentys of thys seconde place were mekyl more harder and scharper than the peynys and tormentys that we fawe in the fyrste place. wherfore hyt was so that mony that ware yn the secunde place ware forer ponyght than they that ware yn the fyrst place. Here trewly fownde y and knew mony mo some tyme of myne acquaintans than y dyd yn the first place. Not wythstondyng yn bothe the placys y spake with some. The mesure of ther stature apperyd not sufficiently as y knew hem before yn thys worlde. For the stature and forme of some of them was as hyt had be lessyd or thynnyde by tormentys. And some had leste no thyng of their quantite. Neuertheles thys dyuersiteys of her shappys yn no thyng lettyd my knowlege. For ther knowlege was to me so prompte so redy and so opyn as hyt was that tyme when they leuyd wyth vs yn thys worlde.

How sent margaret delyuered a soule of a
synful woman fro the deuyls. ¶ Ca xliij



Ere nowe hit lykyth me to telle a certen
fayre dede and werke of grete pete and
mercye the whiche that tyme was to me
a beholdyng of heuynes and also of con-
solacion the whyche may be to alle the
worlde a nobyll document and techyng why the peple
schulde haue god and hys holy seyntyng bothe of men
and wemen in worschuppe and in reuerence. Truly
whyle y behylde meruelyng thoo thyngys aboue seyde
and mony other And hylde long talkyng there wyth
hem that y knewe before y harde a ferre a grete noyse
and a crye as hit had be theuys that had takyn a pray
or else as they had ouer cum their ennemy with fowle
mockys and scornys. and loe after that noyse and crye
folowde a curfyd companye of wyckyd spyrytys and a
myghty ledyng with hem anone as they hopyde to
helle a foule of a woman late departyd fro her body.
O good god what peynys and tormentys tho cruell
enmyes leyde apon her. And the more they knewe her
withoute helpe the more wodder were they on her.
what man heryng euer wolde beleue to any creature
tellyng how tho wekyd spyrytys and tyrandys of the
deuyll castyd that foule amonge hem. as a tenyse
balle wyth fyrre instrumentys now fro on to another.
But hoo may in any wyse telle or schewe to any man
beleuyng howe her mawe and inwarde bowellys were
fmytte thorowe wyth the fyrre dartys of tho cruell
tormentours. And as god ys my wytnes y behylde
and sawe her fofyrre so grete and horrabulle peynys
and tormentys verely as they leyde hem on her cruelly
Nowther these thyngys ware vnto my syghte as natur-
aly a man seyth with bodely yes that ys to saye the
vtwarde peynys that a man fofryth yn bodye. but also
what they felte ynwardly good or euylle and with what
heuynesse or wyth what gladnes they were fmytte

wythinforthe in her fowlls alle was to me that tyme
 playne and opyn So therfore thys vnhappy fowle what
 for the presente sorowe or dolour that sche soffryd and
 hadde and the fere of euerlaftyng dampnacyon. was in
 grete angys and sorowe of peynys and tormentys.
 For there was no hope that confortyd her to scape
 desolate and desytute of alle helpe and focoure O
 bytterneisse of alle bytterneisse mooste bytterneisse whome
 no truste or helpe releuyth or helpyth and desperacyon
 of the ende encresythe. The daye before she lefte her
 mortalle body in the whyche sche leyd strompetly
 and vycyusly and nowe sche ys keuerd wyth the vesture
 of schame and vellonye. And wyth yn sche ys bytten
 wyth the conscyens of schameful dedys done wyckyd-
 lye and wythouth the whyche ys mouyd wyth mockyng
 and scornynge of deuyls heuely. Sothely sche felte
 thanne in her fulfilled the wordys of the holy man Iob
 seying thys wyse of suche persons. *Ducunt in bonis
 dies suos et in puncto ad inferna descendunt.* That
 ys to seye they lede her days in goodys after their
 plesure and in the twynkeling of an ye they falle done
 to helle Therfore while thys onhappy fowle by the
 vycoryse pompys of her enmyes was goyng to be
 broughte into helle for the synne and onlesful lustys
 of her body. Loe sondenly anon came done an hye
 fro heuyn a gret lyght by the whyche bryghtnes and
 bemys. the forseyde wykyd spiritys and minystrys of
 the deuyl. ware dullyd and made onmyghty and tyl
 done to the gronde wyth the fowle that they had
 Sothly than yn the same lyght came done a multitude
 of virgenys schynyng yn clothys. whyte as the snow
 and sette abowte wyth golde and precius stonys. the
 grace and ioy that was yn the beholding of her facys
 and chere y make no menfion of for hyt was so gret
 and ynestymable that y can not remembre my selfe
 that saw hyt. how y myght wordly speke of hyt.
 Amonge the whyche on that was mooste feyryste wele
 y knewe and seche was the blesyd virgynne and martir
 sent margaret. And anon as the forseid fowle saw her

the whiche was more thrall for her fynnys than of the deuyllys beganne myferably to crye and feyde. O bleffyd and precius spowfe of cryfte haue mercy on me and helpe me that for myn nowne propyr fynnys am yn desperacyon and ryghtfully put to peynys and tormente. I knowlege and verely knowlege that yn al my lyfe y dyspyfyd the commawndementys of god and gaue my body to al onclene leuyng. And nothyr god. ne any of hys fentys of men or wemen that y louyd affectualy or dyd any worshippe to hem yn dede. The only of the nowmbre of the holy fentis yn heuin euer more hertely y haue louyd and eury saturday of myn own goodys afore thine auter y offerde vppe candelys. And the custome of my fowle leuyng now late. beyng hoolle of my mynde and body for thy loue and worshippe vtwardly y lefte I beleuyd also that by the remedy of confession al my fynnys hade be weshte away. But alas for forowe my confession was not sufficient to weshte and do away so gret and so mony fowle fynnys and olde by cause y lackyd before the feruor of contricion and dyd not for my fynnys euynworthy penans. Therfor my fynnys cleuyn fast to me not yet forgeuyn the whiche y slowthyd too wyte away by goo[d] werkys. Loe ther fore my lady and my swetnes and conforte schalle my yystys of deuocyons peryshe the whyche y haue done seytfully to the and schalle y thys peryshe nowe also not only to my selfe but also to the to whome only y haue studyd besely and thowght not for to peryshe and now y peryshe to my selfe and to al thyngys. These thyngys and many othyr yn thys wyfe sche feyde wyth fore and byttur wepyng and crying more than a man may beleue. For y take god to recorde and to my wytnes that y saw the terys breke owte of her yes as they hade be hayle stonys. And thys whyle sche forowde the glorius virgyn and martyr sent margaret turnyd her to to her felows virgyns that were there wyth her and feyde O sche feyde ye moste swete systers ye see now the perelle of thys woman sum tyme my seruant and

ye knew a[ll]so the ynportune malice of the deuyls the whyche pretendyn by mony weys of refon to haue her to hem. And therefore let vs now do that thyng the whiche only ys lefte of remedy and helpe for her. Pray we now to the euerlastyng iuge and meke redemer that he the whyche al thing may doo wille wyth faue as he knowyth beste. of hys goodnes. and at owre desyre sum what to helpe thys wrechyd fowle. sum tyme redemyd by hys precius blode fro the cruelle power and venummys tethe. of these wekyd spiritys. And whan thys bleffyd virgyn and martyr sent margaret had feide these wordys anone whytowtyn and taryng. al thoo virgyns bowde downe to the grownd on her kneys and lyftyd vppe her handys prayng for that synful woman to her ynmortalle spowse. owre bleffyd lorde and sauyur ihesu cryst. And anon as they had of god ther petition grantyd they rose vppe togedyr fro preyer. Than anone thys bleffyd virgyn seynt margaret wyth stabylle contynawne of face and fowle gastfulle and thretyng the wekyd spiritys came nere and made of her fleue a maner of a scharge and lyfte hyt vppe as sche wolde haue smitte hem. Then they anon as hyt had be flyes yn a whyrle wynde fleyd away hethur and thedur leuyng alone her bownde fowle. and fodenly yat yn the farthir fyde apperyd a dyke ful of boylyng watyr vppe to the brymmys. Therefore yn thys dyke y sawe her put yn. And then feyde to her that bleffyd and mercyfulle helper sent margaret. Here now thow muste fulfyll the penanse the whiche thow schuldyft haue done before yn they lyfe. and by my prayur thow schalt haue mekylle helpe and releuyng of thy peynys. and aftyward when thy synnys be fully purgyd and clenfyd by me thow schalt be admytted to referue euerlastyng ioye and blisse. Treuly hit can not be feyde howe ioifully this synful woman toke tho wordys feyde to her in the whiche sche knewe an ende of her due penanse and afterward myght fele the goodnes and mercy of god. So than thys vycoryose dede done yat glorious fight of vyrgynys ascendyt vppe to heuyn.

¶ Now a goldsmith was saued by sent Nycholas.
¶ Ca xix



Ere now folowyth also another like myracle of ful grete mercy and pety of the excellent might and poure of the bleffyd byshope sent nycholas. Therefore now y wille telle a nobyl dede and werke late done in a certen seruant of his the whiche not longe ago welle y knewe and famylyarly louyd for some gode thingys yat was seyne of him the whiche therefore the more gladlyur y wiltelle. for this man that y nowe speke of the whiche by his occupacion was a goldsmith told and declaryd to me first the merite and the name of my leder with whome y went hande in hande. and though y beseyn here now sum what to breke out for the order of the narracion be cause y feyde before that ere y made any mencyon of the tormentis and peynys of any persons specially. First y wulde shortly telle of the peynful placys that were schewyd to me. But let that be takyn of tho persons the whiche afterward y wille opynly declare to the profet of hem yat lyst to here or rede this reuelacion. Therfor as y suppose ye remembre how a certen person a goldsmith and a cytson of this place was hastily preuent of dethe and sodenly dyed. Of whom also hyt was opynly noyfyd that hyt so besylle hym for ouer mekyll drynkyng wyne. And therefore how myght a man sey to whome thys man schulde be fortyd but amonge them that sent iohan the apostylle specially spekyth yn hys pystylle. *Est peccatum ad mortem. non pro illo dico ut oret quis.* That ys to sey. Ther ys synne contynewde vn to dethe y sey no man pray for hym that contynewyth hys synne to hys dethe who so absolute may be feyde that contynewyth hys synne to hys dethe. as he that contynewyth yn dedly synne and so lesyth lyfe and takyth dethe. Sothly thys man bode not only yn the synne of dronkynnes to hys dethe but also he fylle

yn to dethe doyng that fame fynne the whiche ys the feede and cause of al euylle. And as a certen wyfe man feith dronkinnes excusith no vife Therfore thys man whoys fine and pelle we speke of now yat hyt schulde be feryd and dredde yn hys wolde days was ouer prone and redy to dronkenes for the last thre days yat euer he saw in thys worlde he continewyde dayly almoſte yn the fame fynne And yf y had know for certen a day before yat he had dyed of ſeche a cauſe as hit ys aforeſeyde what ſchulde y thynke or fele of hym more worthior than not for to pray for him. leſte [leſte?] my prayur before the ryghtwes iuge ſchulde be voide and no thing helpyng hym Neuertheles y vſyd to pray for hym thawghe yt ware ſlowly. not verely certifide of ſo ſoroful a fame and happe Sothely hyt was ſo. by the prouiſion of god that thys goldefmyth was in the ſecunde place of peynys. and alſo y ſawe and behylde hym by me. whome anone y knewe and gretely meruelde. ſeyng hym afore mony other that y behylde. in goode hope and lyghtly ſofryng hys peynys. Trewly thanne my leder lokyd on me howe ſtidfaſtly y behylde hym and aſkyd me and y knew hym And y ſeyde ful wele. Than he ſeyde. and yow knowe hym. ſpeke to hym Sothly then this goldfmyth lokid on vs bothe: and knowing vs wyth an enarrabulle geſtur and behauing of gladnes ioyde to my leder and with bothe his handys ſpred opyn ofte bowde done al hys body worſhippyng and greting hym with innumerable thankys for hys benefetys and goodnes ſhewyd to hym And the mene whyle y ſalute hym. and he ioyfully ſalute me ageyne. Than y enqueryd of hym how hit was. that ſo ſone he was paſte the honorable peynys. the whiche y knewe by his ſighte he had ſofryd Then he anſwarde this

¶ Here thys monke knewe first that sente Nicholas was hys leder. **¶** Ca xx



MY dere frynde he seyde. al ye to gedur in the worlde haue me as losse and dampde. not knowyng the goodnes and mercy here of my present lorde sente Nicholas. the whiche had not sofrid me an onhappy and an onprofetable seruauant of his to be dampde and losse euerlastyngly. Than seyde y to hym. Trewly as thou seyste. alle we that ware thy frendys sorowde that thou didest so fodenly and gretly abashyd ynwardly supposyng verely that thou hadyste be dampde. and by cause also thou hadyste no helpe ne remedy by fore they dethe of the holy sacramentys of the chyrche. Sothly by cause y fynde the othyr wyse than we wende y am glade and fayne y wolde here how and yn what wyse thou deydyt so and scapydyt eternal damnacion Thanne he seyde. Gladly what sum euer thou desyre y wylle the telle.

¶ How the same goldsmyth tolde the monke yn purgatory how he dyed sodenly and yet was sauyd **¶** Capitulum. .xxi



YE knew wele how y dysposyd me yn my leuyng whan y was yn the worlde as thoo thingys that were opyn to mannys syghte. Also y contynwyde yn the fowle synne of dronkynnes. vn to my last ende. of an euyl custome. Neuertheles hyt was not my wylle. For gretly hyt dyspleyd me and mekyl y sorowyde that y kowde not leue that vyse. Sothly osten tymes y rose ageynst my selfe sewurly purposyng. to leue and caste away the fowle vyse of dronkynnes that y was wholde yn. But anon what for the luste of drynkyng and the importunyte of feleshypppe that y dranke with

y was conſtraynde to drynke after the meſure of myne olde cuſtome, wherby y was ouer cumme. and drawyn ageyne bonde yn to luſte and cuſtome of the ſame ſinne. that was yn mine owne onmeſerabulle taking and appetite Treuly amonge this by the mercy of god the whiche wylle that no man peryſh yn my moſte bleſſyd lorde ſent Nycholas whome now ye folowe graciouſly and preſently. and whoys pareſhon alſo y was. ſeeche deuocion y had to hym. that for any occaſion y neuer leſte but what ſum euer y myght do to his worſchippe y dyd hyt ful deuowtly And how mekyl euer y gaue me towarde euyn to-dronkynnes y vſyd euer more to be at matens. for anon as they range y wolde be ther. and oftyn tymes afore the paryſh pryſte. Alſo y fownde contynwaly a lampe of myne owne coſte. yn ſent Nycholas chapelle And thoo thyngys that were neceſſarye to the ornamentys of alle the chyrche. as yn lyghtys or any othyr thyngys. y wolde dyligently orden therfore. as y had be hys famylyar ſeruante and mawncypylle And wher y had not ſufficyent of myn owne goodys to do hyt y wolde moue othyr of the paryſh to helpe as hyt ſemyd nedefulle Sothly the yyſtys [gyftys?] that men or wemen gaue. y toke hem. and to be hon[our]able vſus. ful treuly y ſpende hem. Alſo twyes yn the yere that ys at cryſtynmas and at eſtyr wolde clene confeſſe me of al my ſynnys as wele as y bowde to owre paryſh pryſte. takyng penanſe for hem and yn parte y dyd fulſille hem diligently Treuly y dyd not obſerue and kepe tho thingys that y was commaundyd of my goſtely fathyr. for oftyn tymes y leſte ſum thyngys that y ſchulde haue doo and thoo thingys that y ſchulde haue beware of. And of the commawndement of my goſtely fadyr y faſtyd the dayes of aduent as y dyd the lent ſefyne. To the whyche dayes of aduent. y addyd of myne owne fre wylle. as mony dayes afore aduente as wold make vppe the noumbre of the dayes of lente And ſo on cryſtenmas daye y wold be hoſylde and reſceyue the holy ſacrament of owre lordys precious body and blode. But alaſſe for ſorowe

when that y shuld haue be / that holy dayes of owre lordys byrthe. more holyur and deuowtur in my lyuyng then other tymes. y turnyd me contrary vnto other werkys and besynesses of a worldly custome. wherfore hyt happyd vnto me also in myne laste ende that the wekyd angelle of that deuyl Sathanas. the whyche ys causer and kendler of alle euyl scornyd me. And also he hadde browghte plefaunte worde and tytyngys of my dampnacyon to hys father the deuyl. yesse the mercye and goodnes of my lorde sente Nycholas had not wythstonde hym therfore euermore to hym be thankyngys of al his trew seruawntys. for my delyueraunce. for he had lowfyd and delyueryd me. And as ryghtwesly as y was to be dampde and cruelly to be ponyshite as mekely and as mercyfully he hath noryshite and kept me : Sothely on crystynmas daye after that y had refreyuyd the good lorde that y can not remembre withowte grete horror and heuynes. y was drawyn of an euyl custome as y feyd afore by ouermuche drynkyng the same daye in to dronkynnesse ageyne to the grete iniurye and ronge of seche a lorde whome y had refceyuyd a lytyll before in to my fowle And on the morow y wente to chyrche as y vsid to do fore waylyng the fowle vice the whiche y dyde the daye before purposyng to be ware of hyt and to do no more / but hit was as voyde and vayne For by the occasion that y had of drinkyng and the deuyls steryng me therto / y was destitute and losse the stabulnes of vertu and the mighty purpos of soburnes that y had conceuyd : and so y fulfild not my purpose in dede. but fowle as y dyd ysterdaye so y dyd to daye and by delectacion of ouer mekyl drynkyng fyl downe agayne to dronkinnes. Sothely the next daye after folowyng the whiche ys the thirde daye after crystynmas daye I leste not myne olde custome of drinkyng. wherby y had losse the vertu of soburnes and all my wyttys also. Thenne whenne hit was derke nyghte y went oute of the place where y dianke / and came home and wente to bed as y was clothyd and schod and a lytyl y slepte And anone y

woke and wold haue refyn and feyd as y had wente
 that then yt had ronge to matens But my wyfe told
 me nay and so y layde my downe ageyne. Trewly
 thanne fyrst y toke a flepe and anone after y toke my
 dethe And howe y felte deth sodenly cumme apone
 me y wille telle yow. A certen deuyl that tempted
 and steryd me to the vyce of dronkynnes thowghte to
 hym selfe that and y deyed in feche a perylle whytowte
 any contradiccion he wolde me drawe to hell presumyng
 also to haue thenne power on me to doo what somme
 euer he wolde. for myne obedyens and consentyng in
 that vyce to hym But ageyne full mekyl he drede.
 lest by the merytys of my patron sent Nicholas. y
 schulde any tyme preuayle agenst him by amendement
 of my lyuyng: yf y lyued any lengur and so by hys
 presumptuous power cruelly me strangulde. Trewly
 y felte him like an owle goo in to my mowthe
 the whiche osten tymes ful euylle y opynd to drynke
 and so thorowe my throte flyly came downe to my harte.
 And anone y knewe that hit was the deuyl. Notwith-
 stondyng y was yet myndfull of the mercijs of god and
 also of myne owne wrechydnes and with stabulle purpose
 vowyd in my mynde to god that y wold purely and
 holy confesse me of alle my synnys. and vtwardly for
 euer forsake the wyfe of dronkennes And to this y
 called as inwardly as y kowde. on sent Nicholas to be
 my borowe. Sothely to this auysement onnethe was
 graunted me the space of a moment. Trewely thanne
 the wekyd spiryte fate downe anone apon my herte.
 and clypte hyt wyth hys cursyd armys on euery syde.
 Also he drew out of his mowthe an horrible voment of
 venyne and caste hit al abroad and so in the space of
 a twynbelyng of an ye he expellyd and caste me
 oute of my bodye And anone after that y was
 hade forthe thorowe darke placys by the cruelle and
 incredible wodnes of wykyd spirytyes the whiche al to
 bete me discerpte me stekyd me drewe me and al to
 brend me and caryed me with them y wot not wheder /
 but as they wolde to euerlastyng tormentys. Than

anone my moste meke and dere aduocatour seynt
 Nicholas to whome y called with all myne herte at my
 laste ende. and whome euer in my lyfe y haue worschipte
 thawghe y were a synner. came thanne and mightily
 toke and deliueryd me oute of her handys. and here
 hath sette me in this place of purgatorye for my pur-
 gacion. And howe be yt that y sofre here fore and
 harde peynys y cownte hit lightly whyle y haue no
 drede of the wekyd spyrytys and also that her tyranny
 and importable cruelnes ys sesyd and gone fro me /
 And sothely after this for certeyn y am and truste to
 haue reste and euerlastyng ioye be my lorde sent
 Nicholas And nowe also and euermore / sen the tyme
 that y was put here to this peynys by the whiche
 whenne y ame ouer fore greuyd and disefyd yet by hys
 meke and moste meke and bleffyd visitacyon. y am wel
 confortid and releuydageyne In mygraste [crafte?] also
 by the whiche y gate to me and to myn owre leuyng in
 the world often tymes in my beginnyng y begylde and
 dysceyued the pepulle for the fere of pouerte And
 now for that y am ful bitturly ponyshite. and the todyr
 daye before mekyl more harder therffore y sofryd
 peynes Trewly often tyme y haue ben caste downe
 hed longe into a grete hepe of brennyng money
 amonge the whiche y brente ful intolerably. And tho
 fyrye pensys y was compellyd to deuoure with an opyn
 mowthe that y felte alle my bowellys to brenne in me
 And hethir to often times y am compellyd to telle hem
 and of the towchyng of hem myne handys and syngers
 ben fore peynde. Also by ouer grete brennyng and
 hete of thirst my inward bowels with herte throwte and
 chekys waxen wan and besyly begynne to fayle These
 and many ot'ier thinges y herde of hym as opynly as
 hit might be told of any man leuyng yn hys bodye.

¶ Nowe the goldsmyth also tolde to the monke
a remedye against soden deth. **¶** Ca xxii



Some thyng ther is the whiche he tolde me
amonge other that y wyl not hyde fro the
reder here of. I sawe there innumerable
pepulle that dyde sodenly in this world
the whiche were ponyfcht al moſte owt of
meſure And of many thys y knew that they the whiche
were putte in delyberacyon and auyſement for to ſynne
And whenne they came to the dede doying of what
ſomme euer ſynne hyt was and eche one of theym
ſeyde in hys mynde lo now y wylle doo and fulfille
that the wyche y haue gretly deſyred. he was takyn
by the wille of god to the vtmeſt peynys and poniffe-
ment of dethe as thawgh he hadde herde of this texte
in the goſpelle. *Stulte en anima tua repetitur a te / ad
quid cogitaſti aduerſus deum immo contra ipſum te
nequiſſima.* That ys to ſaye. Fole lo they ſowle ys
takyn fro the. wherto haſte thou thoughte agenſt god
and alſoo agayneſt thy ſelfe full wekyd thynges. Ne-
uertheleſſe as we haue knowyn by hym ſelfe the whiche
told thys. that whenne they were putte yn that byttyr
ſcharpenefſe of dethe coueytyng and purpoſyng to cor-
recte and amende her fautes yef they hadde any ſpace
of penaunce graunted vnto hem. and in her ſwyfte and
haſty departyng ſekyd after the merceye of god and
alſoo after the helpe of his holy ſeyntys. Therefore of
the grete mercy of god her byttyr dethe was to hem a
grete clenſyng of her ſynnys. the whiche they ſchuld
haue ſofryd afterward fully in placys of peynys and
tormentys. Forthermore y enquiryed and askyd of
thys goldsmyth of whome y haue nowe told and ſeyde
many thingys yeffe hyt were poſſyble by any thyng
that the folke myght ſchonne and eſchewe ſoden dethe.
Thenne he anſwarde and ſeyde in thys wyſe vnto me.
O he ſeyde Sothely and yf y hadde knowyn whenne
that y was in the world leuyng ſuche thyngys as y

knowe nowe y wulde haue taughte and defende all the world fro that grete hurte and dammage. howe the pepulle and folke myght be sewre and safe fro the falling of soden dethe. Trewly and verily and the crystyn pepulle wolde wryte dayly on her forhedys and aboute the placys of her herte wyth her syngur of [or?] in any other wyse. these. ii. wordys that conteynyth the mysterye of the helthe and saluacyon of mankynde that ys to wytte and to saye ¶ Ihesus nazarenus wythowtyn dowte the trewe pepulle of oure sauour ihesu cryste schuld be harmeles and preferued fro suche a grete peryll and hurte And alsoo they schalle haue after her dethe the same letters and wordys wretyn full opynly and clerely at her hertys and also in her forhedys in tokyn and in signe of grete worschyppe. I knowe also that my meyny kepte me. ii. dayes onberyde after my dethe. hopyng that y schulde haue reuyuyd for the rednesse and hete the whyche was in my face and in my bodye the whyche douteles was of the feruent replecyon of wyne dronkyn before. For my departyng of this world was so hastye and zwiste : that myne soule was gonne and paste out of my bodye. yere my wyse vnderstode or knewe hit or sende to calle for the pryfte. These thyngys y knewe ful trewly there of this goldsmyth.

¶ Howe the sone of the same goldsmyth tolde vnto the monke astyr that he was cum to hym selfe agayne that hys fadyr had aperyd thries to hys mother astyr hys dethe. ¶ Ca xxiii



Sothely astyr .xv. dayes seth y saw and herde thys the sone of the forseyd goldefmyth a certen yonge man came to me with grete wepyng and tolde me that hys father had apperyd. iij. nyghtis to gedyr to hys moeder wakyngly as sche was yn her prayers at home yn her chambyr and bade her that sche schulde sende

to me to knowe how hyt was fully with hym and of hys flate that thys knowyn. sche myght be the more confortyd and feythfullir and deuowter to helpe hym And also that she by the same tellyng may the bettyr be ware gyde to her selfe and her meyny to god ward: And the same yonge man wytnesyd wyth grete fweryng that the thyrde nyghte of hys fatherrs apperyng he herde hys mother talkyng and spekyng longe tyme with hym. and somme tyme enquiryng and also somme tyme answeryng hym. and thenne afterward sche told vnto my hys wordys the whyche he hadde tolde and feyde vnto her. Trewely he feyde that he herde / no maner wordys of hym talkyng or spekyng vnto her but pacyently taryde tyl they hadde done. Sothely hys mother told hym that sche hadde harde of her husbond twyes before. And as sche knowleged and feyde sche feyde that he was full of Ire and wrathe and moche blamed her becaufe that he was forgotten and putte owte of mynde fro her whyche was warnyd by hym selfe after hys dethe to doo a lytyll thyng for hym and that sche wulde not do so moche for hym. but excused her that for the on certente of vyfions sche dyfferde hyt leste that hyt sculd haue bene supposyd that sche hadde be dysceyued and begylde. And thenne he answerde and feyde Sende wythoutyn taryyng thedyr as y commaunde and telle and faye to hym howe often tymes for the same thyng y haue apperyd to the and alsoo feye apone these tokynys. that the last tyme the whiche he sawe me y was in grete peyne And amonge othyr thyngys that he herde of me y told hym how mekyl the holy confessor feynt Nycholas hadde holpe me. Trewely he prayde me with grete instaunce that I schulde stere and also moue bothe hys wyfe and hys sone. and on hys behalfe commande hem that the seruyce and worschyppe the whyche he was wonte to do in hys lyfe and they also by example to sent Nycholas. for no cause nethyr for any occasyon schulde be leste but dayly more and more wyth amendement of her lyuyng dylygently schewe and do her deuocyons

and feruys to hys patron and aduocatour sent Nycholas. Also this foreseyde man and goldsmyth of whome y haue nowe told and spokyn as hyt ys seyde afore dyde aboute a xv monthys agone the whyche trewely by the merytys of the holy confessor sent Nycholas hys patrone yn a shorte tyme was spede oute of mekyl forowe that onethe y myght see any. that profette so mekyl there as he dede in so lytyl tyme. wherfore ful expedyente hyt ys to alle men whyle they leuyn in thys world deuoutely to serue the holy seyntys of god by the whyche they may haue in her grete nede the grace and mercye of almyghty god as hyt ys schewyd and prouyd often tymes.

¶ Of the thyrde place of the peynys and tormentys that ben in the purgatorie. ¶ Ca. xxiiij



But nowe let vs schewe as we maye thoes thynges that remaynyn of the thyrde place the whyche we sawe and behylde. For aboute alle thyng that may be conceyued of any mannys mynde. hyt exceedeth of cruelnes and dedly tormenting. For verily y knouleche as for the quantyte of euyl yat ys there no man may suffyse to expresse or telle the lest peynys of that place. The grete horrabulnes of yat place so mekylle. the feurer y myght see and beholde that y knewe hym. to bewyth me. and was also my gyde and leder at that same tyme the holy bysschop and confessor sente Nycholas whome y haue euer specyally worschipped and loued. Trewely the more famylyare that y hadde hym in worschyp the more furer was y made of hys selysschippe and companye. to see and beholde the horrabulle peynys and tormentys. the whiche nowe beyng absent can not remembur withoute grete horroure and gastsulnesse of mynde but y was made of euery fyde ful stabulle and sure. for the selysschyppe and knowleche the whyche y hadde of my gyde and leder the holy

confeffour fent Nycholas. Therefore leuyng the forfeide fecunde place. that we were at. as hit ys aboue reherfyd we came to a ful grete fylde. and as hyt femyd hyt was fette yn a lowe grownde fequestrate and departyd from al othir that no maner perfone myght dedyr come. excepte tho that were there ponyfchte or fchuld be ponyfchte Trewly the ouer part of that fylde was keueryde wyth a ful horrible clowde. yn the whyche was myxte and medylde to gedir a fume of brymftone wyth a myfte a gret ftenche and a flame black as pyche was medylde wyth hem the whyche brake owte on euery fyde lyke hyllys and fo fpreddy all abroad. And the playnnes of that place was fo repletyd and fulfylde withe wormys as flowrys be wonte to be ftawyn with ruffhys. And they were aboue alle eftymacyon horrabulle wundryfull and vnfhappely the whyche wyth a gaftfull opyn mouth brethyd oute curfyd fyre at her nofys. And with an onfpekable deuowryng al to tore the wrechyd companye of folke that ther were. the whyche ryght nowe fo waftyd and confumydde. deuylys ranne ouer all lyke as madde men and were alfo full cruell and wodde apone tho wrechys. Trewely thanne the deuylys ponyfhte hem wyth fyry instrumentys fyglerly by euery membre of her bodye: and thanne afterward they rafyd and al to teryd their flefhe vtwardly vnto the bonys. and thenne after thys whenne they hadde fo done they cafte them into the fyre and there they were made lyquyd as hyt were metalle. and alfo toke hem oute ageyne as brennyng fyre. Lytyl yt ys y take god to recorde. and as no thyng what fomme euer y be aboute to telle of the peynys and tormentys of that place. For in a ful fchorte fpace of tyme by alle maner dyuerfytees of an hondyrd folde peynys and tormentys or more y behylde and fawe howe they were confumed and wafte to nought and thenne anone reftoryd ageyne And ageyne almoſte they were with peynys broughte to nought and anone made hole ageyne the whiche in that fame place the loſte lyfe of hem was

compellyd to fofre. And of thefe alteracyons of tymes in the whyche by grete peynys and tormentys they were brought to nought anone reftoryd ageyne ther was non ende no marke ne terme. Also the hete and brennyng of that fyre was fo feruent and deuouring that what fum euer hyt brent hyt wulde be lyke as a thyng that ware al moſte confumyd or waſtyd. And thenne the wormys that were there warded and brokyn and made ſmalle vnto pecys and then they were gedyrd on grete hepys to gedyr and leyde vnther the vnhappy fynful wrechys that were there. wherfore they fo fulfilled alle thyng with fo grete ſtenche that hyt excedyd alle the tormentys and peynis before feyd. And yet remayneth one thyng the wyche they that were in that place were compellyd to fofre the whiche ys more hatfull peynful and ſchameful than any thyng aboue feyde.

¶ Of the vnclene and foule byce and synne of sodemytys. **¶ Ca. xxv**



SOthely alle thoo that were there ponyſſht and peynde were in thys worlde while they leuyd doers of that foule synne the whiche oughte not[to] benamyd not only of a cryſlyn man but alſo of none hethyn man. Certen grete monſturs that ys to feye grete beſtys onnaturally ſchapyne ſchewyd hem ſelfe in a fyrre lykenefſe horrabulle and gaſtfulle to fight and oftyn tymes vyolently came apone hem and alſo in a fowle damnable abuſion compellyd hem to medylle with hem. howe be hyt that they refuſyd and wulde hyt not. I abhorre and amc affchamed to ſpeke of the fowlneſſe and vnclenes of that ſame synne. Thanne betwene her peynfull and curfyd clepynges they roryd and yellyd and cryed owte and afterward they fylle done to gedyr lyke as yf they hadde ben gonne and ded and anon takyn vppe ageyne and ſo forth putte

vnto newe peynys. Trewely y remembryd not wele at that same tyme the feyng of the holy poſtle ſent powelle in hys pyſtyle of ſeche perſons, where he condempnyth the foule vyce and ſynne agayneſt nature bothe of men and women. And yeffe y hadde ſene and conſyderyd the cauſe namely nowe in tyme of cryſtendame, cowde not in any wyſe haue beleuyd that ſuche a foule ſynne and vyſe myght haue be preſumed and done ſpecially of women, the whyche naturelly ſchuld be more ſchamfull thenne other. I neuyr herde before nether hadde any fuſpicyon hethirto that the kynde of women hadde be deprauyd and deſoyled by ſuche a foule ſynne. And alas for forowe, for ther was founde a company of ſuche ſo innumerabulle as they were myſerable. Many of tho perſonys that were there in that place y knewe not nethyr wele behylde hem by cauſe that the qualyte of her foule ſynne, and the grete ſtenche and tormentys that was there ſmytte me wyth full grete horroure and teduſnes. Full greuys hyt was vnto me and more thanne a man may beleue to be there in that place a moment whyle, or to beholde ſuche thynges as ware there. Neuertheleſſe y felte no ſtenche by experyence whylys y was there as y dyd no nothir hirte of peynys, for my thoughte and yf I hadde felte hit y myghte noo lengur haue leuyd. Notwithſtondyng y conſyderyd and perceyued ſufficyently in mynde the intollerable gretnes of alle thyng. Trewely thoo wréchys that were therefencybly hadde experyence and felte alle theſe peynys and other mo infynyte, that no man maye tel of And amonge her ſorrowfulle lamentacyons of complaynyng whyle euerychon of hem cryed Alas alas why dyd y ſo ſynne, alas why dyd not y penans for my fynnys and amende my lyuyng, they felte and remembryd her greuys peynys. Sothely their voycys of wepyng and forowyng was exaltyd and lyfte vppe with ſo gret a cry that a man wolde haue wend hyt ſchulde haue be herd thorow all the world

¶ Of a doctour a lawe that was a sodomite

¶ Ca xxvi



Rewly thawgh y refusyd as mekyll as y myghte to see and beholde tho thinghes that were done yn that place y cowde not auoide the knoweleg of on clerk the wyche y sawe and knew sum tyme This clerk in hys days was a doctur of lawe and also amonge other that were docturs of lawe he was had in that fciens ful excellent. Full many lerners of that faculte he ordende yn scoles wherby he gatte to hym gret famylarite of worshippeful men This clerke was largely possesse with benefycys and rentys of the chirche and yet that not withstonding dayly he coueytyd to haue more and more wherfore by the wille of god the whiche wolde haue alle men to be turne to penans. he felle yn to grete fekenes by the whiche he was fore vexid and defesid abowt a .ix. monthys. Sothely hyt was done of a meke dispensacion of oure sayur that he shulde by the schorge of fekenes and sorowe. dispose to corect and amende hys synful leuyng. the whyche whene he was yn gode helthe of body fowle and dedly trespass oftyn tymes to god. But he contrary wyfe was ouer carkesulle of hys bodely helpe [helthe?]. the whyche he louyd ouer mekyl. and so vaynely presumyd and thougth to haue hyt ageyne. wherfore he neuyr wolde dyspose hym to be confest of hys synys and specialy of hys fowle and onclene leuyng for the helthe of his fowle the whyche ys the fyrst and chese dede of almys that a man schuld doo nethyr had any compassion on powre pepul to geue hem any almys nethir any thyng dyd to the sentys of god. as yn offeryng to hym mekely hys feruys. for the redempcion of hys synys nethir studyd or karyd to do any almys of his erthely and transitory godys as long as he leuyd Than the heuynly leche our sayur seyng that he was neuyr in his dayes the bettyr for the fekenesse the whiche he hadde for his

warnyng the whyche he schoyd and gaue vnto hym for a goitely medefon. nethir wente owte of hys onclene leuing in the whiche vnclene leuing he was in by the affliccyon of hys grete fekenesse. Therfore the euyl and wekid faites and dedys. that cowde not be clenfyd and purged in hys yonge aage oure lord ihesu crist mercefully putte and ende of hem in hys dethe what more mercye myghte be done vnto hem the whyche after their hardnesse and impenytente herte. trefur to hem fro daye to daye the wrathe of owre fauyur ihesu cryste. in the daye of hys wrathe and also of schewyng hys ryghtfull iuggement. and alsoo to be rescueyd in to the nyghte of dethe in the whiche nyghte of dethe no man may helpe hym selfe. for thanne no man may labure any thyng for to deserue. thanne that sone her lyfe of thys world be schoityd and alsoo fro hem takyn awaye. in the whyche her synnys and mysdedys encrefyn and growyn to her perdyccyon and destruccyon: And what thing myght be more holsummur to them the whyche by her solusnesse and madenesse with a scharpe fwerde koueyten and desyren to adde strokys to her owne propre wowndys thanne that they be bounde and also her wepynys takyn awaye / the whiche they mysfufyd to her owne propre hurte and dammage. Thys forseyde clarke the whyche y knew sum tyme in my chylldhode and yonge aage. y vnderstode nor y knewe not that he was dysceste and ded. For that same tyme in the whyche y knewe hym he remouyd fro that prouynce or place ther as he was wonte to dwelle in before vnto a nothir prouynce or place. Neuert[h]eleffe yn alle suche peynys and tormentys as hit ys aboue seyde y sawe and fownde hym and y merueyled of hit For y had wente he had be yet a lyue and also an honest person. Than y spake to hym and askyd whethyr he hopyd any tyme to haue the mercye of god And than he seyde Alas alas y knowe and knowe that athishalfe[at this halfe?] domys dayeyschall haue algaatenomercye And whethir y schalle haue any thanne y am not certeyn Sothely euermore fethe y was putte here to these peynys they encrefyn more and more Then y seyde to hym And why were yow

not confesse of thy fynnyſ at thy laſte ende and dydyſt no penaunce for hem Than he ſeyde by cauſe y hopyd to haue recouered and alſo by the diſceyte of the deuyl my goſtely ennemy y was aſhamed to confeſſe ſo fowle a ſynne. leſte y ſhulde haue be of les reputacyon and dyſpyſed amonge them the whiche y ſemyd glorious and fayre y confeſte me of lytyl and ſmale ſynys to ſeche an honeſt perſon and a worſchipfull pryſte that yow knowyſt wele And whanne he aſkyd me yef y had any other thynges to be confeſte of. y bade him go his waye and tolde him that yef any other thyng cumme afterward to my mynde y wulde ſende for hym ageyne and tell him. And whanne he was gonne and onethis came to his chirche y begunne to deye Thenne anone he was cald for ageyne and whenne he cumme / he fownde me ded and gonne Trewly ther ys no thyng of a thouſand peynys that y ſofyr dayly ſo greuys to me as ys the vnhappy preſentacion of my fowle and vnclene leuyng that y vſyd in the world. and now beyng here am compellyd to doo actually the ſame foule paſſyon. And beſyde the horrabulle gretneſſe of peynys that y am in. y am more confounded of ſchame whyle dat y am by the ſame ſynne made curſyd and abhomynable in the ſyght of al men. Alas alas who euer wolde haue wende that the worſchyppe and ſauour the whiche y hadde amonge men ſculde be turned to ſeche confuſyon and deſpexion as it is nowe wherfore ful gretely y am confowndyd and aſhamed. for nowe to euery creature y appere foule and abhomynable. the whiche before apperyd to euery man glorious and honorabulle. And thys he ſeyd with full forc and grete cryyng and wepyng And whyle y meruelde the wrechidnes and peynys of ſo grete a man ſum tyme. y ſawe howe he was ponyſſhte in innumerabulle w[a]lyſys. and by thoo tormentys he was brought as to nought and dyſſoluyd by ſtrenthe and hete of fyre and ſo made lyquyd as led ys whenne hyt ys multe. Sothely thanne y aſkyd ſent Nycholas my leder yf this mannys peynys myght be remedyde or helpe by any mene. And thanne he ſeyde whanne

the daye of dome ys cumme thenne schall crystys wille be fulfyllede He onely knowyth the hertys of alle men And then he wole doo to euery man ryghtfully. Therefore I coude knowe no thyng for certen of this mannys delyberacyon. Therefore thoo thyngys the whiche we haue spokyn of here before may wele be confyderyd as the scripture seyth in thys wyfe. *Non est ei bene qui assiduus est in malis et elemosinam non danti.* that ys to saye hyt ys not wele with hym that ys besye in euyll Nethir with hym that dothe non almys See nowe and confydre howe gretely they be holpe in placys of peynys by the doying of almys dedys. as oure lorde spekyth in the gospelle the whiche dyd hem in her lyfe. Thys clerke in hys lyfe was wise and wyttye in hys owne conceyte and trusing to him selfe fet ful lytyl to feche helpe of other by almis dede and good werkys for his fynnys. that hathe wrought nowe to hym damnacyon. Loo so fone and sodenly he ys founde onwyfe and madde. Conceyue nowe what ys here nowe feyde of thys clarke and a lytyl before what was feyde of a goldsmyth and opynly hyt confermethe the sentence of the scrypture feyng in thys wyfe *Potenter potentes tormenta sustinebunt et exiguo conceditur misericordia.* yat ys to feye. Myghty men myghtyly schalle soffyr tormentys. and to a meke man ys graunted mercye. That goldsmyth and though he were a syner yet was in hys owne fyghte meke and lytyl the whiche nethir by his connyng nethyr of any othir vertue presumyd but countyd hym selfe euermore onwyfe and onstable by cause of hys fynnys Therefore by the mene of almys dedys. and serues as he myght doo. gate to hym the helpe and soffragys of hys grete and myghty aduocatour and patron seynt Nycholas and so in tyme of nede he had helpe and mercy as he desyred And also euyn contrarye wyfe thys clarke of the excellent connyng ryches and worschippe that he hadde procedyd forthe hys wekednesse. And by cause he thoughte hym selfe excepte in this worlde. fro the comon labur of men. Lo in so cruell and byttur

example he is not now ponysshte with othyr men. Also y sawe there hys tonge hauyng forthe oute of his hede and besyly brennyng as hyt were a bronde of fyre and yat veryly he sofryd by cause that often tymes he peruerted ryghtwesnes as a man myghty in wordys takyng gestys and mennys persons. For he vsyd not only to iangyl idyle wordys. but also frowardly in wordys contrarye to wrothe ouer mekyl he had excedyd. Therefore no meruelle though he were ponysshte this wyse for suche excessys and sawtys. whenne oure lorde spekyth in the gospelle of the ryche man the whiche for hys light speking and iangelying at mete was fore ponysshte in hys tonge in a flame of fyre. Sorthely after this came to me that worschyppefull pryste to home this clerke was confeste of hys smale synnys as hit ys reherfed before And amonge other thyngys the whiche this worschipful pryste herde of me y tolde howe this clarke afore seyde whenne he was confeste bade hym goo hys waye as for that tyme. and so anone dyde as hyt ys seyde before And when y had told him this he wepte ful bytturly and toke god to recorde that hit was very trouthe as y seyde and knewe wele. that the forseyde clerke seyde so to hym Therefore only of that multytude of wrechys y knewe this clerke that this seyde to me.



Sorthely thanne sone after that we were passe thys third place we came to a regyon where the foullys the whiche hadd done her purgacyon in purgatorye ioyfully restyd. in the whiche place many y knewe wele and founde hem there in grete felycyte and conforte. Trewely as touchyng the ioys of that place and the iocundnes and gladnes of them that were there as oure lorde wyll geue vs grace we schall afterward schewe and declare. but fyrst let vs turne ageyne thys

narracyon to thoes thynges the whyche we haue leste
oute of the peynys and merytys of some perfonys in
especyalle. the whyche y sawe and founde in tho
placys of purgatorie as hyt ys seyde before.

**¶ Of. ii. personys that this monke sawe and
spake with in the first place of purgatorie and
first with a prior.** **¶ Ca xxvii**



Herfore a prior that was father of a relygyous
place the whiche y knewe full wele sum
tyme dysceste and deyde this fame yere.
And of hys maners and condycyons y
knewe many thyngys the whiche y leue
oute at this tyme by cause of schortenes. Thys man and
prior y sawe and knew amonge the firste that were in
peynys of the fyrste place of purgatorie that we came
to. Trewly he was in ful grete and fore tormentys
and fofyrd ful greuys peynys. sum tyme in fyre and
sum tyme in stinkyng bathys of brimston and pyche
medild to gedyr hoys face and chere was ouer wrechyd
and dedful And assone as he sawe me he began mekely
to call me and grete me whome with compaffyon of herte
y grete also and spake to hym many thyngys. And y
enquyryd of hym whethir he so sofreyd so grete peynys
for the sawtys the whiche he dyd in youthe by cause
perauenture he neglygently kepte hys ordre that
he toke to hym in hym in hys chyldehode And he
seyde naye But neuertheles ful fore and byttyr peynys
y losre here not onely for myne owne synnys and ex-
cessys the whiche y dyd in myne own perfon howe be
yt that y offendyth in many thingys but also for the
wekydues and mysfouernaunce of tho perfonys the
whiche a lytyl before y had charge and cure of. For
as touchyng myne own synnys y wulde fofyr as y myght
here / thoes peynys the whyche be dewe for hem. For
y vsyd to redeme and schast myne owne synnys by
ofte confessyon and takyng discyplinys and besy
prayers And al so by dyuers other weyes. Sothely

of these thingis ful fore greuyth me nowe the carnal affeccyon and loue that y hadde to my frendys. as fadyr and mother and other of my kynne of the whyche to sum of them y gate benefycys of chyrchys. whenne they were ful onworthy to haue hem and to othir y gaue right ondycretely man gestys of the godys of the monasterye that y was prior of and they nowe ful lytyl remembre me or doo any thyng for me in my nede. Trewlye the fauyr of pepulle and the loue of worschippe that y had me pryncpaly noythe And alas alas for forowe. for and god take not mercy on me as y am nowe in peynys oute of mesure. so schalle y be withoute ende. The couetyse ambycyon that y hadde to kepe my worschippe. and the fere that y hadde to leue hit. so blyndyd the syghte of my soule that y lowfyd the brydyl of correccyon to the willys of my fogettys and sofryd hem to doo and folowe her desyrys and lustys as my yes had be clofyd. lest haply yef y had correcte hem and refraynde hem from her lyghtnes they wulle haue be to me as enemyes to labure and to haue me out of my worschippe and prelacyon that y was in. Forthermore they that were gode relygyous men and had zeles and loue to kepe the ordyr. y no thing helpyd or faueryd in conferuacyon of the relygyon. but full inordenatiy and contrary to vertue y wolde wyth other that loued hem not speke euyl of hem and detracte hem and cherysshe other that were ful euyl disposyd and brekerys of her holy professiyn and order And alle this y clyd a part of myne owne lightnes and a parte be cause y wolde defende my prelacyon And for hem to pleye lewde gamys and to speke and clathyr tryfullys iapys and other lewdnesse and also to goo and wandyr amonge fecler folkys and ydelnes. hyt was lesful to hem. as hyt was to me Therefore some of hem by thys cruel lyghtnes of me and that they sawe in me presumyd and sayde to do many full cursyd thyngys. wherfore here y am ponysslite withoute hope. howe be yt that y approuyd not her wykyd dedys Notwithstonding y knewe hem. and of a vayne drede. made lyke as yf y had not knowe hyt.

wherefore many of hem bode flylle in her fowle abufyons. going fro euyl to wars. And fome of hem contynued in euyl vnto her dethe whyle y leuyd in the worlde. and now they be euerlaſting dampde. Alfo fome other of hem yet hethir to leuyn contynually wars and wars in grete fynmys and dedly dedys. wherefore to hem and to me as y am agafte ſuccedyth inextynguyble fyre. Alfo fro the howre that y paſte fro my body. y ame putte to onſpekehabule tormentys the whiche were as me femyth nowe ful lyght in comparyſon of the peynys that y nowe foſyr. Sothely the firſte daye after my dethe was to me more efuer thanne alle the dayes that y hadde fetthe. And of alle the fynmys and fautes that nowe they done after my dethe of an euyl cuſtome that they hadde before the whiche they be ſeyne to haue take by my neglygens. my peynys therfore ben euermore encrefyd. And by cauſe that y knewe ſum of hem that be ded and ſum other the whiche yette leuyn. that haue flyd and falle beſyde other fynmys. to that fowle and abhomynable fynne that ought not to be named and therfore putte to hem no correccyon. no thyng y drede ſo mekyll. as the encrefyng of my peynys ſo largely tyl y be compellyd to foſyr the foule and abhomynable ſlenche the whiche they foſre and haue nowe the whiche dyd the ſame fowle and abhomynable fynne for y know wele that the greuyſ peyne of that ſame ſlenche ys more intolerable and peynfull than any other peynys that fynners foſryn. And as ofte as they the whyche y leſte alyue dampnably offendyd. anone the deuyls ranne to me with grete ſcornes and vpbraydys and euermore and more with newe peynys encrefyng my tormentys. Alfo he tolde me what daye what place and what tyme after that he was paſte oute of thys world and what perſon of hym hyt was and what fynne he hadde done. And he told my many thyngys that they dyde and and ſeyde anone as they done any euyl the whiche y had ſum tyme cure of. the mynyſtrys and wykyd angellys of the deuylle vpbraydyn me with the ſame

and anon they encresyn my peynys. Sothely ther was sum of the bretheren of that place the whiche this man aforeseyde was prior and father to that were accendyd by zeles of rightwyfnes and feruor of relygyon and dyd also grete labur and dyligens that alle inordinate fauors putte a fyde the puryte and honeste of her ordre myght be kepte. And this y knewe was trouthe wherefore y seyde to hym. Howe than was hit noyfyd fer and brode that many thyngys were wel reformyd and amendyd before your ende in the place where ye were prior yf hit be nowe schewyd yow so mekyl euyl of hem that dwelle there yette. And thanne he seyde Trew hit ys as ye saye that mekyl thyng was correcte and amende more than yt was wonte to be before. Neuertheles of her amendement haue y no frute ne mede but also my peynys encresyng because y was ouer mekyl agenst her correccions and lest y schulde be correcte or tho thingys amendyd that be amendyd ful mekyl y lettyd. Sothely y was affchamed of her opyn correccyon. but lesse y bashyd to here hem ouer all schamfully dyffamyd. Trewly her condycyons were so froward and obstynate that vtwardly y hadde wende they had be incorrygible and what sum euer ys beleuyd to be done ther fore amendment. but yf the meruaylous power and myght of god helpe. hyt wyl be broughte done ageyne to noughte. Alas alas why dyd y beleue euer to seche confels. Alas that euer y fauyrde and magnifyde seche persons by the whiche y dyd so offende the mageste of god so to let hem haue her wylle to doo what they wolde. Sothely foure persons there byn and tolde me her namys that y schulde seye to hem. but yf they sone do to god. euynworthy penaunce for her cursyd dedys and confels. by the whiche they haue losse hem selfe and other also the whiche haue done after hem they schalle haue the indycible and euerlastyng tormentys of helle. And trewly yf they dyd penauns and satisfaccion tyl domys daye they schulde thynke hit but lytyl in to the recompensacyon and expyacyon of the grete and longe schrewdenes

and curfydnes by the whiche they haue broughte me to this peynys that y am in nowe and with her wyckydnes they haue al moſte enſecte and cumbrid alle the howſe. Sothely onethys or litil any tyme tho foure perſons y wulde diſpleſe but y was inclynyd and bowyd to let hem do what they wolde. Alſo fewe ther ben of al the couent that for me and for myn helping. Fully haue done and ſeyde the meſſys and pſalmys wyth other ſoffragys and prayers. the whiche of dewty they ſchulde feye and do for me according to oure relygyon. And many of hem for whome y am now in fore peynys haue done none of theſe thingys yet for me. therfore what for forowe and drede that y haue of theſe preſent tormentys. y am peynde on euery fyde. Seche thinhys ſawe y aboute this prior and this wyfe he ſpake to me as hit ys aboute reherſyd.

¶ Of an ancreſ that he ſawe and knewe in the ſame place.

¶ Ca. xxviii



Knewe alſo a certen ancreſſe the whiche was of a gode and honeſte conuerſacyon whome gretely y louyd and y ſawe her ther: as ſche had comme late fro the world. Trewly ſche was ſtable and ſtedfaſte in contynuauns and ſeyre of beholdyng. home the laborus weye that ſche had gon a lytyl had weryde. and with the peynys of fyre that other were inuoluyd here and there ſche was ofte tymes tochyd and ſum what brente. But ſhe ſul lytyl counted hyt and haſtyd her ſpedly gretly profeting on the iorney that goyth to paradyſe. and this whan y ſawe y take god to record y had wende hyt had be ſum fantaſy and as hit had be a dreame for y beleuyd in no wiſe that ſche was ded. Than ſeyd y vnto my ſelfe. Y trowe that the merytorye leuyng of this ancreſ and ſeruaunte of cryſte ſo ys ſchewde to me by ymagynacyon. for trewly ſche that ys yette alyue in her bodye may not be here. Sothely the thirde daye

after that y was cum to my sche ageyne a certen neybur of herns was here that y spake with and prayde hym to grete her wele on my worde. and al so that sche wylle whytsafe to pray for me. Than he seyde Praye ye also for her our good frende for ye scalle vnderstande that sche ys discesse and paste to god. Veryly y merueyld gretly at hys seying And than first y beleuyd that hyt was trewe that y sawe of her in the first place of purgatorye Forthermore this generall condicyon of alle folk that deyon. y knowe there opynly. that alle pepule the whiche be ordende to perceue reste and blysse before the daye of dome. hadde euermore fro the first howre of her dethe her peynys lesse and lesse. But yf hyt were so. that any of hem had leste to other that leuyd after by euyl exampulle occasyon of synne the whiche ryghtwysly they myght wyte hit hem that dyd so before. and whyle they dede no satisfaccion to god for hit before her deth, wherby seche occasyon of synning leste to other schulde haue be forgeuyn hem also they yat greuysly offendyd by the whiche they desernyd euerlasting dampnacion begunne to goo fro ful bittyr peynys to wars and so by succeding of her peynys dayly her tormentys besyly encrefyn yat euery day folowing is more greuoffor to hem then was the daye before.

¶ Of a certen bisshop that was there also.

¶ xxix



A certen bisshop y knew there in peynys the whiche onys y sawe and he was bore in thys ground of inglonde and had hys bishopriche be yonde see. Trewely he deyed thys same yere abowte the feste of seynt Myghel the archangel. For than y knewe opynly the daye of his passyng but nowe hit is fallyn out of my mynde the whiche that tyme was occupied aboute many thingys that y sawe. Sothely innumerabulle thyngys there were the whiche y dyd not wele note

nether cowde wele kepe in my mynde all thyngys that y had notyd. Trewely the same man the whiche tolde me of the passyng of the ancre as hyt ys feyde in the next chaptur before told me also of the passyng of this bysshoppe but he knew not what tyme. Trewely another yong man. the whiche was cofyn and alye to the same bysshoppe. and also in seruyce with hym whenne he leuyd cam home ageyn to his countrey of inglonde and brought certen worde to the todyr man that tolde me that the forseyde bysshoppe was dede. Trewly y sawe this bysshoppe al moſte contynualy brennyng in flamys of fyre and moſte be cause of his vycyus leuing that he leuyd in his youthe also he was torment in other innumerable wyfys and be cause y sawe sum ſpecial thinge aboute him y thought to remembre and ſpecially to ſpeke of him. Sothely as he brende beſyly in fyre he had euer more a ful honeſt clothe apon him there the whiche not only was hurte by the fyre but also yt was yldyn and made by the fyre more ſeyrer and ſemlyor than hit was afore. Thanne ſent Nycholas declared to me the reaſon of thys meruaylous thyng and ſeyde. Thys preuylege he gate to hym whenne he leuyd. by a good dede the whiche he vſyd to doo. And this hit was. Euermore he hadde compaſſion on powre pepulle that were nakyd and ful lyberally he vſyd to releue hem of that nede wherfore his clothyng ſchalle neuer lacke ſeyernes. tyl that he haue fulfilled his penauns and take of god the ſtole of euerlaſtyng ioye and blyſie.

¶ Of a certen woman the whiche was a pore mannyſ wyfe.

¶ Ca xxx



woman also that was a poure mannyſ wyf dyde this laſte yere with her huſbond the whiche was wele condicione and in mony thyngys ful wele dyſpoſyd. Sche was ſum tyme ryght famylyarly belouyd of me. home

ful gladly y behylde there in lyghte peynys. in comparyson of other swiftly goyng forth to the grete mede and worschippe of heuynly ioyes. Trewely in thys that sche vfyd in pacyently to stolve and vpbayde hem that dyd her wronge and enmyte and in her herte hylde rancour and fowernes agenste hem. sche gretely offendyd and therefore sche hadde soffryd peynys. Neuertheles thys vyse was to her inuynceble by cause of her imperfeccon and euer sche hatyd hyt and often tymes wepte that sche coude not ouercome hyt. wherefore sche hadde the soner forgeuenes of that synne. Sothely sche was in her prayers ful deuoute and wele disposyd to almys dedys and hospytalte more than sche might wele do of her owne godys. And before her dethe by long fekenes that sche had sche was prouid and clenfyd as gold ys in a fornes by the whyche al mooste sche hadde caste fro her the scurse and the hardenes of her synnys. Forthirmore fulfeldyn hyt is in this dayes in the whyche. al mooste the condicions of alle men gone oute of kynde. for the pure and clere symplycyte and innocentnes of the very chirce of god. that any man leuyng in thys lyfe kepyth or rekeuerythe fully the equityte and puryte of the holy gospelle. the whyche tyle a man fulfyll he may not dwelle in heuynly placys nethyr schalle reste in the mownte and hille of paradyse of ioye and blyffe. wherefore what sum euer thyng of synne and vncleneffe contrarye to equite and ryghtwyfnes cleuyth and restyth on the fowlys that passyn hens out of this world hit shalbe purged in a nothir world and so by her penauns the weye and pathe of a ioyful restyng shalbe schewyd to hem that be purged and clenfyd. and so thenne in placys of reste the entring of heuyn and euerlasting blisse ful largely shalbe oppynd to tho soulys for the perfette desyre that they shal haue ther to se god. Sothly this only must be takyn of tho synnys whiche by her light qualite or els by confesioun and satisfaccion don for hem be granted of god to be changyd and contyd among venyal synnys. For as touching tho

fynnys yat be dedly and were not in this worlde by the remedy of confession and penans made light and venial hyt ys withoutyn doute yat he shal so be presentyd to his iugement in the world yat is to cumme as he is fonde in hys leuyng when he passyth oute of this worlde.

¶ What peynys relygyous men sofryd for certen fawtes.

¶ Ca xxxi



Othely y sawe alle relygyous folke bothe of men and wemen how they sofryd certeyne peynys as wele for lytyl offenses as for grete fynnys and as hit were propyr peynes for synguler fynnys And full fore as hit femyd to me were the lesse peynys that they sofryd for ryght lytyl offenses as for immoderate lawghyng and ydyl wordys spekyng and that they sofryd her mynde neglygently ouyr mekyl to wandyr aboute in vayne thoughtys or els for lyght brekyng the rulys and fourme of her relygyon as in lyghte and nyce behauyng of gestur and in multiplyyng fignys to mekyl and so for goyng and wandryng out of her cloyster and cellys onprofetabully and also for many other thyngys in lyke wyse. For some y sawe ful myferabully wepyng and rowlling hoothe brennyng colys in theire mouthys for etyng frutys and herbys out of dewe placys and tyme not for any medsyn or nede. but for luste and appetyte And for immoderate lawghyng they had betyngys For ydyl speche strokys in her face. and for vayne thoughtys they sofryd greuys and varyante trowbulnes of the eyre. And they that offendyth in dissolucyon of gestur and behauyng were bonde with scharpe bondys and many with fry boundys and for superfluyte of fignys by the whiche they hadde to gedyr lewde pleyes and ydyl gamys. sum of hem had her fyngers f[l]ayne and some had hem by knockyng fore broyfyd. They also that were onstabule

wandryng here and there were greuyfly caste and throwe fro one place to anothir by the whiche her lymmys were fore hurte amonge hem selfe. Also they that spake wordis of reboudye the whiche founned onclenesse or other wise agenst the honeste of relygyon were ponysshite there almoste as fore as for dedly fynnyngs. Also who sum euer brake any vowys made to god or to hys feyntys specyally in tyme of drede and perylle for her helpe and delyuerans. And afterward faerte takyn of the same vowe sofryd inestymable tormentys.

¶ Of a certen knyght that brake a bowe ¶ xxxii



Monge hem that brake her vowys y sawe a yong knyght brennyng in the myddys of fyre whome y knewe sumtyme ful wele. And as y enquired of him why he was putte in so grete peynes. thys he tolde me. My lyfe he seyde that y leuyd was but baren and vayne and also vycyous. For y was insolent and nyse in pryde and elacyon and soule and vnclene by the vyce of lecherye. not withstonding for thys y am nowe specyally ponysshite by cause y caste awaye fro me the fygne of the holy crosse the whyche y hadde takyn apone me in a vowe that y made to goo to the holy lond howe be yt that y toke the crosse not for deuocyon but for vayne glorye the whiche y loued to haue hadde of the lorde yat y feruyd. Trewely euery nyght y labur in going as mekyl as y maye to make an ende of that pilgrimage. But what for febulnes of strenthe and contraryusnes of the wedyr and also scharpnes of the waye y am lettyd gretly that onethe y may goo at on tyme a full lytyl dayes iourney. Sothely whenne the mornynge begynnyth. fleyn to me wykyd spirytys beyng wodde yn al cruelnes. and drawyn me ageyne. to the place of my peynys. where euer more al the days tyme y am gretly peynde yn fyre. Neuertheles

wyth a certen amendement of lessur dyffese thawght hyt be lytyl. And ageyne when nyghte comythe. y. am restoryd to the place where y leste laste my iourney. and so y go forthe on my pylgrimage. and when the mornynge ys cumme y am drawyn ageyne and caste to peynys. And al that haue vowyd to go to the holy londe. and astyr dyd caste fro hem her crosse. and whent not dedyr. yn lyke wyfe as y go. they be compellyd to do her pylgrymage. so yf they may haue the grace of god yn her laste ende to repente hem. as y had to repente me for brekyng of my vowe. and than by the holfum remedy of confession thys synne yat was dedly synne may be changed to a venyal synne Othyr wyfe al that breke that same vowe. be put to eternalle dampnacion.

¶ Also of another knyght.

¶ Ca xxxiii



Another knyght also the whiche welle dyde and paste to god a x yere a gon y sawe and knew there. This knyght that tyme the whyche y sawe hym had ouercome alle his grete peynys that he had sofryd before And therefore y fey he dyd wele For by that space of penans he wente wele toward the ioys of paradise. Sothely he bare there on hys fyfte a lytyll byrddde lyke a sparhauke. Also in hys lyfe aboue alle men that were of that countreye the whiche he dwellyd in gaue gladly and lyberally to all pore pepul that came to hym hospytalyte. Trewely his wyfe dide afore him almoste a xxx wyntyr after hoys dethe he leuyd continent and chaste. in a wydwardys lyfe redy and benyuolente to alle men whilys he leuyd And gretely merueylde why he yat was so honeste of leuyng and wele condycyonde in hys demening had not yette perceiuyd fully reste and ioie. Than he feyde to me that hit was not too be merueylyde. For why whenne he leuyd he mighte ofte offende in many

wyfys. fpecialy by caufe that in hys youthe and child-
hode. he was norifhte and broughte vppe delycately.
and what for felifhpye and hys yowthe. was drawyn
to many noyfful thyngys of the whiche he kowde not
fully be purgyd and made clene in worldly conuerfa-
cyon. where he muſte conforme hym to the maners
and behauyng of hem yat he dwellyd amonge. Sothely
he complaynde that the hauke the whiche he bare on
hys fyfte. paynfully tare his hande with her bylle and
ſcharpe cleys This tedeufnes of peyne. he ſofryd as
he ſeyde by cawſe that in haukyng the whiche he vſyd
alle the tyme of hys lyfe. gretely delytyd to ſee the
haukys whenne they ſlowe howe they toke other
byrddys. The whiche haukyng he leſte not in hys
aage. nethyr there of had any compuncecyon. For he
knewe not that ſeche a thing were any ſynne. Many
other thingis alſo y ſawe and behylde in this firſte
place of purgatorye. e. as wele aboute hem that y
knewe. as aboute other bothe of men and women of
alle degreys and profeſſyons of the whiche eueryche
on of hem were ponyſhte in peynys innumerable. ful
ſcharpe and bytterly. as y haue ſchortely aboute ſeyde. vn-
der a certen generalyte. wherfore theſe fewe thingys ſeyde
now of many thingys. be ſufficyaunt here at this tyme.

¶ Of tho perſons that he ſawe in the ſecund
place of purgatorye. ¶ Ca xxxiiij



Owe of tho thingys the whiche y ſawe and
notyd in the ſecund place of purgatorye
ſum what y wylle ſchewe and declare to
yow Sothely in this ſecund place y ſawe
and knewe many mo that were ſum tyme
of myne acquaintanſe. than y dyd in any other place
fore wepyng and ſorowyng in her peynys her ſynnys
by the whiche they had brokyn owre lordys com-
maundmentys wherfore they were alyenate and made
ferre fro his famylyare knowledge.

¶ Of. iiii. bysshoppys pat y fonde there.

¶ Ca xxxv



Hre bysshoppys that y knewe wele sum tyme
 I fawe there straytely bownde wyth fyrye
 chaynys oftyn tymes. turnyng and walowyng
 ful myserabully. now yn gret fyre. and now
 yn fcharpe stormys of hayle and snow and
 whyrle wyndys. and afterward yn a fowle flynkyng
 ponde of blacke watyr. Trewly they were ponyt
 dyuerfly. not fer from othyr. And on of hem was
 more bytterly torment than tothyr were and that was
 by cause he vsyd yn hys lyfe to fyttte amonge secler
 iugys. yn place and tyme of pledyng and ther yn. he
 toke a grete plesure and delyte and oftyn tymes he
 was. to many that pleydyd her causis of god consciens
 a vyolent oppressur agenst ryghtewefenes. and therfore
 he compleynyd whyt an opyn mowthe that hys tonge
 contynually brende yn flamys of fyre. And as he was
 now brennyng yn fyre and now wete. And styftely fro yn
 [stiffly frozen?] yn snow and froste. and now yn a flynk-
 yng ponde. and now fowle ouerkeuryde yn fenne and
 plutte. hys tonge euermore conteynuyd yn brennyng
 fyre. The tothyr of hem othyr whyles neglygently
 brake hys chastyte. the whyche dede specially yn a
 byshoppe. was ouerfowle and abhomynable. and ther-
 fore was he drownde oftyn tymes yn the fowle and
 flynkyng ponde. that lythe betwene the gret hete and
 colde as hyt ys seyde before. Sothly a fore hys dethe
 he leste the honowre and dignyte of hys byshoprye.
 and toke apon hym the meke habette of a monke. the
 whyche gretly helpyd hym. amonge othyr dedys of
 fadyffaccion. And al that so done. grete good and
 profette ther of cummyth to hem. For al they specially
 be holpyn by the meritys and prayers of the holy
 feyntys. the whyche vsyd afore the same habette and
 also ben knowyn and markid to rise vppe ageyne in the
 ordyr of hem the whyche when they leuyd here vt-

wardly leste this worlde or els at her laste ende in ful deuocyon forfoke this world. The thirde of these byshopys gretly delyted in worldly worschippe and vayne glorye. For the whiche synne he was ofte tymys bore vp an hye in ful hye spyrytys of flamys of fyre. and by cause he fille fro the loue of god by seche synne vnto the coolde of worldly slowfulnes. he was lette done brenning to the greuys coolde that was on the todyr fyde of the fyre. and be cause of the comyn euyl and peynys that thes thre ware in. was for the neglygens of foullys the whiche they had cure of and for the gret carke that they had of her riches and despexion of pore pepul for flatering of princys and imoderate carke of her kynnefolke. and as y may shortly conclude many thyngys in fewe wordys euerych on of hem sought after tho thingys that was to him selfe and not tho thingys that longyth to our lorde ihesu criste. And the general euyll of these and many other prelatys that y sawe was the negligens of her office delectacion of worldly worschippe and dyffymulacyon of her charge. and in alle these thingys ful heuely they forowyd by cause they mysufyd her powre that they had vndyr god to the grete hurte of hem selfe and to the perdicion of her fogetys and therfore the peynys of al seche prelatys were dayly encrefyd more and more as y haue tolde before of a certen prior that what sam euer her frendys that leuyd in the worlde dyd for hem as in messys almyfdede and seche other thingis by the whiche her peynys shold be lessyd dayly her greuys peynys were encrefyd for the synful leuyng of hem the whiche they dedly fauerd and brought vp in her vicyys or els be cause they dyd not correcte hem in dewe forme as yt longeth to her offyce wherfore al they yat for seche causys sofrid peynys gretly douted of her saluacion and were almooste in despacion. So thly ther is no thing so greuys to hem that be in peynys as the oncertente of her delyuerans and also ther ys no thing that so mekyl swagyth the peynys and forowys of other as dothe a very hope and

seythefull truſte the wyiche they knewe and haue by oure lordys mereye to be delyueryd. and they that were certeyn to haue an ende of her peynys and were not bonde to the certente of dampnacion. yat ſame certente was to hem a ful grete ſolace and conforte For as touching the euyl and hurte of deſpacion as mekyl as y can conſider and remembre me after tho thingys that y ſawe there hyt greuyth diſefyth and tormentyth tho ſoulys that haue hit more than al other peynys done.

¶ Of an archebyſſhoppe of canturbery

¶ Ca xxxvi



Hawe alſo beſyde theſe aboue ſeyde a certen perſon that ſumtyme was of grete name and fame the whiche after the meke conuerſacion of monkys relygyon that he leuyd in before in the whiche he had leuid ful deuoutely as in bodely penauns in holy medytacions and many other vertues right excellently and at the laſt he was promotyd and made archebiſhope of canturbery and primate of inglonde But alas for ſorow for trewly the more therby he grewe in the ſight of the pepul ſo mekyl he had ſal and decreſyd in the ſight of god the whiche behilde him inwardly and the ſander had endid his life yef he had not be holpe by the mercy of god and the merytys of his good leuyng afore by the whiche when he was in relygyon a monke ful wele in good purpoſe and labore acceptable to god he had pleſyd oure lorde Sothely when he was biſſhope of canturbery and alſo ſpecyaly ful excellent in conning ful lityl hede he toke to his cure. and to the goſtely helthe of the peple For he onwyſyly promoted ful onworthy perſons to beneficyſ of the chirche. and alſo he dredde and was aſchamyd to execute the lawe for diſpleaſing the king by hoys fauor hit ſemyd he cam to that dignite Alſo he ſtudyd and thought by a colur of ſymulacyon odyr wiſe then he ſchulde to trouble hem the

whiche he knew were agensle his promoting of the byshoprye and dignite that he had In these thingys and secche other. he had gretly offendyd. Also in this he was more to be blamid and more offendyd yat he hyd and kepte close ful onprofetably the auctorite of relygyon and wysdom that he had fro hem of home he was ful excellently named and to home he might ful gretly haue profet and ho sum euer so do they be ordende to ful grete peynis. for they be a sclaunder to the chirche of god while they plucke not vppe and distrey the wekyd leuing and rotyd wyfys the whiche be sowyn in the hertys and conuerfacion of the peple of god yat they haue cure and charge of nethir be aboute by her office to edifie and plante in her sogettys the nobulnes and condicions of vertu and honeste no more than other that lacke bothe holynes and gode vnderstanding Neuertheles our lordē fecchyth aswel of hem that had no conning in secche thingis as they shuld haue had for to be hedys of the peple as of other the whiche had connyng and vnderfstanding how be it yat they had hit but barenly and turnith hit to the more tormentys and peynys of hem bothe Also for the opyn and foule onchaste leuing of pristys and clarkys bishoppis nowē a dayis ful gretly perishe be cause they correcte not so grete a synne the whiche is a ful grete iniurye and wrong to the heuynly sacramentys of holy chirche. for in thoo bleffyd sacramentys al the lyfe and helpe of crystyn peple is conteynyd the whiche as mekyl as is in hem. be not aschamyd to defoule when they be right foule and pollutyd Sothly of the negligens of denys of archedekons and of other officers mony thingis y saw the whiche y leue out to tel and how by her consenting and simulacyon and for taking gestys and mennys persons al the state of crystlyndome almoste ys ouercome and subuertyd For this ys opynly shewyd in the werkys and condicions of hem that now leuyn Also the dissolucyon and floufulnes of secche persons yat shulde haue a zele and a loue to the peple of god requeryth and askyth eternal dampnacion

afwel to the clergy as to the laye folke and most to hem selfe and to her auctors. Trewly for these thingis and many other innumerable in this wise the forseyde archebischoppe laborde in gret peynys vnder greuys complayning. Sothly he was wel holpen there by the gloryus martir and archebischoppe of englonde fent thomas of canturbery home he had gotyn to him there a special patron and helper because when he went to the holy londe a pilgrymage in his lyfe tyme he hordende there an hospitalle for pilgrimmys and intytylde hit in the name of fente thomas to the gret fokyrr and conforte of crystyn pylgryms. Trewely this dede y knew first in purgatory when y saw the forseyd bisschop in fore peynys but yestern day y enquired therof yf hit were trew. and a certen person a religiys man told me how yt was ordende and begunne. Forthyr more gretly hit profet him the labour yat he had when he went on pilgrmage to ierusalem where he made yat place. Also many prystys that by the grace of god leste her vycyus leuynge of onchastyte in very contricion of herte with confession of mouth when they leuyd and be cause they had not do penans sufficiently y saw hem torment in innumerable peynys. Trewly then y thoughte to my selfe yat ful few prystys were ther sonde of the gret nombre yat is of hem in al the world. that had deseruyd peynis after her dethe for breking her chastyte. and to thys hit was so answard. Therfor ful few ben here torment of the nombre of feche persons for onethe it is feldynne sey yat any man of hem were very penitent and contrite while they leuyd for her synnys. wherfore hit ys no doute but yat the grete multytude of hem byn vtwardly dampde. Sothly in al this visyon y saw no man that vtwardly hadd losse hope of saluacion nethir yat was in certente of eternal dampnacion. Neuertheles some yat were in greuys peynys had no knoulege when they shulde be fauyd and yat was most peynful to hem. And some that were in peynys knew a certente of her delyuerans and that was to hem a grete solace as hit ys here feyde aboue.

**¶ A certen Description of diuers kynd of synfull
peple and of her peynys.** **¶ Ca xxxviij**



Yt were to longe and oute of mesure yeffe y
schulde reherse by name al tho persons
the whiche y sawe and knew there of all
condicions of all degreys and of all orders
Also yef y schulde sey or be aboute to
schew and declare synglerly the peynys and tormentys
of euery syngler cryme like as hit was schewde to me
at that tyme hit wulde be ouer teduse and weriful to
the redder therof. For ther ys no synne wretyn in
holy scripture but ther ys ordende in tho placys certen
peynis to al that be doers of hem. T[he]refore y leue
oute and pas by menfleers auowtres fornicators. lyers
and forswerers glotyners trayturs couetyse folke. proude
pepul enuyus pepul. sclaunderers hateful peple and a
thousand mo of this wyse to home all ys ordende ther
synglerly ful grete peynes and greuys. And ho may tel
of al these thingys when they yat were good religyus
men sofred ful sore and greuys peynys only by cause
they delyted and toke a plesure of the feyernes of her
handys and longe fingers. Also weyfaring men yat were
slayne of theuys in her iornay y saw hem ponyshite for
her synnys in an yefy wise. Theuys also of home hit is
not to be leste oute in no wise that were for her synnys
iugit to han[g]ing in this world and were only confesse
to a priste or els opynly yat moste helpith of her wykydnes
and euyl dedys in very trew contricion of herte and so
anon toke her dethe paciently forgeuing with herte al
her enemyes and al maner wrongys and trespassys done
to hem and alsoo her dethe in remyffyon of al her
synnys y saw al seche with a special certen worschipful-
nes put to ful softe and esy peynys. Also other that
were ponyshite and hangyd lyke wyfe for thefte and other
mysdedys and wulde not opynly confesse her synnys in
tyme of her dethe but hoping by fraude and disceyte
of her gostely enmy the deuyl to scape harmles at that

tyme for the denying and excusing her synns how be hit that they purposyd in her herte to be confeste to a priste of hem afterward and to do for hem condigne penans and also vtwardly to leue hem yef they coude haue and opteyne space therto as they hopid and yet coude not haue hit but schulde deye and than in the laste ende of her lyfe mekely besought god and his holy seyntys of mercy and helpe. al feche were ful greuyfly torment in peynys for her synns Not withstanding nethir these had losse hope of mercy and forgeuenes. Neuertheles they were gyuyd in fyre feturs and hangyd vp in the myddys of fyre on gybbettis home the cruel tormentours and fyndys alto bete and brake with scorgys and forkys and vpbrayde hem of crymys and synns with grete scornys and mockys.

¶ Of posynners that he sawe there. ¶ Ca xxxviii



hey that were posynners and posynyd folke and also wemen that hadde caste away and forsake her babys the whiche they had bore or had slayne hem or ellys by her curfyd craste had caufyd hem to be bore afore her tyme. I sawe suche persons by full ofte betyngys and abrafyng of naylys alto toryn And also they were compellyd to drinke dyuers metals as bras and ledde multyn by fyre and medylde with full stinkinge thingys the whiche brente her inward bowels and so went greuyfly thorow hem. and when it was out hit was brought to hem to drinke ageyne. Trewly certen grete monsturs of creping bestis with horrabul and gastful harmys cleppyd feche wemen: and stykyd her naylys ful depe in her neckys and fydys and hauyng at her brestys fokyd her pappys with her venummys mouthe and alto gnew hem with her curfyd tethe

¶ Of vsurers also.

¶ Ca xxxix



Surers also y sawe howe they were dround in gret hepys lyke hyllys of brenning money complayning with grete sorowe and wayling by cawse they quenched not in hem when they leuyd in thys worlde the euyl flame and synne of couetyse.

¶ Of fygityuys oute of religion.

¶ Ca xl



Religions persons that were fygityuys that is to sey that ranne oute of her order by the whiche they had bonde hem self to the seruice of god and after turnid ageyne to the worlde and gaue hem to wordely leu- ing. as a dogge yat turnith ageyn to his vomet so gretely they were there smyt with peynys yat y can in no wise tell nethir declare her tormentis. and onethe ful bitter repentans and confession at her laste ende sauyd seche persons otherwhile fro euerlasting damp- nacion Neuertheles her apostasye was ful long tyme and greynsly ponyshite.

¶ Of a certen kyng of Englund

¶ Ca xli



Vt what schal y sey of a certen prynce and sum tyme king of englund yat y sawe the whyche in his lyfe was ful myghty amonge al the princys of thys world. Sothely he was on euery fyde pressyd and peynyed. that a man myght sey of hem as seint iohan the euange- lyfte seythe yn hys apocalyps thys wyse *Quantum se dilatauit. et in delicijs fuit. tantum datur ei tormentum et luctum.* That ys to sey how mekyl he dydde extende and magnifyde hem selfe and was in onlesful lustys and

delytys. fo mekyl geue ye to hym torment and heuynes. how ys that may concede yn mynde what gret pèynys al hys body and lymyns were smytte wythe He fate apon an horse. that blewe owte of her mowthe and nose a flame blacke as pycche. medylde whyt a smoke and flenche of helle. yn to the greuys torment of hym that fate aboue. the whyche was armyd at al pecys as he schulde haue gone to batelle Trewly the armyr that he were. was to hym intollerabul peyne for they were as bryght brennyng yirne ys when hyt ys betyn whyt hamers and smythyth owte fyry sparclys by the whyche he was wyth ynforthe al to brende and whyt owte forthe the same armyr brende yn ful gret hete. and ladyd hym that ware hym wyth ful fore borhtyn. Also as tochyng hys helme hys shylde. and hys haburgyn. and hys legge harnes y leue owte. for by the brennyng hete and peyse of hem al. howe mekyl he was peynynd no man can telle Sothely he wulde haue geuyn alle the world yf hit might haue be so that he might haue be delyueryd fro on spurre with the whiche he was compellid to ftere his wrechid hors to renne wherby oftyn times he fyllen down hedlong Also the sadyle yat he fate in was ftekyd thorow on bothe the fydys with fyrye brochys and naylis the which was a gasteful fight for any man to beholde. and the maw and inwarde bowels of him yat fate in the sadelle were fore smyt thorow by the fsharpnes of tho brochys and naylys. and this cruelly was he ponyfhte for the onrightful fcheding of mennys blode and for the foule synne of auowtrye yat he vfyd In thys too thingys he dedly offendyd ofte tymys and tho cruel tormentours wykyd fyndis ful gretly with derisions and scornys vpbraydyd him because he wuld be auengid on men yat flew his venery as harte and hynde boocke and do and feche other the whiche by the law of kinde ought to be flayne to euery man and therfore sum of hem he putte to dethe or els cruelly wulde mayme him. and for al thys he dyd neuer but lytyl penance as long as he leuyd Also ful myferably he complaynde yat nethir his sonnys nethir his frendys the whiche he lefte alyue and to home he had

gotyn mekyl temporal godys dyd or schewyd for him any thing after his deth for his helpe and releuyng No thing he feyde my sonnys and frendys haue done for me in these peynys Alas lo y haue losse alle my labur and besynes that y haue done ydylly to make myne heiers riche and mighty Alas for the false and deceuabul flatering of pepul and now what haue they brought or done for me vnhappy to home y gate and gedirde so mekyl trefur and riches and to whome y gaue so many rentys and possessions and for home so gretly y offendyd god while y leuyd and now y am dedde non of hem doyth any thing for me Trewly y saw him sumwhat esyd and releuyd of his peynys only by the prayers of religious men. to home in his life for god he was full benyuolent oftyn tymes. and therby y vnderstode speycally that he hopyd to be sauyd. Furthermore besyde al these thingys aboue feyde ful greuyfly he forowyd and was peynde. for by cause he oppressyd diuers tymes the pepul with ondue taxys.

¶ Of a bysshoppe pat was there in peynys and yet god shewid miraclys for him after his dethe.

¶ Ca xlii



Owe as y remembre a iiii yere agon a certen bisshoppe was chose to be an archebysshoppe but he was than hastely preuente of dethe and so disceste and leste bothe Trewly this bysshoppe was inwardly in his leuing ful wele disposyd and religyusly. for he was pure and deuoute in herte and clene of body that by the vse and weryng of a scharpe herre and other dyuers penauns: tamyd wele his owne flesche. He conformyd hys face and chere as hit semyd mekyl after the behauing of secler pepul. and to eschue and refuse the fauer of vayne glorye the whiche is euer prouyd an enmy to vertu he shewid alwey in wordys and countenans gladnes and iocundnes when he was withinforth contrite in herte and in his affeccions Also his bisshop vyfd as it is feyd before to ponyssh as wel his dayly fautys by

the whiche in grete curys and harde thingys he had offendyd as he dyd other synnys the whyche he had done in hys yong age by dyuers chastmentys and ofte wepyngs. Also in hys office of bysshoppery. he had offendyd greuytly in mony thingys by hys neglygens as other bysshoppys dyd of home y haue made mencyon aboue. Of this Bysshoppe y harde nowe opynly by the feyng of many folke. that by hym myraclys were schewed and done after hys dethe on seke pepul and sebull. And I suppose hyt ys trouthe that oure lord dyd worschype hys seruante with feche benefetiys to geue other example and vnderstondyng. that he herde and clene leuyng the whyche he leuyd ynwardly. plesyd owre lord ful wele. the whyche beholdyth only mennys hertys. Sothely yet fownde y hem yn peynys remanyng to hym wythoutyn dowte. ful grete mede and rewardys yn the euerlasting blyffe of heuene And he that beleuythe not them the whyche byn yn the peynys of purgatory. sum tyme to doo myraclys yn thys world. let hem rede the iiii boke of the dialoge of feynt gregory. and ther he schal feefullyuran example of thys thyng. schewyd and done at Rome of an holy man yat was callyd pascasius a decon.

¶ Of a certen abbotte.

¶ Ca xliij



Certen abbot that was wele and religyous dyspofyd and a man of gret fobirnes deyde a x yere a goo. the whyche bequethyd at hys laste ende to one of hys bretheren mekyl mony for to dele to the powre folke for the helpe of his fowle. Thenne this monke wyfyly and deuoutely fulfyllled the abbottys wille and gaue alle that money to the pore pepul and nedy And where he knewe any yat were colde and hungry or smytte with fekenes and were bore of honeste folke and wele condicyonde and were fallyn to pouerte wherby they had not to bye her leuyng. and to begge they were aschamyd to feche he wulde opyn hys hand after his powre and releue hem with mete and drynke schoys and clothys Also to ancrys and to wedowys to

wolde folke and to powre scolers he gaue mekyl commaunding hem al to praye deuoutely for the foule of him for whome that money was geuyn And also they dyd ful spedly And whenne this trewe and feythfull monke had geuyn to pore peple alle that was be takyn hym he fylle in to sekenes / by the whyche long tyme he was wele prouyd and purgyd and dyfeste a foure yere a goe and made a blessyd ende. And bothe the forseyde abbotte and the monke y fonde there in purgatorye Trewely the abbot was holdyn yette in scharpe peynys and moſte by cauſe that ful carnaly and ouer mekyl he louyd hys kynnys folke and also was to hem ouer large in geſtys of the goodys of hys monaſtery and ſpende on hem mekyl more than was conuenient to do. Playnly that ſame wyſe that ys to feye carnalle loue to kynred more thanne ryght requyryth. full fore greuyth al moſte alle maner of peple that were profeſſe to holy relygyon in her lyfe. and alſo al them that were dyſpenſours of holy chirche goodys as byſshopys byn and ſuche other the whyche ſpende hem probably in other vyſys than they ſchulde. And as y geſe of hem them whiche waſtyn the godys of the holy chyrche wherby they were made ryche in dyſſolucyon of clothyng in voluptuous metys and pompys of the world ſo ſchalle they that vſyn ſcarſly to her nede the godys that they haue though no thing of hyt be ſpende in vanyte. ful ſraytely geue acomtys of ſuche godys as they haue and kepe and remeynyth aboue her yede Sothely they ſchuld firſt geue of here goodys more largely to the pore pepulle of her pariſhonſe and afterward by diſcrecyon helpe her ſaders and moders as they nede alle ſuperfluyte putte aſyde and alſo releue other pore folke and ſo deſerue mede of god withoute any offense. For ther in purgatorye y knewe firſt this rewle ordende to byſshopys and abbottys perſons and vicars of the chirche the whyche can not be brokyn withoute grete vengns. And yere y ſawe theſe thyngys ſo ordend. full ſer y thought odyr wyſe of hem. For y knewe afore that the maners and condycyons of ſeche prelatys were ſerre fro hyt and odyr wyſe demenyd And alle that kepe and fulfille

this lawe and ordenans as ryght and reafon requyryth
 fchalle fo be rewardyd of god for hem as they hadde
 geuyn alle fuche godys of her owne propre patrymonye.
 Therfore thys Abbot afore feyde among fore and greuys
 peynys and tormentys haftyd hym toward the reſte of
 paradyſe. And as he ſawe and behylde the forſeyde
 monke hys brother the whiche was there in a certen
 parte beſyde remouyd fro the greuys peynys and tor-
 mentys that were there. and ful lyghtly peynde in com-
 paryſon of hym bowde hym ſelfe oftyn tymes to the
 ſame monke and thankyd hym with bothe hys handys
 for the grete charyte that he ſchewyd for hym in the
 dyſtrybucyon and delyng of the forſeyde money that
 he delyueryd to hym. And the monke ſchewyd hym
 ſelfe to the abbot that behylde hym ful gracyous of
 fyghte and gladſum of chere. For he was right feyre
 and ſembly in whyte clothyng thawghe they were reſ-
 perſte and had on hem a few ſpottys. And whenne y
 ſawe thys y merueyled in my ſelfe. Thenne ſente Ny-
 cholas yat hylde me by the hand tolde me this of hym.
 Knowyſt this monke that thou ſeyſt. he ſeruyd and
 pleaſyd god ful wele in hys lyfe wyth grete clen-
 nes of herte and chaſtyte of bodye. and mekyl euyl the whiche
 ſchulde haue be done in the place where he was he
 lettyd and was agenſte hyt. For he was ſeruent in ze-
 le of ryghtwyſnes and hatyng euyl of herte wherfore many
 reſproues oftyn tymes pacyently he ſofryd for the deſenſe
 and honeſte of his religion and ſpecyaly of hem the
 whiche ware the habet of religyon apon hem for that
 entent that they myght dyſtroye the vertuus leu-
 ing and conuerſacion of relygyon ful beſyly ſeruyng not
 her ſpiryte but the wrechidnes of her fleſh and the
 worlde in the monaſteriis of ſpyritual and goſtely leu-
 ing. And alas for ſorow for now by ſeche perſons the ſpe-
 cyal worſchyppe and honoure that holy chirche was of
 before is almoſt brought to nought whyle the muttytude
 of carnal and worldly men encreſyn aboue noumbre.
 honſe the ſewnes of ſpyrytuall men ſofryn cheſyng
 rather to dyffymyle and not to knowe her euyl and
 ſo to reſte hem ſelfe than by her blamyng and reſyſt-

ing ftere and moue agenste hem the wrathe and trow-
bullus hastynes of fuche euyl dyspofyd perfons. And
thaught they foo do yette they can not be fewer fro the
spyys and fraudys of hem. And as sum tyme yfmael
that was bore carnaly purfewyd yfaac that was bore
fpyrtualy that ys to feye by a fpyrtual promyse of
almighty god. lyke wyfe hyt is now. For carnal folke
ben ful greuys to fpyrtuall pepul. be cause they can
not peruerte hem to her frawardnes. Also many ther
byn that gretely hyt ys to forowe the whyche in her
leuyng begunne fpyrtualy. but by proceffe of tyme
owther they be ouercumme by onftabulnes or els ben
dysceyuyd by fympylnes. and also they falle done fro
her purpose and begynnyng vnto the myferabul and
wrechyd corrupcyon and flowfulnes of this world. en-
tyfyd and drawyn by the examplys and counceleys of
euyl dyspofyd perfons. Trewly thefe grete hirtys of
relygyous leuyng the whyche before in the tyme of
faders. ful nobly flowryd and fchone as an heuynly
lyght. ful gretely beholdyth the Prelatys of holy chyrche
in thys dayes. that knowen thys and delpyfen hyt. in
fo mekyl that they vndyrftonde not hem felfe. that hyt
ys fo wyth hem. They knewe veryly what thyng they
be cum to. but they what thing they fchulde haue
cum to. becaufe yat they be cum to the lufte and ple-
fure of thys world but they fchulde haue cum to the
folowing of cryftys pouerte. and to the karke and dily-
gente kepyng of her cure. that ys the pepul of god
commytted to hem. And therfore that they feche and
that they care. For that they be cum to and that they
haue. The pepul of god they fede not but diftroye
and hem perauenture that they haue turnyd fro ryght-
wyfnes they fleyn fpirytuallly and lefyn. for her con-
formyng to hem not shewyng hem felfe faders and
paftors. but woluyys and theuys. Trewely the promot-
yng of fuche perfons kyngys and byffhoppys and other
grete men procuron and gete. and her fogettys ful
mekyl loke ther aftur not beyng rectors and faders.
but peruerfours and destroyers of her fowlys the whiche
thynkyn that alle thyng that ys vnder hem that lykyth.

ys leuefulle. why by the rightwes iugemente of god byn remys trowbuld and chyrchys confowndyd and the state of erthely folke vtwardly subuertyd And for seche clemenynge they be acursyd of god the whyche schulde be deuowt and meke intercessours to god bothe for hym that byn a lyue. and for hym that byn dede by hoys meritys and prayers. specially the welfare of al crystyn-dome myght be preferuyd and encrefyd and al euyl fer put away fro the pepul of god And whyle sent Nycholas complaynyd of seche thynges and of many othyr yn thys wyse. and remembryd also some thyngys that were of grete commendacyon and laude of certen persons. the whyche yn her tyme stode ful manly yn seche perels. and strenthyd othyr so to doo y saw ful many on euery syde me the whyche y knewe be fore fore holdyn yn ful greuys peynys and tormentys Trewly y lokyd most apou hem that y knew a lytyl be fore and louyd ryght specially.

¶ Of an abasse also.

¶ Ca xliiij



OF the which a certen worschipful abbas was ther that blessedly paste thys same yere owte fro thys world tawarde the euerlastyng lyfe and ioys of heuyn. Sothely sche tolde me many thyngys bothe of her state that sche was paste and of her state that sche was yn. also sche seyde many thingys to me the whyche y schulde telle to her owne naturale sisters that were vnder de tytyl of virgynyte amonge othyr holy virgenis yn the same monasterye. that sche was abbas of by some certen tokyns of the whyche some y wolde telle that schulde be to the herers of hem ful gracijs and good but that sche bade me telle hyt to no nothyr. saue to hem that sche commawndyd me Sche seyde also that sche hathe resceuyd mekyl releuyng and helpe of her peynys by the deuowte prayers and psalmys of her systers the seruantis of god tho home be fore sche was a spiritual modere. And sche commawndyd me to thanke hem for mony good dedys the whyche they haue done for her and

for the sofragys of messys and othyr holy prayers that they haue gotyn for her as they myghte of certen religious persons. And more ouer they haue made and ordende to be offerd to oure lord dayly withoute any cefyng for me messys and other deuoute prayers And therfore lete him knowe withouten doute that they schalle haue therfore ful grete mede and y also haue scapyd ful scarpe peynys. And yf they perseuere as they haue begunne. sone y hope to scape the remnande of my peynys. Sche tolde my also that gretely hyt helped her that before she was made abbas sche schewyd and behauyd her selfe with grete compaffyon ful mekely to some of her systers that were sore vexed wyth grete fkenesse or temptacyon and ful ofte dyd alle maner of seruyce deuowtely that were right foule and abiecte in the monasterye.

¶ Of. ii. yonge nonnys that were lepers ¶ xlv



Here were sche feyde on a tyme in owre place. ii. yonge vyrgyns the whiche were ful fore infecte with the grete plage of lepur. And for asmoche that in many placys of her bodyes. the flesche was falle downe to the bonys and the skynne aboue. osten tymes horribly blyster owte of bleynys. And alle my systers of owre monasterye lothyd alle moste. to see or vyfyte hem or to toche hem but to me me thought and semyd full swete. to haue and opteyne hem yn my lappe or holde hem in my harmys. and forthermore alsoo to wesse hem in bathys. and also to wype her fores wyth my fleuys. and they ful wele and gladly sofryd that plage of lepur and tankyde god of that chastement and dyssese And so delytyd hem yn hyt as they had refeyued of hym gracios gyftys of diuers ornamentys And where alytyl whyle agon. they were peynynd yn the worlde by a longe martyrdom. now ful blessydly they folowyn the heuenly lambe her spowse ihesu cryste wyhtowtyn any spotte wher sum euer he goo. And for they pety and charyte that y had and schewyd to hem

yn her nede y haue euermore had yn al my peynys. a
 fwyfte refreschyng and releuyng of helpe. Also many
 othyr thyngys the fame abbas tolde me amonge the
 whyche sche complaynyd that for on thyng that she
 dyd she had sofryd fore peynys and that was by cause.
 neglygently sche lefte a certen chylde a yonge scoler.
 that was destitute of al hys frendys. and was comytted
 to her of a certen byshoppe for to be browght vppe.
 and therefore the chylde lenyd longe tyme in grete dyf-
 comforte and heuynes. Also y saw and knew sum of
 her systers that were noonys of her monastery ther yn
 that place of purgatory yn lyght peynys.

¶ Of a knyghte that synnyd yn symony ¶ Ca. xvi



Certen knyght that was patron of a chyrche
 folde on a tyme a personage to a certen
 clerke for. xxvij. marke. Sothely afty-
 warde he repente hym of that dede. and
 for the fatysfaccion of so grete a synne he
 toke the crosse to go the holy londe. and to vyset owre
 lordys scepulcur yef he myghte. and for hys offensys
 there to aske god forgeuenes and mercy. Trewly that
 tyme. the hethyn folke had put thens crystin pepul
 and so occupied the holy londe. Then were cristen
 pepul gedyrde of al coostys of the worlde to fyghte
 agenste hem. and to dryue hem away and so thys
 knyghte yoynde hym selfe to goo amonge hem. And
 aftywarde he was smytte wyth sekenes. and endyd hys
 lyfe yn that journey. Sothly y fownde thys knyghte
 there yet yn mene peynys. And he tolde me that for
 the synne of fymony that he dyd. as hyt ys a fore feyde
 he had sofrydful greuyspeynys and gret. And more ouer
 he feyde. yf y had not be preuent by the mercy of god
 to repente me ful fore afore my dethe for that synne of
 fymony yn no wyse schulde haue scape eternal damp-
 nacyon. And the labur of the pylgrymmage that y
 toke for god tawarde the holy londe. gretly esyd me of
 thoo peynys. that were due for the fame synne. Also
 hit was grawntyd me by the goodnes of god that y

schulde fende to her that was my wyfe. by a feythful clerke warnyd yn hys flepe of me. that ſche ſchulde orden to be ſeyde for me. v. tricennarijs of meſſys wyth the offycys of *placebo* and *dirige* as the chirche had ordende for hem that byn dede and of ſeche pryſtys that were of honeſte and chaſte lyuyng. of the whyche. ſome y tolde by name. Than ſche made theſe meſſys wyth othyr thyngys a fore ſeyde. to be trewly done for hym. and aſtyrwarde ſche rewardyd hem as they were worthy by the whyche he ſeyde hys peynys were ful gretly abatyd. For a bowte the begynnyng after my dethe oftyn tymes y was compellyd dayly to deuoure tho penſys hooete and brennyng that y had takyn of the pryſte and perſon afore ſeyd. And nowe by the mercy of god y am delyueryd fro that grete tormente. and that was moſte for the ſuffragiis the whiche was done for me. And yette y am conſtrayned ful fore to ſofyr the ſcarpnes of colde. by cauſe whenne y leuyd y had not compaſſyon on powre and nedeful people that were clothles and coolde. And oftyn tymes whenne y gaue hem mete and drynke y wuld be ryght wele warre by the vyce of hardnes to ſpende no money apon hem. Thanne ſeyde y to hym. what and there were done yet ageyne meſſys for you ſchuld ye not trowe ye reſceyue perfetly reſte. Thanne he ſeyde. yys and there were done for me. vii. tricennariis with the offycys longyng to hem this ys *placebo* and *dirige*. y hope that anone as they were done for me. y ſchuld be delyueryd fro peynys to euerlaſtyng reſte. Here nowe hyt ys to be vnderſtonde that thys ſame knyght after his deth as y knowe hyt nowe withoute any doute. apperyd in a vyſyon to the ſame clarke afore ſeyd. and aſſygned hym. v. ful chaſte pryſtys and choſyn by name. that ſchuld ſeye theſe meſſys and other thingys lyke as hyt ys ſeyde aboue. Hoys perſons and namys and the placys of her dwellynges the whyche dylygentely he expreſſyd were to hym ſelfe while he leuyd in hys bodye. and to y clarke that he apperyd to. and alſo to hys wyfe that dydde for hym vtwardly onknowen.

¶ Of a certen yonge monke that somme tyme in
hys dayes was sexten of the chyrche. ¶ Ca xlvij



Certen yonge man a monke that somme tyme y had feyne the whiche in many thyngys behauyd hym relygyously and he was also sexten of the chyrche where he dwellyd. Sothely there were in thys fame chyrche. iii. or. iiij. ymagys of our bleffyd lady sent marye hauyng in her lappys the ymage of oure fauyur ihesu cryste yn fourme of a lytyl babe and they were sette at euery auter on right wele peynted and feyre arayed wyth golde and diuers other colours. the whyche schewyd to the people that behylde hym grete deuocyon. And before euery ymage hynged a lampe. the whyche after the custome of that fame chyrche. were wonte to be lyghted at euery pryncypale feste thorowe alle the yere. bothe by nyghte and by daye enduryng fro the first ensonge vnto the second ensonge afore the forseyde ymagys of oure bleffyd lady seynte Marye. And alsoo thylke lampys lyghtnyd alle the chyrche abowte. Trewely hyt happonde apon a tyme in the forseyde Sextenys dayes. that grete scarcnesse of oyle was in that countreie that fame tyme. and also there was no man that there had any oyle thanne to selle. and feldyn hyt was that any stranger at that sesyn putte forthe any fuche chafer for to selle. where fore the forseyde sexten. by cause he wyfte not. where he myght gete oyle for necessary vsys the mene whyle he withdrew the lyghte fro the forseyde lampys. as hym thoughte he myghte lesfully doo how be hyt that he had some yn store. but he drede lest he wolde not suffyce tyl he hade more. so that on ascensyon day and wythffonday he put no lyght to hym. the whiche yn these festis specialy were wonte to brenne But he went not onponyshte. Sothely the thyrde day yn whytsson weke when he was seyen yn al thyngys ryght hole and fownde sodenly he was smyte wyth a ful seharpe axces. and so a vexid ther of that he was madde and owte of hys mynde and on thewyfday the nexte weke astir he

dyde And on faterday by fore hys dethe. when he was almoſte at hys laſte ende. he ſaw yn a vyſyon the queene of heuyn oure bleſſyd lady ſent mary. ſtondyng on a grice of a certen wyndyng ſteyer yn the chyrche that was by on of the ſame ymagys of oure bleſſyd lady aforeſeyde And when he ſaw her he cryde to her remembryng hys ſekenes and perelle and ſeyde. O holy and bleſſyd mary. haue mercy on me. Than ſche andſwerde hym ſcharply bothe yn worde and yn chere ſeyng thys wyſe. Thow haſte take fro me the worſhype of my lyghte yn erthe. and y ſchal ageyn take fro the the lyghte of thys preſent lyfe. Sothely whenne he herde and vnderſtoode this thretyng he was fore aferd and abaffhid and no meruelle. and caſte hym ſelfe done at her fete with grete wepyng and forowyng and aſkyng for[g]euenes of hys trespas and promyſed amendement Thenne oure bleſſyd lady hoys thretyng ys wonte to be of mercye mekely behylde hym and made a ſigne with her hand ſchewyng hym the grice that ſche ſtoode upon and ſeyde. Sytte done here Thanne he begunne as hym thoughte to ſytte done ful fore aferd at her fete. whenne ſche ſodenly vanyſhte away. And whenne he was cumme to hym ſelfe ageyne callyd for hys bretheren and tolde hym thys vyſyon that he had ſeyne and prayde hem and alſo bade hem with grete iſtaunce and wothys that the nexte nyghte with the daye folowyng. the lampys afore ſeyd ſchuld be lyghtynde and brenne. as the cuſtome was before Alſo he made a vowe that and he myght haue hys helthe ageyne he wold contynally kepe forthe and encreſe the forſeyde lampys to worſchype and lawde of the glorious vyrgyn and moder of god oure bleſſyd Lady ſeynt marye. But he cowde not calle ageyne the worde and ſentence that ſche ſeyde to hym And ſo he dyde the tewſday after trynyte ſonday and as for the reſtoryng of the forſeyde lampys ſome ſatyſſaccyon he dydde for his offense and trespas. Trewly yette hethir to was he holdyn in peynys and tormentys bycauſe often tymes he had offendyd in kepyng of hys relygyon and in ſeying of dnyne ſeruyce And alſo he was lyght of be-

hauyng and ondyfcrete as in etyng and drynkyng.
lawghyng fpekyng. iapyng and in many other mo.

¶ Of a certen clerke that leuyd holyly ¶ Ca xliiij



Orthermore a certen clerke that pafte oute
of thys world in hys yowthe y fawe there
in the fame place the whyche by the in-
fpyracyon of the holy gofte bothe in
connyng of dyuynyte as in other lyberals
facultees paffyd al moſte alle other that were hys
felawys. Sothely he was there peynde in a light and
amene wyfe gladly goyng forth by the teſtymony and
witnes of a goode conſciens that he had toward the
ioys and reſte of paradyſe Trewely he was ful wele
diſpoſyd of maners and condicions and ſtudeyng in
ſcolys pure of chaſtyte and benyuolente in charyte
with other geſtys of grace by the whyche he pleſyd
oure lord ful wele. Alſo he had gotyn to hym ſpecy-
aly the loue of the moſte gloryus vyrgyne the modyr
of god oure bleſſyd lady ſent marye home he feruyd ful
deuoutely in hys lyfe and ful oſtyn tymes wachyd longe
in prayers before her auter with a ful meke ſpyryte and
a contryte herte and for her loue gave to pore pepul
mekyl almys wherfore withoutyn doute thys remaynyd
to hym of the fame bleſſyd lady in heuyn euerlaſtyng
ioye and grete mede And for the houre of hys paſſ-
yng oute of thys world he had receyued mekyl
refreſhyng and by her contynual folace and helpe was
mercyfully alſo in hys peynys fokynde and comforted
Sothely whenne he was ſchewyd to me he was ſum
what dyſſeſyd and peynyd only by the intemperans of
the eyre as in coolde and in hete Then y enquiryed
and he had ſofrid any other peynys afore. And hyt was
tolde me that he had ſofryd other whyles amonge the
peynfull hete of thirſte. and that was becauſe whenne
he abowndyd in temporal goodys he was more harder to
the pore pepul than he ſchulde haue be. or ryghte wolde
And trewely he had gret compaſſyon of hem. and
mekyl he dyd in hys lyfe to helpe and releue hem.

But neuertheles oftyne tymes he was wery of hem. and specyaly after that he was waxin rycher in so mekyl that before when he was powrer and had not so mekyl he was more lyberale to powre folke than he was after whenne hys goodys were encrefyd. And therefore full fore hyt ys to drede howe fleytely they shulde geue acontys of her dispensacyon that haue receyued benefyts and ryches of the chyrche. owre lord yhesus seyyng thys wyse yn the gospel. *Cui plus committitur ab eo plus exigitur* that ys to sey To home more ys commytid or be takyn. of hym more shal be askyd. Now sothly by cause we haue here trewly wretyn yn wordes mony thynghes that we fownde and saw yn placys of peynys let vs here ende owre narracion of hem. And astirward as god wyl geue vs grace we wyl afaye to telle and declare some thyngs that we saw of the conforte and gladnes of the blessyd fowlys the whyche restyd hem yoyfully yn the ful mery and yocunde place of paradyse.

¶ Also of paradyse and of the multitude of pepul that he sawe and founde there. **¶ Ca xlix**



Owe of the folace and conforte of the blessyd fowlys that byn scapyd her peynys and be at reste and of her euerlastyng ioyes. sum what y wille tel you as y can and may. For no man may sufficiently. And whenne we were paste and gonne these thre placys of peynys as hyt ys aboue seyde and had beholde the grete peynys and dyuers tormentys of synnarys. we wente forthe farthir. And as we wente farther. there begunne to appere a lytyl and a lytyl more and more a full feire lyghte vnto vs and with al brake oute a ful plesaunte fwete fauyr. And anone after we cam to a fylde the which was full of alle maner of feyre and plesaunte flowrys that gaue to vs an oncredyble and inestymable conforte of ioye and plesure. Sothely in thys fylde we sawe and founde insynye thousandys of fowlys ful iocunde and merye in a ful fwete reste after her

penauns and after her purgacyon. And hem that we founde firste in the begynnyng of that filde had apon hem white clothyng. but hyt was not very bryght nethyr wele schynyng. Notwithstondyng they had no spotte of blacknes or of any other onclennes on hem as hyt femyd. saue thys as y feyd before they were not very bryght schynyng whyte. Trewely amonge these many y knewe the whyche sum tyme y sawe and knewe ful wele whenne they leuyd in thys world. Of the whyche schortely sum what y wylle telle yow and of other y purpose to cesse.

¶ Of a certen abbas the whyche he sawe and knewe there also. ¶ Ca. I.



Ere in thys place was a certen abbas that was of worchipful conuerfacyon. the whyche y knewe whenne y was a chylde. and sche dyed a xiiii yere agone. Sothely sche had grete feruour and zeale to chastyte. and to alle other honeste Also sche was wyse and warre and deuowte in kepyng her sisters. to whome sche was commytted Thys abbas y sawe amonge them that were in the begynnyng of that ioyful place. For sche was but as newe cum thedur fro her peynys. and sche had apon her clene clothyng but not verey whyte schynyng. And sche femyd by her chere and dysposycon as sche had be longe tyme sicke or disseyd and had cumme late fro bathys. I passe by here to tel of summe lyghte thyngys for the whyche sche had sofryd ryghte scarpe peynys. Sothely sche had not ouercumme in her leuyng the vyce and mocyon of vayne glorye. amonge the merytys of vertu and commendacyon of flatryng and of other thyngis innumerabulle y passe by. in the whyche the febull ignoraunce of good pepul often tymes offendythe Trewely sche told me that sche had sofryd peynys specyaly by cause sche louyd her kynnys folke ouermekyl carnaly. and to hem gaue mekyl goodys of the place that sche had rule of. whenne somme of her systers to home sche was a spyrytuall moder lackyd sum tymes suche thyngys as

longed to her leuyng and clothyng. And whenne y harde thys of her. gretely y meruelyde. For y knowe not onethe any prelate in thys dayes. that vsyd so grete scarfnes to her kynnys folke as sche me femyd dydde to her cosynis. And as tochyng superfluyte as fer as y knew. onethe sche gaue any tyme to hem that were of her kynne ther necessarijs. Also her neuelys and necys. and othyr that were of her kynne she cowpulde hem not to carnal matrimony. but be toke hem to religyon for to serue god. And so sterne sche behauyd her yn wordys and yn chere. to hem specialy. that when sche was seyne to othyr strangers frendely and yefely. sche was only to her cosynis ryghte gafful and on mylde. Also sche vsyd to enquire ther sawtys ful warly. and when perauenture sche myghte fynde hem sawtye. ful bytturly therfor sche wolde hem pounyshe. Also sche wolde haue the honeste of maners. and the clenness of chastyte obseruyd and kepte. of al seruantys and persons that sche hade longyng to the monasterye. but mooste of hem yat were of her kynne. And ther was no brothyr ne syfter that sche vsyd to fauer. as dydde othyr that were not of her kynne. And when y had seyde thys to her. and also that sche had browghte forth the many that y knewe to kepe deuowtly her purpose and habet of relygyon that they had takyn apon hem thys wyfe the same abbas seide to me ageyne. Sothe hyt ys sche seyde as ye sey. But neuertheles for the carnal affeccyon and loue. that y had ynwardely to my frendys when y was bownde to the due gostely leuyng of religion. as wele by the reson of my professyon. as by the office that y bare. y kowde fynde non excuse. be fore the streyte iugement of god yn the whyche y was examynde to the vtturmasse poynte of my leuyng. And mooste by cause that occasyon of gruggyng. and example of ouermekyl besynes grewe to my syfters. by my sawte and negligens for the carke and besynes that they had to her frendys. Trewly y schulde rathyr haue be warre and takyn hede of the hurte of her sowlys of home y had cure and charge. than the superfluyteis and prouysyon of wordly goodys

to my frendys the whyche y lefte onys wyth the worlde for god. And when thys worschippful abbas had tolde me thys and many othyr thyngys also. we wente forthe farther yn to the same ioyful fylde.

¶ Of a certen prior that leuyd deuowtly and dyed holyly. **¶ Ca li**



Saw and knew also yn thys ioyful place a certen worshipful perfon yat was a prior of a monasterye the whyche dyed a. iij yere agonne Trewly y saw hym ful bleffydly amonge ye holy spiritys and bleffyd feyntys yn a ioyful reste. exempte and delyueryd frome al peynys. gladsum and mery of yat place yat he was yn but mekyl more gladder and that yncomparable for the certen bydyng that he boode. to haue the sight of god. And he bare euermore whyle he leuyd in thys world the habet of a monke bothe on his body and in hys herte fro the tyme of hys chyldehode on to hys oolde aage and to hys laste ende. Also he kepeth and hydde the floure of hys vyrgynite in the bosum of mekenes and he cowpuld to hem ful fuerly the vertu of pacyens. Trewely he vsyd gret abstynence and longe wacchyng. and bothe too he ouercome by holy deuocyon. And whenne necessitye compellyd hym to be aboute werkys of charyte as hys office requyred for the tyme. he wulde euer amonge be seying some salmys or other deuowte prayers to god. No man had more compassyon to hem that were in temptacyon than he. ne no man was more deuowtur and besyur in seruyce to seke men / than he. Also he neuer denyed hem her petycyons and askynges that were dyssesyd al only of tho thyngis that myghte be hadde. And for to helpe hem that were in heuynes. a becke of warnyng was suffycient. And whenne he was of seche holy leuyng and conuerfacyon. and also laborde cont[i]nualy mony yerys before hys dethe. in grete wekenes of bodye so that by hys febulnes and dissesse he had vtwardly losse the sight of on of his yes a too yere before his obite

when other lymmys of his body faylde him for dyners
 other dyffesis. and not withstanding alle thys yette
 wolde he neuer be fro the couent ne fro the quere ne
 fro the comyn table of the frayter where he was more
 fedde of the reseccyon of his brethyrne. than of hys
 owne Sothely astyr hys yonge age. he vtwardly abstey-
 nide hym fro flesche metys neuertheles he wolde to his
 brethirne yat wer sickelew and febul besyly and de-
 uowtly profer hem flesche metys for her recoueryng
 And at the laste he fyl yn to a sekenes yat ys called
 dissenteria And when he was al mooste browghte to
 hys ende. he toke hys gostely conforte and focur the
 holy and bleffyd fakyment of owre lordys precius
 body and blode with hys laste anoyntyng. and so bode
 al mooste. x. days with owte any mete intending only
 the benefitys of god and the exhortacion of hys brethyrne
 Trewly the nyghte before the day yat he paste to god
 abowte the owre of diuine seruyce. he saw owre lord
 ihesu and owre bleffyd lady seynt mary cummyng to hym.
 and with a ful meke sygne they made a tokyn to hym
 that he schulde solow hem. and anon astyr callyd for
 hys brethirne. and declaryd to hem the visyon that
 he had feyne. and tolde hem before. and yat with a
 ful glade herte yat he schulde passe hens on the
 morow nexte. and so he dydde Longe hyt were yef
 y schulde telle and remembre all thyng that he feyde
 before hys ende. how he commendyd hym selfe and
 hys brethirne to god. and exhortyd hem to contynue
 yn good leuyng. hoys wordys and exhortacion was not
 of man. but of the holy gooste that spake yn hym
 Sothly then on the morow astyr abowt the howr of
 tyrse lying yn ashys and yn herre when he had feyde
 the seruice of the day. and of the holy trinite. and of
 owre bleffyd lady. the whyche he vsyd euermore of a
 childe and when he had herde deuowtly the passion of
 owre lorde after the .iiii. euangelystys. and other salmys
 with grete compuncyon of herte betwhene the swete
 kyffyngys of oure lordys crosse and the salutacions
 of oure bleffyd lady. bleffying hys brethyrne deuoutely
 expyryd. Therefore thys worschyfful fader. wyth home

fro my ryghte yonge aage y was ful wele acquentyd anon as y fawe hym deuoutely y grete hym and he grete me ageyne ful mekely and tolde me many thyngys.

¶ Of a certen yonge monke there of his Ca lli



Sothely thys worschipful fader and Prior schewyd to me ther also a certen adolescence a yonge man the whyche in hys chylldhode with gret seruient deuocyon entryd in to relygyon and was a monke in the fame place and monasterye yat thys worschypful fader aforeseyde was prior of. and there he leuyd a good whyle but no longe tyme. for he was preuent hastely and sone of dethe and so blessydly he passyd out of this worlde Trewly y neuer saw hym in body Neuertheles often y haue harde the bretheren of the fame place tel of his pure and innocent leuing and also of hys holy passing mony thingys Then seyde the forseyde prior to me of hym This ys my sonne he seyde of home often tymes thou haste herde. he was my felowe when y leuyd in the worlde in holy leuing and deuocyon. he ys now also my felowe going to heuyn. and schalle be an euyne heyre with me eternaly in euerlasting ioye and blyffe and the fame yong monke also tolde opynly to hys brethirne before his dethe the howre of hys passing. And also heuynly melody was harde at hys passing as many can telle that were ther in the monasterie the fame tyme Treuly the forseyde prior. what for diuers negligencys of hys owne doying and for othyr diuers sawtys of hys brethirne. he had sofryd some lytyl peynys And the fame yonge monke also. as he had offendyd yn ful finale and lytyl thyngys. so he had felte afore sum what of lytyl peynys. not wythstondyng they were bothe equale yn wythnes and in ioy Sothly the forseide prior as hyt femyd had a truste of a more greter rewarde for the more goode dedys and meritys of vertu the whyche he had by lengur leuyng deseruyd.

¶ Also of a worschipful pryste.

¶ Ca liij



Saw also yn thys same place a certen worschipful priste the whyche yn hys lyfe dydde mekyl good to the pepul by hys holy preching. Treuly he had grace of prechyng so ioynyd which the zeles of ryghtwefnes and with good example of leuyng. yat he callid not only the pepul of hys owne paryshons fro wekyd leuyng and dedly dedis. but also he enformid and tawghte innumerable pepul of other parishons ferre and brode. how they schulde leue her fynnys and fulfille owre lordis commandmentis and how they schulde dayly encrese and perfet in goode and vertuous leuyng and so to continew to a dew and a conuenient ende. And sothly summe were so ferre fallyn yn to the deuyls bondys by her euyl and wekyd leuyng whome he callyd ageyne by prayur and holy prechyng that visibly they myghte aftyrwarde vnderstonde and know how they had be takyn hem felse to the deuyl and hys seruice the whiche he made of oure lordys infinite mercy by confession and satisfiacion and penanse doying. ryght wele and parfet yn the feithe and yn good leuyng. Neuertheles for what causys he had also sofryd before a lytyl while diuers peynys y leue oute here by cause y haue seyde a fore many feche lyke thyngys. And as we wente more ynward and farthir yn to yat ioiful place of paradyse. we had euermore a clere lyghte and felte a swetur fauer and hem that we founde and saw ther were more whyttur and gladder than were othyr that we saw before. And wher to schulde y tarye here now to nowmbre tho persons and her merytys the whiche y saw ther. that y knew summe tyme before yn the worlde. and hem also that y knew not before. For al that were ther yn that place. were ordende to be the cytfonnys of the hye and euerlastyng ierusalem and al had paste the stryfe and batel of this worlde and were victurs of deuyls. and so lyghtly they went tho-

rowe al peynys. as they were before les comyrd [combyrd ?] and holde by wrechyd leuyng and worldely vicys

¶ how oure lordys passion was representyd
and shewyd to the sowlys that were in pa[ra]-
disc. **¶** Ca liiii



Owe sothely tho thyngys the whiche we sawe
as we wente forthe farthir in to the same
place nethyr tonge may telle ne mannys
mynde maye worthely confyder. who ys
he that may worthily tel in worde how in
the myddys of tho bleffyd and holy fowlys the holy
crosse of crystys passyon was presented and schewed to
hem. of the whiche infynite thoufandys were there
stondyng aboute hyt and as oure lorde had be present
in hys body so they worschyppte and halowed hys
bleffyd passyon Trewly there was seyne the meke
redemer of mankynde oure swete lorde and sauyur
ihesus criste as he had be done fresche on the crosse.
For alle hys body was blake and bloody of scurgys and
betyng and cruelly disfigurde by fowle spyttyng
crownyd with scarpe thornys and smytte throw with
grete naylys hys fyde was fore perfyd with a spere and
fro his handys and fete ranne out blode redde as pur-
pul and from his holy fyde came downe blode and water
ful largely. and at this grete and wondyrful spectacul
stode his holy moder oure bleffyd lady sent marye. not
now in heuynes and mornyng but right gladsum and
ioyng and yat was in a ful feyre demenyng. and ther
also stode with herre the swete dyscipil of criste seynt
iohne the bleffyd euangeliste and ho may now con-
ceue in mynde how thoo holy soulys ranne thedir on
euery fyde gladly and lightly to see and beholde yat
bleffyd sight O what deuocyon was there of hem that
behilde that glorius vyfyon O what concurs was ther
of worschipping and thanking our lorde ihesu criste
and how meruelus was her ioyful gladnes Trewly

remembryng these thyngys in my felfe y wote not whedir forow or deuocyon or compassion or gratulacyon drawyn nowe myne onhappy soule dyuers weyes. For wondyr and meruel of tho thingis makyn me alyenate fro my felfe and sum what absent to my felfe. who ys he that wolde not ful gretly forow to see so feire and so solemly a body to be caste under so grete iniuriis and fore peynys. and who wolde not with al his harte haue compassion apon his mekenes so mouid and vexyd with tormentys and vpbraydys of seche wekyd folke. and what ioye and conforte may nowe here be thoughte. that by his passion and meke dethe helle ys foughtyn agenst. the deuyl ys ouercome and bounde his power and strenthe is destroyed and man that was losse ys restoryd ageyne to grace and takyn oute of the peynful prison of helle and ioynyd bleffydly to the holy angelys of heuyn. and ho wolde not meruel on the grete mercy and goodnes of our fauyur cryste ihesu the whiche now beyng immortalle wyl whytesaue yat hys passyon and dethe the whyche he soffryd onys in this worlde bodely for the redemption of mankynde be representyd and schewde in a vyfyon to the holy fowlys that byn in paradyse. that her deuocyon and loue schuld be the more accendyd and increfyd to hym. Many other thingis y saw and herde there the whyche y trowe at this tyme is bettur to leue hem out than to wryte hem. and than afterward sodenly this bleffyd syghte and holy vyfyon was takyn fro thens. Than al that grete multytude of foullys that came thedir to worschippe the holy croffe of crystys passion wente ageyne euerichon to her owne places with ioy and gladnes. Treuly y folowyde euermore my duke and lodisman sent Nicholas that went forthe farthir and farther repletyd now with grete ioye and gladnes amonge the ful brighte and light manfions of bleffid fowlys. and the whitnes of hem yat were here in this place and the swetnes of fauer and also the melodye of synging laudys to god wes inestymable and onethe to mannys vnderstondyng credyble.

¶ Of the entryng of the gate of paradysc and of the ioy that apperyd withinforth. ¶ Ca 1b



Orthermore nowe whenne we were paste all these placys and fightys aforeseyde and had gonne a good space more inward and euer grew to vs more and more ioye and feyernes of placys. also at the lasle we sawe aserre a ful glorious walle of crystal hoys heythe no man might see. and lenthe no man might consider. and when we came thedyr y sawe within forthe a ful feyre brighte schynnyng gate and stode opyn saue hit was signed and leide ouer with a crosse Treuly theder came flockemele the multytude of tho bleffyd fowlys that were next to hyt. and wolde cum in at that feyre gate The crosse was sette in the myddys of that gate. and nowe sche was lyfte vppe an hye and so gaue to hem that came thedyr an opyn and a fre entryng. and afterward sche was lettyn done ageyne. and so sparyd other oute that wuld haue commyn in But howe ioyful they were that wente in and how reuerently they taryde that stode withoute abydyng the lyftyng vppe of the crosse ageyne y can not telle by no wordys Sothely here sent Nycholas and y stode stille to geder. and the lyftyngys vppe of the crosse and the lettynngys done ageyne. wherby somme wente in and some taryde withoute. y behilde long tyme with grete wonder And at the lasle sent Nycholas and y came thedyr to the same gate hande in hande. And when we came thedyr the crosse was lyfte vp. And so they that were there wente in. Sothely than my felowe sent Nycholas frely wente in and y foloude but sodenly and onayfyd the crosse of the gate came done apon owre handys and departyd me fro my felawe sente Nycholas and when y sawe thys. ful fore aserde y was Then seyde sent Nycholas to me. Be not aserde but haue only ful certen feythe in our lorde ihesu criste and doutheles thou schalt come yn And astyr thys my hope and truste came ageyne and the crosse was lyfte vppe and so y cam in. but what brightnes and clerenes of light was

there with in forthe al aboutys no man aske ne seche of me for y can not only telle hit by worde but also y can not remembre hit in mynde That glorious schyning light was brighte and smothe and so raueshte a man that behylde hit that hit bare a man aboue hym selfe by the grete brightnes of lyghte yn so mekyl that what fumeuer y sawe before hit was as no thing me thought in comparyson of hit That bryghtnesse thawghe hyt were inestymable. Neuerthelesse hyt dullyd not a mannys fyghte. hyt rathyr scharpyd hyt. Sothly hyt schynyd ful meruelusly. but more ynestymably hyt delytyd a man that behylde hyt. and wondirfully cowpulde a mannys fyghte to se hit. And wyth ynforthe no thyng y myght see. but lighte and the walle of cryftalle throw the whyche we came yn And also fro the gronde vppe to toppe of that walle were grycis ordende and dysposyd feyre and meruelusly. by the whyche the ioyful company that was cum yn at the forseyde gate gladly ascendyd vppe Ther was no labur. ther was no difficulte ther was no taryng yn her ascendyng. and the hier they wente the gladder they were. Sothely y fode benethe on the grunde. and longe tyme y saw and behylde how they that came yn at the gate ascendyd vppe by the same grycis And at the laste as y lokyd vppe hier y saw yn a trone of ioy sittyng owre bleffyd lord and sauyur ihesus criste yn lykenes of man. and abowte hym as hyt femyd to me were a fyue hondred fowlys. the whyche late had ftyed vppe to that gloriys trone. and so they came to owre lorde and worfchpte hym and thankyde hym. for hys grete mercy and grace schewyd and done to hem And some were feyne on the vppur partys of the walle as they had walkyd hethyr and dedyr Trewly y knew for certen that thys place. were y saw owre lorde fyttyng yn a trone. was not the hye heuyn of heuyns where the bleffid spiritis of angels and the holy fowlys of ryghtwys men ioyin yn the feyghte of god feyng hym yn hys mageste as he ys. where also innumerable thowfondis of holy spiritys and angels serue hym and assiste hym But than fro thens wythowten any hardnes or taryng. they ascende vppe to the hey

heuin the whyche ys bleffyd of the fyghte of the euerlastyng godhed where al only the holy angels and the fowlys of ryghtwes men that byn of angels perfeccion feyn the ynuisibly and inmortalle kyng of al worldys face to face. the whyche hathe only immortalite. and dwellyth yn lyghte. that ys inaccessible. for no man may cumme to hyt. the whyche no mortalle man seithe nethyr may see Sothely he ys feyne only of holy spiritys that byn pure and clene. the whyche be not greuyd by no corrupcion of body nethir of fowle And yn thys vision that y saw. so mekylle y conceuyd yn my fowle of ioy and gladnes that wat sum euer may be seyde of hyt by mannys mowthe. ful lytyl hyt ys. and onfufficient to expresse the ioy of myne herte. that y had there.

¶ how the monke came owte ageyne throw the same gate of paradys. **¶ Ca lvi**



Herfore when y had feyn al these fyghtys aboue seyde and many othyr innumerable my lorde sent Nycholas that hylde me by the hande seyde schortly thys to me Loo sonne he seyde now a party astyr they petition and grete desir thow haste feyne and beholde. the state of the worlde yat ys to cumme as hyt myghte be to possibill Also the perels of hem that offendyn and erryn the peynys of synners. the reste also of hem yat haue done her purgacion. the desyrys of hem that be goyng to heuynward. and the ioys of hem. that now byn cumme to the courte of heuyn and also the ioy of crystis reynynge And now thow muste go ageyne to they selfe and to thyne. and to the worldys feyghtyng Treuly thow schalt haue and perceue the ioys that thow haste feyne and mekyl more. yesse thow contynew and perseuer in the drede of god. And when he had seyde thys to me he browghte me forthe throwe the same gate that we came yn. wherfor ful heuy and fory was y and more than a man may suppose. for wele y knew that y must turne ageyne. fro that heuynly blyffe to thys worldys wrechidnes. And gretely he exhortyd me.

how y schulde dyspose me. to abyde the day of my calling oute of my body yn clennes of herte and of body. and mekenes of spirite wyth dylygent kepyng of my religyon. Dylygently he seyde to me. kepe the commaundementys of god. and dyspose they leuyng aftyr the example of ryghtwes men. And truely so hyt schal be. that aftyr the terme of they bodely leuyng thow schal be admyttyd blesydly. to her seleschippe euerlastyngly.

¶ Of the swete pele and melodye of bellys that he herde in paradyse and also how he came to hym self ageyne. **¶ Ca. lvi**



And whyle the holy confessor sent nycholas this wyse spake yet with me sodenly y harde ther a solenne pele and a rynggyng of a meruelus swetenes. and as al the bellys yn the worlde or what fumeuer ys of fownyng had be rongyn to gedyr at onys Trewly yn this pele and rynging brake owte also a meruelus swetenes. and a variant medelyng of melody fownyd wyth alle And y wote not whether the gretnes of melody. or the swetnes of fownnyng of bellys was more to be wondirde And to so grete a noyse y toke good hede and ful gretly my mynde was suspendyd to here hyt Sothly anone as that gret and meruelus fownnyng and noyse was cessyd sodenly y saw my selfe departyd fro the swete seleschippe of my duke and leder sent Nicholas Than was y returnyd to my selfe ageyne. and anone y hard the voycis of my brethyrne. that stode abowte our bedde also my bodely strenthe cam ageyn to me a lytyl and a litil and myn yes opinde to the vse of seying as ye sawe ryghte wele. Also my sekenes and febulnes by the whiche y was longe tyme ful fore disiesid was vtwardly excludyd and gonne fro me. and fate vppe before yow so stronge and myghty as y was afore by hyt soroful and heuy And y wende that y had be then yn the chirche afore the auter. where y worschipte fyrste the crosse And as tochyng the taryng that y made yn this vyfyon y had wende hyt had be noone. but al only

the space of on matens while. and now as y vnderstonde. y was terdye .ij. days and more And now as compendeuſly as y kowde y haue here tolde yow of al tho thingys the whiche y ſawe and were ſchewyd to me yn body or yn ſpिरite at the inſtauns and commande- ment of youre holynes and deuoute charyte. And nowe y beſeche you mekely and that with fore weping that ye will with ſawe [vouchſafe] to praye to god for me an vn- happy wrecche yat y may ſcape the grete and greuys peynys of ſynners the whyche y ſawe. and cum to the ioys of the holy ſowlys that y knewe. and alſoo to ſee euerlaſtyngly the glorious face of oure bleſſyd lorde and ſauyur iheſu criſte and oure bleſſyd lady ſent marye.

¶ A proſſe that thys reuelacyon ys of god and moſte nedys be trew for the grete myraclys that our lord ſhewyd on this ſame monke that ſame tyme.

¶ Ca lviij



Ony inſtruccyons and opyn examples byn here at the begynnyng of thys narracyon that euydentely prouyn thys vyſyon. not to be of mannys conceyte but vtwardely of the wylle of god the whiche wolde haue hyt ſchewed to cryſtyn pepul Neuertheleſſe yefe there be ſo grete inſydelyte or infyrmyte of any perſons that can not beleue to theſe thyngys aforſeyde lete hem conſyder the grete ſekenefſe and febulnes of hym that ſawe hyt. ſo ſodenly and ſo ſone helyd in to a very wytnes and trowthe of this vyſyon that he ſawe. Alſo let hem meruelle the grete noyſe that was abowte hym. and alſo howe that he was prycked in hys ſete with nyldys by the whyche he kowde not in any wyſe be mouyd. Forthermore let hem take hede to hys yes that were ſo ferre fallyn done in to hys hede and was not ſeyne onethe to brethespace of .ij. days. and alſo aſtyr a ful longe ſpace of howris onethe laſte myghte be perfeuyd yn hym a ful ſmalle meuyng as a thynne drede yn hys vytalle veynys Alſo let hem conſyder hys contynualle wepyng and terys the whyche he had aſtyrward many days. And beſyde all theſe thyngys

we knowe also a nothyr certen thyng that was a ful feyre myracle and a very tokyn of godys curacyon schewyd on hym the same tyme. and as mekyl to be merueld. Sothely he had al moſte the ſpace of an hole yere yn hys lyfte legge a grete fore and a ful byttur as hyt were a canker large and brode wherby he was peynynd intollerably. And he was wonte to fey. that he had ſeche a ſorow and peyne therof. as he had bore an hooſe plate of yrne bownde faſte to hys legge. And ther was no emplaſtur no oyntmente nethyr any othyr medicyn how be hit that he had mekyl of lechis leyde to hyt. yat myghte yeſe hym of hys peyne or drawe the wownde to gedyr. Trewly yn the ſpace of hys rauethyng. he was ſo fully helyd that he hym ſelfe meruelyd wyth vs to ſele and ſee the peyne and ache wyth the wownde ſo clene agonne. that no tokyn of hyt. ne ſigne of rednes or of whythnes remaynyd aboue the meruelus curacion of god. Al only thys differens had hys legge that was fore. fro todyr legge that where the forſeyde fore was that place was bare and had none heere.



HUL delectable hyt was to hym as he ſeyde fro that tyme ſorthe. as ofte as he harde any ſolenne pele of ryngyng of bellys. by cauſe hyt wolde then cum to hys mynde ageyne. the ful ſwete pele and melody the whyche he herde. when he was amonge the bleſſyd fowlys yn paradyſe. Sothely aſtyr that he was cum to hym ſelfe and hys brethirne had tolde hym. that now ys the holy tyme of yeſtyr. than fyrſte he beleuyd. when he harde hem ryng ſolently to complen. for then he knew certainly. that the pele and melodye. that he herde yn paradyſe. wyth ſo grete ioy and gladnes. betokynde the ſame ſolennyte of yeſtyr yn the whyche owre bleſſyd lorde and ſauyur ihesuſ criſte roſe vppe viſibly and bodely fro dethe on to lyfe. to home wyth the fadyr and the holy gooſte be now and euermore euerlaſtyng ioye and blyſſe Amen.

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